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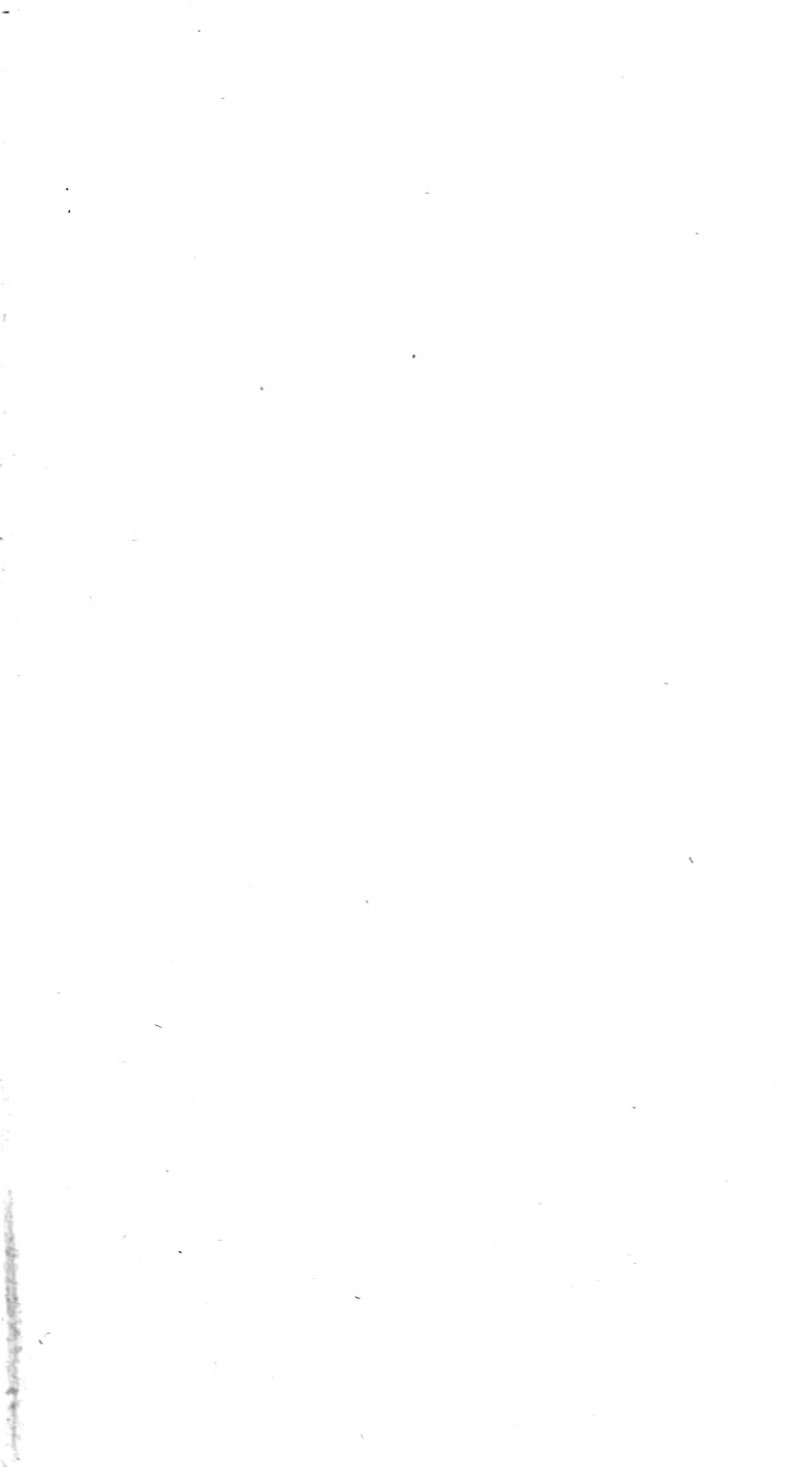
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T H E  
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M :  
O R  
R E P O S I T O R Y

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN  
FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.  
PROSE AND POETICAL.



..... " *With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,*  
" *From various gardens cul'd with care.*" .....

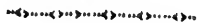
..... " *Collecta revirescunt.*"



VOLUME IV.



PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED BY MATHEW CAREY.



M.DCC,LXXXVIII.

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*Extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to the  
printer of the American Museum.*

Mount Vernon, June 25, 1788.

SIR,

I Believe the American Museum has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent judges: for I am of opinion, that the work is not only eminently calculated to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical, and other valuable information—but that it has been uniformly conducted with taste, attention, and propriety. If to these important objects be superadded the more immediate design, of rescuing public documents from oblivion—I will venture to pronounce, as my sentiment, THAT A MORE USEFUL LITERARY PLAN HAS NEVER BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN AMERICA, OR ONE MORE DESERVING OF PUBLIC ENCOURAGEMENT. By continuing to prosecute the plan with similar assiduity and discernment, the merit of your Museum must ultimately become as well known in some countries of Europe, as on this continent; and can scarcely fail of procuring you an ample compensation for your trouble and expence.

For my part, I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: inasmuch that I could heartily desire, copies of the Museum and Magazines, as well as common Gazettes, might be spread through every city, town, and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge, more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people.

With sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking in particular, and of the typographical art in general,

I am, sir,

your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MR. MATHEW CAREY.



*Extract of a letter from the honourable John Dickinson, esq. to the same.*

Wilmington, July 19, 1788.

AS I have always thought the press of inestimable benefit to the interests of freedom, and of truth in general, so have I been fully convinced that the mode of conveying intelligence by periodical publications, is attended with very particular advantages. The proposal of the American Museum, for communicating political, agricultural, and other valuable information, and serving as a repository of useful tracts, appeared, therefore, to be an undertaking worthy of attention; and with very great pleasure I have observed that *it has been conducted in a manner highly deserving encouragement*. As I do not doubt but it will be continued with the same diligence, prudence, and zeal for advancing the welfare of these states, that have hitherto so eminently distinguished its direction, I fervently wish, and firmly trust that a generous and enlightened people will justly estimate the merits of a work carried on with such a variety of exertions, and such a fidelity of intentions for the public good.

*Letter from Benjamin Rush, M. D. to the same:*

S I R,

I Chearfully concur in adding the testimony of my name in favour of the usefulness of your Museum, together with my best wishes for its extensive circulation, while it continues to be the vehicle of essays that are calculated to advance the interests of science and virtue, and of the agriculture—manufactures—and national government of the united states.

From, sir, your most humble servant,

*Wednesday July 30, 1788.* BENJAMIN RUSH.



WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having carefully considered the object and tendency of the American Museum. published by mr. Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, are of opinion that it is a very useful work, calculated to disseminate literary, political, historical, agricultural, and other valuable information. in a very advantageous manner, and to a great extent; and more especially to preserve interesting documents from oblivion. We therefore chearfully recommend it to the patronage and protection of the public in general.

EZRA STILES, D. D. L. L. D.  
President of Yale college.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON,  
Judge of admiralty for the commonwealth  
of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.  
bishop of the protestant episcopal church  
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JOHN EWING, D. D.  
Provost of the university of Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL MAGAW, D. D.  
Vice-provost of the university of Pennsylvania.

TENCH COXE.

JOHN ANDREWS, D. D.  
Principal of the Academy of the Protestant  
episcopal church, in the city of Philadelphia.



# P R E F A C E.

**A**N increase of public favour inspires me with the most lively sentiments of gratitude, and has called forth an increase of zeal.

In the management of the American Museum, I have endeavoured, by care and attention, to atone for defect of the requisite abilities. If I have been fortunate enough to give satisfaction, it is to be ascribed to the kind indulgence with which generous minds regard well-meant efforts to be useful, though falling short of perfection.

This work lays little or no claim to originality. Humbler—perhaps not less useful—is its design. To *preserve* for posterity—as well as to *diffeminate* among the present generation—valuable fugitive publications, hastening to oblivion—are its primary objects.

Original writings, however, are by no means excluded.

In the selection of essays on topics that occasion a division of sentiment, I as far as possible divest myself of the spirit of party, and draw a line between the character of *the citizen* of a free republic (in which capacity I have a right, equally with the first person in the state, to think and act for myself) and that of *the printer*—servant to the people—who, to act with propriety and rectitude, must, in the conflicts of political warfare, know no bias from the partizans on either side. Whatever may be my private opinion, I wish to make a just choice, always regulated by the unerring rule—“*audi alteram partem* :” and I fondly hope that the numbers published during the time the new constitution has been under consideration, have not merited the title of *federal*—or *antifederal*—but *impartial*. Should this be conceded by the candid reader, I have not a wish ungratified on this subject. The approbation of others I am not vain enough to expect.

So great are the expences of the American Museum, that without the utmost regularity in paying the subscriptions, it cannot exist. Several times has it been on the verge of de-

*cease*—nor has it been preserved without the utmost difficulty. This hint can surely give no offence to those whose exactitude alone has supported it—but will, it is hoped, inspire with more punctuality those, who, from inattention, or any other cause, have not complied with the original terms.

Not to tire the reader with prolixity, I shall conclude with an assurance, that my inducements to begin, as well as to persevere in this undertaking, have arisen as much from a conviction of its general utility, as from any view of private emolument.

I remain the public's devoted servant,

M. C.

*Philadelphia,*  
*July 31, 1788.*

## D E D I C A T I O N.

*To his Excellency General WASHINGTON,  
late Commander in chief of the Armies of the  
United States of America, L. L. D. &c. &c.*

*TO* dedicate this volume to your Excellency, will,  
I am apprehensive, be regarded as a degree of  
presumption hardly excusable. But to whom can a  
work, devoted to the cause of Liberty and Virtue,  
be so justly inscribed, as to the most zealous and  
successful defender of the one, and the most perfect  
model of the other?

*Your Excellency's having decidedly declared your  
approbation and patronage of this publication, I  
shall ever regard as one of the most pleasing circum-  
stances of my life.*

*That you may, during a long and happy life,  
continue to enjoy that exquisite reward of your pa-  
triotism and merits—the unbiaffed and undivided  
affections of your grateful fellow-citizens, and the*

*deserved admiration of foreign nations—and that your country may in peace derive as many and as signal benefits from your invaluable services, as she did in the trying vicissitudes of war—are the sincere wishes of your cotemporaries, but of none more than of*

*your Excellency's highly-obliged*

*and humble servant,*

MATHEW CAREY.

*Philadelphia, July 30, 1788.*

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Washington, late com-  
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marshal of France,  
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N. B.—M. G. A. signifies member of the general assembly : and  
D. C. delegate in congress.

# T H E A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For J U L Y, 1788.

*Letter from a young gentleman to his sister, on her removing from the country to live in the city.*

**T**H E tender anxiety, with which an affectionate brother must naturally be affected by every thing that concerns, however remotely, the present or future felicity of an amiable sister, alone induces me at this time to intrude upon your hours of gaiety and cheerfulness, and will, I flatter myself, at least secure me a favourable reception. I confess, my dear girl, I am but ill qualified for the task I have undertaken: but when I consider the change in your situation, and that upon the conduct which you may now adopt, and the sentiments you may now imbibe, your future character, consequence, and peace of mind in a great measure may depend; my regard for your interest overcomes every other consideration, and prevails upon me to throw together the following scattered thoughts, which may possibly be of some service to you in life.

My youth, and natural indulgence for your sex, will secure you from the rigid austerities of age, while the little experience I have had in the world, the observations upon mankind I have had an opportunity of making, and a certain turn of thought, which I would hope is not peculiar to myself, will prevent my adopting the maxims of the votaries of folly and dissipation, beyond what reason and virtue will justify.

You are now, my dear girl, arrived at a time of life, when the passions begin to unfold themselves, and the heart expands and discloses all its tender sensibilities: educated in the bosom of rural retirement, far from the liberties of the town, your mind is unsullied as the crystal stream; your soul the image of spotless purity; and your heart the seat of every virtuous, every delicate sentiment, void of art, and free from affectation; that sweet

timidity, that charming delicacy, that enchanting bashfulness, that ardent, blushing modesty, which shrink from the most distant approach of every thing rude and indecent, and which form the brightest ornaments of your sex, shine in their fullest lustre throughout every part of your conduct. Such, my lovely girl, you appear to the friendly but impartial eye of your brother: but will my charming sister always deserve this character? Young as you are, and possessed of so gentle a disposition, will you have resolution sufficient to associate with those who are called the polite and well bred, the gay and fashionable ladies of the present day, without assuming their manners, and adopting their free and forward airs? without, like them, admitting the gentlemen among your acquaintance, to liberties, to familiarities, which, if they are not criminal, are at least inconsistent with that modesty, and chastity of manners, which constitute the first female charm, and the want of which the most brilliant accomplishments cannot compensate? Liberties, which will lessen the dignity of your character, and debase you in the eyes of those who are permitted to take them. Will not those indelicacies, which too many, who are called gentlemen, are accustomed to use in company of ladies, become familiar from their frequency, and less offensive by repetition, until what at first might shock and disgust, may at length appear even agreeable; and expressions for which a man ought to be kicked out of company, be perhaps heard with a smile? Should this alteration ever take place in my now amiable and blushing sister, should she sink into the common herd of what are called the polite, the fashionable, and even virtuous females, what distress will it give a heart which throbs with anxious solicitude for your felicity! How shall I pity your weak-

ness, and mourn over the ruins of your former self!

But should you, my lovely girl, by an intercourse with the world, acquire just that ease and presence of mind, which is necessary for your own satisfaction, and to prevent your being embarrassed, (which is all you stand in need of, if you stand in need of any thing) without losing any thing of your present sensibility and delicacy—should you, while you feel yourself free and unconstrained in company, at the same time be able to maintain that modest reserve in the whole of your conduct, which, untinctured by haughtiness or pride, flows spontaneously from a native dignity of mind, and purity of heart—you will then have arrived as near to the perfection of the female character, as this state will permit, and will be the delight and admiration of our sex.

If those fashionable ladies, who obtrude themselves on us on every occasion—who admit every freedom which we please to take—who in public companies suffer themselves to be clasped in our arms, seated on our knees, kissed, pressed and toyed with in the most familiar manner—with whom our hands scarce need restraint; if they did but know how much they suffer in our opinion by such conduct, how cheap they render themselves, how they lessen our esteem, and how much we prefer your amiable diffidence, your blushing timidity, they would endeavour to be like you, if not from principle, at least from pride, and the desire of making conquests. Believe me, my dear sister, I am well acquainted with the sentiments of our sex, and can assure you, however desirous they may be, that their companions of an hour, or of a day, should indulge them in every possible freedom, they wish to find very different manners in those whom they would choose for the companions of their lives. Besides, my dear girl, if once you suffer the rules of decency to be broken in upon by one, there is no drawing the line, nor will you find it easy to prevent every person, who passes for a gentleman, to treat you in the same manner; and be assured there are many who are called gentlemen, who have nothing but the name.

How mortifying ought it to be to an

amiable girl, to be hugged and flattered over by an insolent brute, because he happens to be well dressed and has money in his pocket, who is honoured beyond his desert by being admitted into her company? indeed, to acknowledge the truth, among the most of us, if a young lady will admit every liberty that is not absolutely inconsistent with modesty, she will find it extremely difficult to prevent our taking still greater, and at times such as ought to be painful to any girl not lost to every sentiment of propriety.

Do you ask me how you shall prevent these liberties being taken with you? I answer, by shunning, as much as possible, those large and mixed companies, where there are no persons present, whose age, or the gravity of whose character, may in some measure lay a restraint upon the rest; and by uniformly and regularly checking every thing of that nature in its first attempt. That young lady, who, when a gentleman is sitting by her, will remove the hand that is pressing her knee, or otherwise improperly employed, and does it in such a manner as shews her disapprobation—or when a gentleman rudely attempts to clasp her in his arms, and ravish a kiss from her lovely lips, will with spirit put him from her, and assure him she does not approve such freedoms—will soon prevent their repetition. And do not, my dear girl, fear to give offence by such conduct. If he is a man of sense, he will approve it—he will admire you for it; if he is a fool, his displeasure is not worth your notice.

But indecent conduct is not all that a young lady has to guard against. Those who are the most rude and indelicate in their actions, are commonly equally licentious in their conversation. All the wit that many of our young gentlemen possess, consists in saying things that wound every delicate bosom, and crimson the cheek of modesty—that execrable kind of wit that consists in the use of double entendres, or expressions, which, though not absolutely shocking in themselves, naturally convey loose and immodest ideas—which in general are so plain, and intelligible, that it would be an insult to a young lady's understanding to suppose her ignorant of

their meaning—and admitting her not to be ignorant, the most infamous rudeness and brutality to utter in her presence. Persons, who are no better acquainted with that respect and delicacy which ought to be observed in company of every lady, and much more of one of *your* youth, beauty, and merit, ought to be avoided as you would avoid the pestilence: *this* can only affect your health, your life; *that* affects the reputation, and is a canker worm which preys upon and blasts the fairest, loveliest flower of virgin modesty. And can it be possible that there are polite and fashionable young ladies, whose faces are ever ready, on such occasions, to wear the smile of approbation, while the archness of their looks gives sufficient notice that they perfectly comprehend the full extent of the meaning? yet, my dear girl, doubt not but there was a time, when they, too, would have blushed at the first approaches of indelicacy—such is the terrible devaluation made in the female breast, by habit, custom, and that vanity, and rage for admiration, even the admiration of fools and brutes, which frequently at first prevent a young lady from shewing her disapprobation of improper conduct, for fear of losing one from the wretched train of her admirers. And after having suffered the first breach of decency to pass unnoticed, it serves as a precedent to encourage a second, and makes it more difficult for her then to assume that propriety of conduct she ought at first to have adopted, and look out of countenance every thing rude and indelicate; until at length by its frequency, it becomes familiar, and all her chaste sensibility being lost, it is no longer offensive to her polluted ear. Behold, my lovely girl, the blessed effects (too frequently) of a town education; and the expence at which those phantoms which are called politeness and good breeding, are often purchased! but are there no exceptions to this censure? yes, my dear girl, I acknowledge with pleasure that there are some bright examples, who to all that real ease and elegance which the town would claim, though not very justly, as peculiar to itself, unite all the delicate reserve, blushing modesty, and sensibility of the country: in the number of these,

you, my amiable sister, I am confident will deserve a distinguished place.

All I ask of heaven for you, is, that you may never divest yourself of your present manners, but preserve them pure and untainted; then will you ever be admired, beloved, and esteemed. These are sentiments which few, my dear, will be honest enough to declare to you. Your own sex, conscious of the ascendancy over our hearts, which the innocence and purity of your manners must give you, will be solicitous to laugh you out of them, as being awkward and unfashionable—the effects of a country education; and will endeavour to degrade you to a level with themselves. And the most of our sex, having nothing more in view, by their general intercourse with the ladies, than mere momentary pleasures, unmeaning gallantry, or the gratification of their vanity, and self importance, care nothing about them, beyond the present hour, and are well pleased to take every liberty with which they can be indulged, as they are thereby freed from the restraint they must otherwise observe, and are furnished with a subject to boast of among their associates. And here, my dearest girl, I cannot dismiss this subject without giving you one caution. Oh! never let it give that little breast one moment's pain to see a greater croud of triflers buzzing round one of those pert forward things! May female vanity never excite in that gentle bosom one transient wish to obtain their followers by imitating their conduct! would my dear girl wish to have her lovely person all disfigured with sores, that she might be honoured with the attendance of a swarm of flies? Why, then, would you wish that your mind should be sullied, and your manners deformed, to draw round you a swarm of insects still more insignificant and contemptible?

But now let me proceed to a subject more agreeable and pleasing. Nature, my dear girl, has been indulgent to you in her gifts, and has lavished upon you external beauty, with a bounteous hand: she has formed you with a person truly lovely. You are pretty; this will be told you by every dangler that may hang about you. But will they all be

as honest as your brother, who, while he with pleasure acknowledges the justice of their praise, would wish you to act as though you alone were ignorant of your charms; and would be distressed to see you become proud and vain, and assume a thousand ridiculous and affected airs, which to every person of sense and merit are infinitely more disgusting, than all the ravages of the small pox? Though you are beautiful, think not your beauty alone sufficient to constitute your merit. Be, my dear girl, as assiduous to cultivate your understanding, to improve your mind, to acquire every truly female and elegant accomplishment, as you would be, if you had not one single recommendation to our favour besides. Beauty of person may catch us at first; but the beauties of the mind can alone secure any conquest worth making. Sickness and disease may, in a moment, strip you of the bloom of the rose, and tarnish the whiteness of the lily! at least those charms must wither and decay, when the winter of life approaches: the beauties of the mind will survive all the ruins of sickness and age, and endure beyond the grave. Beauty of person soon becomes familiar, and passes in possession: but virtue and sense will ever improve, and be ever still higher prized as they are better known. I have now only to claim your indulgence for a moment upon the article of dress, although it is a subject scarcely of sufficient importance to take up much time or consideration. Neatness and elegance is what you ought principally to have in view; every thing beyond that must be left in a great measure to your own taste, and the fashions of the day, which, as long as they are not inconsistent with decency, ought in some measure to be regarded, but in such a manner that you may not appear whimsically in, or singularly out of the main: and that your imitating them may seem rather a sacrifice made to the opinion of others, than to proceed from any fondness, or approbation for them of your own. There is a degree of ill-nature in that satire and ridicule on female fashions and dress, many are so fond to adopt, which I acknowledge I could never approve. 'Tis true, if a girl devotes that time

which ought to be employed in more important concerns, to the care of her person—if she places her supreme merit in her clothes and ornaments—if she assumes to herself consequence and state, and looks down superciliously on such as do not equal her in those respects—she then becomes the just object of our ridicule and contempt, be her dress what it will.

But from this folly, I am confident, my lovely girl is secure: she will always have too just an opinion of her own merit, to think it depends on these external appendages which she puts on and off every day at pleasure: she will always be sensible that she adds graces to her dress, instead of borrowing them from it: nor will she ever forget that “True loveliness needs not the foreign aid of ornament, but is, when unadorned, adorned the most;” and if she imitates the reigning modes, it will be rather an act of condescension, and to avoid the imputation of singularity.

But while I would have you to give into such fashions as are innocent and consistent with decency, I would conjure you, my dear girl, by all that solicitude I feel for your happiness, to spurn at every thing that is the contrary. Let who will imitate them, may you be nobly singular. When I see a young lady displaying to every licentious eye, her snow white bosom and panting breasts, with stays cut down before, the better to expose them to view—unveiled even by a thin shade of gauze—or when, to shew a fine ankle, the petticoat is shortened, until half the leg is exposed to our sight—I blush for her indelicacy, and am astonished at her folly.

Let me draw, my dear sister, the portrait I would have you to resemble. I would wish you possessed of that undefiled and benevolent religion, which descends from heaven, and refines and purifies the human heart—free from the rage of bigotry, the gloom of superstition, and the extravagancies of enthusiasm. I would wish you to be unaffectedly modest, without prudery—cheerful, easy, and sociable, without levity, pertness, and forwardness—affable and frank, without ever forgetting that delicate reserve, absolutely necessary to support the dignity of your character, and to



banish rudeness and licentiousness from your presence—well acquainted with books, without a pedantic display of your knowledge—sensible, without aiming at the character of a wit—possessed of every grace and beauty of person, yet in no one action appearing conscious of your superiority—adorned with every acquired accomplishment, without valuing yourself upon them—and all these blended and intermingled with that softness, that gentleness, and that tenderness peculiar to your sex. A few finishing strokes is all you want to render you the perfect likeness of this so beautiful a picture. It is in your power to obtain them.

I have now, my dear girl, very imperfectly executed what I had in view, when I took up my pen. Receive it as the strongest proof of my esteem, of my friendship for you. I have thrown these thoughts upon paper, that you may have them remaining by you, and would willingly hope that sometimes, in the hour of leisure and retirement, you may think them worth a second reading. I have omitted a thousand things I wished to have said : but have already made this letter too long ; to supply the deficiency I have put into your hands Mrs. Chapman's letters to her niece, and Fordyce's sermons for young ladies ;\* they are books which ought to be engraven in letters of gold, and can never be too often read by your sex.†

NOTES.

C. F.

\* *In addition to these very valuable books, Gregory's legacy to his daughters, is strongly recommended to the perusal of every lady, whether young or advanced in life. It contains in a small compass, and in a pleasing style, the essence of numerous volumes ; and were it possible, should be indelibly impressed on the minds of all those of the fair sex, who seek to enjoy the admiration and esteem of men of sense, or to act the parts allotted them in life with the plaudits of the world, and (what is more important) of a self-approving conscience.—C.*

† *This excellent letter is extracted from the united states magazine, published anno 1779, in Philadelphia, by Mr. Francis Bailey. It contains no characteristics to ascertain whether or not it is of American origin.—C.*

*Letters on marriage. Ascribed to the rev. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton college.*

## LETTER I.

I Offer, with some hesitation, to your readers, a few reflections upon the married state. I express myself thus, because the subject has been so often and so fully treated, and by writers of the first class, that it may be thought nothing now remains to be said that can merit attention. My only apology is, that what I offer is the fruit of real observation and personal reflection. It is not a copy of any man's writings, but of my own thoughts : and therefore if the sentiments should not be in themselves wholly new, they may possibly appear in a light not altogether common. I shall give you them in the way of aphorisms, or observations ; and subjoin to each a few thoughts by way of proof or illustration.

1. Nothing can be more contrary to reason or public utility, than the conversation and writings of those who turn matrimony into ridicule ; yet it is in many cases as weakly defended, as it is unjustly attacked.

Those, who treat marriage with ridicule, act in direct and deliberate opposition to the order of providence, and to the constitution of the society of which they are members. The true reason why they are borne with so patiently, is, that the Author of our nature has implanted in us instinctive propensities, which are by much too strong for their feeble attacks. But if we are to estimate the malignity of a man's conduct or sentiments, not from their effect, but from their native tendency, and his inward disposition, it is not easy to imagine any thing more criminal, than an attempt to bring marriage into disesteem. It is plainly an effort, not only to destroy the happiness, but to prevent the existence of human nature. A man who continues through life in a single state, ought, in justice, to endeavour to satisfy the public that his case is singular, and that he has some insuperable obstacle to plead in his excuse. If, instead of this, he reasons in defence of his own conduct, and takes upon him to condemn that of others, it is at once incredible and absurd ;

that is to say, he can scarcely be believed to be sincere. And whether he be sincere or not, he deserves to be detested.

In support of the last part of my remark, let it be observ'd, that those who write in defence of marriage, usually give such sublime and exalted descriptions, as are not realized in one case of a thousand: and therefore cannot be a just motive of action to a considerate man. Instead of insisting on the absolute necessity of marriage for the service of the state, and the solid advantages that arise from it to domestic comfort, in ordinary case: they give us a certain refined idea of felicity, which hardly exists any where but in the writer's imagination. Even the Spectator, than who there is hardly in our language a more just and rational writer, after saying many excellent things in defence of marriage, scarcely ever fails to draw the character of a lady in such terms, that I may safely say not above one that answers the description is to be found in a parish, or perhaps a county. Now, is it not much better to leave the matter to the force of nature, than to urge it by such arguments as these? Is the manner of thinking induced by such writings, likely to hasten or to postpone, a man's entering into the married state?

There is also a fault I think to be found in almost every writer who speaks in favour of the female sex, that they over-rate the charms of the outward form. This is the case in all romances—a class of writings to which the world is very little indebted. The same thing may be said of plays, where the heroine for certain, and often all the ladies that are introduced, are represented as inimitably beautiful. Even Mr. Addison himself in his admirable description of *Martia*, which he puts in the mouth of *Juba*, though it begins with

"Tis not a set of features or complexion, &c.

Yet could not help inserting

True, she is fair; oh, how divinely fair!

Now, I apprehend this is directly contrary to what should be the design of every moral writer. Men are naturally too apt to be carried away with the admiration of a beautiful face.

Must it not, therefore, confirm them in this error, when beauty is made an essential part of every amiable character? The preference such writers pretend to give to the mental qualities, goes but a little way to remedy the evil. If they are never separated in the description, wherever men find the one, they will presume upon the other. But is this according to truth, or agreeable to experience? What vast numbers of the most valuable women are to be found, who are by no means "divinely fair?" Are these all to be neglected then? or is it not certain, from experience, that there is not a single quality, on which matrimonial happiness depends to little, as outward form? Every other quality that is good, will go a certain length to atone for what is bad; as, for example, if a woman is active and industrious in her family, it will make a husband bear with more patience a little anxiety of countenance, or fretfulness of temper, though in themselves disagreeable. But (always supposing the honey-moon to be over) I do not think that beauty atones in the least degree for any bad quality whatever; it is, on the contrary, an aggravation of them, being considered as a breach of faith, or deception, by holding out a false signal.

2. In the married state, in general, there is not so much happiness as young lovers dream of; nor is there by far so much unhappiness, as loose authors universally suppose.

The first part of this aphorism will probably be easily admitted. Before mentioning, however, the little I mean to say upon it, I beg leave to observe, that it would be quite wrong to blame the tenderness and fervency of affection, by which the sexes are drawn to one another, and that generous devotedness of heart, which is often to be seen on one, and sometimes on both sides. This is nature itself: and when under the restraint of reason, and government of prudence, may be greatly subservient to the future happiness of life. But there is certainly an extravagance of sentiment and language on this subject, that is at once ridiculous in itself, and the proper cause, in due time, of wretchedness and disappointment.

Let any man, who has outlived these

sensations himself, and has leisure to be amused, dip a little into the love-tongs that have been composed and published from Anacreon to the present day, and what a fund of entertainment will he find provided for him! The heathen gods and goddesses are the standing and lawful means of celebrating the praises of a mistress; before whom, no doubt, Venus for beauty, and Minerva for wisdom, must go for nothing. Every image in nature has been called up to heighten our idea of female charms—the paleness of the lily, the freshness of the rose, the blush of the violet, and the vermilion of the peach. This is even still nothing. One of the most approved topics of a love-sick writer is, that all nature sighs and mourns at the absence of his fair, and puts on a new bloom at her approach. All this, we know well, has place only in his imagination; for nature proceeds quietly in her course, without minding him or his charms in the least. But we are not yet done. The glory of the heavenly orbs, the lustre of the sun himself, and even the joys of heaven, are frequently and familiarly introduced, to express a lover's happiness or hopes. Flames, darts, arrows, and lightning from a female eye, have been expressions as old at least as the art of writing, and are still in full vogue. Some of these we can find no other fault with, than that they are a little *outré* as the French express it; but I confess that I have been sometimes surprised at the choice of lightning, because it is capable of a double application, and may put us in mind that some wives have lightning in their eyes sufficient to terrify a husband, as well as the maids have to consume a lover.

Does not all this plainly shew, that young persons are apt to indulge themselves with romantic expectations of a delight, both extatic and permanent, such as never did and never can exist? And does it not at the same time expose matrimony to the scoffs of libertines, who, knowing that these raptures must soon come to an end, think it sufficient to disparage the state itself, that some inconsiderate persons have not met with in it, what it was never intended to bestow?

I proceed, therefore, to observe that

there is not by far so much unhappiness in the married state in general, as loose authors universally suppose. I choose to state the argument in this manner, because it is much more satisfying than drawing pictures of the extremes on either hand. It signifies very little, on the one hand, to describe the state of a few persons distinguished for understanding, successful in life, respected by the public, and dear to one another; or on the other, those baseless brawls which by and by produce an advertisement in the newspapers, “Whereas Sarah, the wife of the subscriber, has eloped from his bed and board,” &c. If we would treat of this matter with propriety, we must consider how it stands among the bulk of mankind. The proposition, then, I mean to establish, is, that there is much less unhappiness in the matrimonial state than is often apprehended, and indeed as much real comfort as there is any ground to expect.

To support this truth, I observe, that taking mankind throughout, we find much more satisfaction and cheerfulness in the married than in the single. In proportion to their numbers, I think of those that are grown up to maturer years, or past the meridian of life, there is a much greater degree of peevishness and discontent, whimsicalness and peculiarity, in the last than in the first. The prospect of continuing single to the end of life, narrows the mind, and closes the heart. I knew an instance of a gentleman of good estate, who lived single till he was past forty, and he was esteemed by all his neighbours not only frugal, but mean in some parts of his conduct. The same person afterwards marrying and having children, every body observed that he became liberal and open-hearted on the change, when one would have thought he had a stronger motive than before, to save and hoard up. On this a neighbour of his made a remark, as a philosopher, that every ultimate passion is stronger than an intermediate one: that a single person loves wealth immediately, and on its own account; whereas a parent can scarcely help preferring his children before it, and valuing it only for their sakes.

This leads me to observe, that marriage must be the source of happiness, as being the immediate cause of many

other relations, the most interesting and delightful. I cannot easily figure to myself any man who does not look upon it as the first of earthly blessings, to have children, to be the objects of attachment and care when they are young, and to inherit his name and substance, when he himself must, in the course of nature, go off the stage. Does not this very circumstance give unspeakable dignity to each parent in the other's eye, and serve to increase and confirm that union, which youthful passion, and less durable motives, first occasioned to take place? I the father choose to mention this argument, because neither exalted understandings, nor elegance of manners, are necessary to give it force. It is felt by the peasant as well as by the prince; and, if we believe some observers on human life, its influence is not less, but greater in the lower than in the higher ranks.

Before I proceed to any farther remarks, I must say a few words, to prevent or remove a deception which very probably leads many into error on this subject. It is no other than a man's supposing what would not give him happiness, cannot give it to another. Because, perhaps, there are few married women, whose persons, conversation, manners, and conduct, are altogether to his taste, he takes upon him to conclude, that the husbands, in these numerous instances, must lead a miserable life. Is it needful to say any thing to shew the fallacy of this? The taste and dispositions of men are as various as their faces; and therefore what is displeasing to one, may be, not barely tolerable, but agreeable to another. I have known a husband delighted with his wife's fluency and poignancy of speech in scolding her servants, and another who was not able to bear the least noise of that kind with patience.

Having obviated this mistake, it will be proper to observe, that through all the lower and middle ranks of life, there is generally a good measure of matrimonial or domestic comfort, when their circumstances are easy, or their estate growing. This is easily accounted for, not only from their being free from one of the most usual causes of peevishness and discontent, but because the affairs of a

family are very seldom in a thriving state, unless both contribute their share of diligence; so that they have not only a common happiness to share, but a joint merit in procuring it. Men may talk in raptures of youth and beauty, wit and sprightliness, and a hundred other shining qualities: but after seven years cohabitation, not one of them is to be compared with good family management, which is seen at every meal, and felt every hour in the husband's purse. To this, however, I must apply the caution given above. Such a wife may not appear quite killing to a stranger on a transient visit. There are a few distinguished examples of women of first rate understandings, who have all the elegance of court-breeding in the parlour, and all the frugality and activity of a farmer's wife in the kitchen; but I have not found this to be the case in general. I learned from a certain author many years ago, that 'a great care of household affairs generally spoils the free, careless air of a fine lady;' and I have seen no reason to disbelieve it since.

Once more, so far as I have been able to form a judgment, wherever there is a great and confessed superiority of understanding on one side, with some good nature on the other, there is domestic peace. It is of little consequence whether the superiority be on the side of the man or the woman, provided the ground of it be manifest. The fiercest contentions are generally where the just title to command is not quite clear. I am sensible I may bring a little ridicule upon myself here. It will be alleged that I have clearly established the right of female authority over that species of husbands, known by the name of henpecks. But I beg that the nature of my position may be attentively considered. I have said, 'Wherever there is a great and confessed superiority of understanding.' Should not a man comply with reason, when offered by his wife, as well as any body else? or ought he to be against reason because his wife is for it? I, therefore, take the liberty of rescuing from the number of the henpecks, those who ask the advice, and follow the direction of their wives in most cases, because they are really better than

any they could give themselves; reserving those only under the old denomination, who, thro' fear, are subject, not to reason, but to passion and ill humour. I shall conclude this observation with saying, for the honour of the female sex, that I have known a greater number of instances of just and amiable conduct, in case of a great inequality of judgment, when the advantage was on the side of the woman, than when it was on that of the man. I have known many women of judgment and prudence, who carried it with the highest respect and decency to weak and capricious husbands; but not many men of distinguished abilities, who did not betray, if not contempt, at least great indifference, towards weak or trifling wives.

Some other things I had intended to offer upon this subject, but as the discourse has been drawn out to a greater length than I expected, and they will come in with at least equal propriety under other maxims, if I shall resume the subject, I conclude at present.

EPAMINONDAS.

(To be continued.)



*A series of letters on education.*

LETTER I.

AFTER so long a delay, I now set myself to fulfil my promise of writing to you a few thoughts on the education of children.— Though I cannot wholly purge myself of the crimes of laziness and procrastination, yet I do assure you, what contributed not a little to its being hitherto not done, was, that I considered it not as an ordinary letter, but what deserved to be carefully meditated on, and thoroughly digested. The concern you shew on this subject, is highly commendable: for there is no part of your duty, as a christian, or a citizen, which will be of greater service to the public, or a source of greater comfort to yourself.

The consequence of my thinking so long upon it, before committing my thoughts to paper, will probably be the taking the thing in a greater compass than either of us at first intended,

and writing a series of letters, instead of one. With this view, I begin with a preliminary to the successful education of children, viz. that husband and wife ought to be entirely one upon this subject, not only agreed as to the end, but as to the means to be used, and the plan to be followed, in order to attain it. It ought to encourage you to proceed in your design, that I am persuaded you will not only meet with no opposition to a rational and serious education of your children, but great assistance from  
 Mrs. S.—\* \* \* \* \*

The crased lines contained a compliment, written with great sincerity: but recollecting that there are no rules yet settled for distinguishing true compliment from flattery, I have blotted them out: on which, perhaps, you will say to yourself, “he is fulfilling the character which his enemies give him, who say, it is the nature of the man to deal much more in “satire than in panegyric.” However, I content myself with repeating, that certainly husband and wife ought to conspire and co-operate in every thing relating to the education of their children; and if their opinions happen, in any particular, to be different, they ought to examine and settle the matter privately, by themselves, that not the least opposition may appear either to children or servants. When this is the case, every thing is enforced by a double authority, and recommended by a double example: but when it is otherwise, the pains taken are commonly more than lost, not being able to do any good, and certainly producing very much evil.

Be pleased to remember, that this is by no means intended against those unhappy couples, who, being essentially different in principles and character, live in a state of continual war. It is of little advantage to speak either to, or of such persons. But even differences incomparably smaller, are of very bad consequence: when one, for example, thinks a child may be carried out, and the other thinks it is wrong; when one thinks a way of speaking is dangerous, and the other is positive there is nothing in it. The things themselves  
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may indeed be of little moment : but the want of concurrence in the parents, or the want of mutual esteem and deference, easily observed even by very young children, is of the greatest importance.

As you and I have chiefly in view the religious education of children, I take it to be an excellent preliminary, that parental affection should be purified by the principles, and controuled or directed by the precepts, of religion. A parent should rejoice in his children as they are the gift of a gracious God ; should put his trust in the care of an indulgent providence for the preservation of his offspring, as well as himself ; should be supremely desirous that they may be, in due time, the heirs of eternal life ; and, as he knows the absolute dependence of every creature upon the will of God, should be ready to resign them at what time his Creator shall see proper to demand them. This happy qualification of parental tenderness will have a powerful influence in preventing mistakes in the conduct of education. It will be the most powerful of all incitements to duty, and at the same time a restraint upon that natural fondness and indulgence, which, by a sort of fascination or fatality, makes parents often do or permit what their judgment condemns, and then excuse themselves by saying that no doubt it is wrong, but truly they cannot help it.

Another preliminary to the proper education of children, is a firm persuasion of the benefit of it, and the probable, at least, if not certain success of it, when faithfully and prudently conducted. This puts an edge upon the spirit, and enables the christian not only to make some attempts, but to persevere with patience and diligence. I know not a common saying either more false or pernicious, than " that the children of good men are as bad as others." This saying carries in it a supposition, that whereas the force of education is confessed with respect to every other human character and accomplishment, it is of no consequence at all as to religion. This, I think, is contrary to daily experience. Where do we expect to find young persons piously disposed but in pious families ? the exceptions, or rather appearances to the contrary,

are easily accounted for, in more ways than one. Many persons appear to be religious, while they are not so in reality, but are chiefly governed by the applause of men. Hence their visible conduct may be specious, or their public performances applauded, and yet their families be neglected.

It must also be acknowledged, that some truly well disposed persons are extremely defective or imprudent in this part of their duty, and therefore it is no wonder that it should not succeed. This was plainly the case with Eli, whose sons, we are told, made themselves vile, and he restrained them not. However, I must observe, if we allow such to be truly good men, we must, at the same time, confess that this was a great drawback upon their character ; and that they differed very much from the father of the faithful, who had this honourable testimony given of him by God. I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, that they serve me. To this we may add, that the child of a good man, who is seen to follow dissolute courses, draws the attention of mankind more upon him, and is much more talked of, than another person of the same character. Upon the whole, it is certainly of moment, that one who desires to educate his children in the fear of God, should do it in an humble persuasion, that, if he is not defective in his own duty, he will not be denied the blessing of success. I could tell you some remarkable instances of parents, who seemed to labour in vain for a long time, and yet were so happy as to see a change at last ; and of some children, in whom even after the death of the parents, the seed which was early sown, and seemed to have been entirely smothered, has at last produced fruit. And indeed no less seems to follow from the promise, annexed to the command, train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.

Having laid down these preliminaries, I shall say a few things upon the preservation of the health of children. Perhaps you will think this belongs only to the physician : but though a physician ought to be employed to apply remedies in dangerous cases, any man, with a little reflection, may be

allowed to form some judgment as to the ordinary means of their preservation ; nay, I cannot help being of opinion, that any other man is fitter than a physician for this purpose. His thoughts are so constantly taken up with the rules of his art, that it is an hundred to one he will prescribe more methods and medicines than can be used with safety.

The fundamental rules for preserving the health of children, are, cleanliness, liberty, and free air. By cleanliness, I do not mean keeping the outside of their clothes in a proper condition to be seen before company, nor hindering them from fouling their hands and feet, when they are capable of going abroad, but keeping them dry in the night time, when young, and frequently washing their bodies with cold water, and other things of the same nature and tendency. The second rule is liberty. All persons, young and old, love liberty ; and as far as it does them no harm, it will certainly do them good. Many a free born subject is kept a slave for the first ten years of his life ; and is so much handled and carried about by women in his infancy, that the limbs, and other parts of his body, are frequently mis-shapen, and the whole very much weakened ; besides, the spirits, when under confinement, are generally in a dull and languishing state. The best exercise in the world for children, is to let them romp and jump about, as soon as they are able, according to their own fancy. This, in the country, is best done in the fields : in a city, a well aired room is better than being sent into the streets under the care of a servant, very few of whom are able so far to curb their own inclinations, as to let the children follow theirs, even where they may do it with safety. As to free air, there is nothing more essentially necessary to the strength and growth of animals and plants. If a few plants of any kind are sown in a close confined place, they commonly grow up tall, small, and very weak. I have seen a bed of beans in a garden, under the shade of a hedge or a tree, very long and slender, which brought to my mind a young family of quality, trained up in a delicate manner, who, if they grow at all, grow to

length, but never to thickness. So universal is this, that I believe a body of a sturdy or well built make, is reckoned among them a coarse and vulgar thing.

There is one thing, with regard to servants, that I would particularly recommend to your attention. All children are liable to accidents : these may happen unavoidably ; but do generally arise from the carelessness of servants, and to this they are almost always attributed by parents. This disposes all servants, good and bad, to conceal them from the parents, when they can possibly do it. By this means children often receive hurts in falls, or otherwise, which, if known in time, might be easily remedied, but not being known, either prove fatal, or make them lame, or deformed. A near relation of mine has a high shoulder and a distorted waist from this very cause. To prevent such accidents, it is necessary to take all pains possible to acquire the confidence of servants, and convince them of the necessity of concealing nothing. There are two dispositions in parents, which hinder the servants from making discoveries ; the first is, when they are very passionate, and apt to storm or rage against their servants, for every real or supposed neglect. Such persons can never expect a confession, which must be followed by such terrible vengeance. The other is, when they are tender-hearted or timorous to excess, which makes them shew themselves deeply affected or greatly terrified upon any little accident that befalls their children. In this case, the very best servants are unwilling to tell them, through fear of making them miserable. In such cases, therefore, I would advise parents, whatever may be their real opinions, to discover them as little as possible to their servants. Let them still inculcate this maxim, that there should be no secrets concerning children, kept from those most nearly interested in them. And that there may be no temptation to such conduct, let them always appear as cool and composed as possible, when any discovery is made, and be ready to forgive a real fault, in return for a candid acknowledgment.

*(To be continued.)*

*An account of a remarkable fish.*

**A**BOUT a year and a half ago, a man exhibited, in this city, a very extraordinary fish, which I once saw, and, as far as I can recollect, will give a description of it, and its surprising qualities.

It was about two feet and an half long, as near as I can guess; of a dusky green colour on the back, and white on the belly. It resembled an eel in shape, but was somewhat thicker, in proportion to its length. The head was flat, and very like the head of our common cat-fish, with two small eyes, and full of very dark spots; it seemed to have several small holes about the head, like a lamprey eel. A long thin skin very white, extended along the middle of the belly, from the head to the tail, which seemed to be in a constant waving motion. I do not recollect, that it had any fins at all, unless there were two a little below the head; of this, however, I am not very certain. It is said to have been brought from Surinam. But what amazed every body was the power this fish had of giving an electric shock, in what proportion it pleased, from the smallest sensible spark, to a force, I am told, that would knock a man down. If a number of people took hold of each others' hands, and the first person touched the fish with his finger, whilst the last provoked him by squeezing him with his hand, the shock was immediately communicated to the whole circle, and every person felt it, at the same instant, pass his arms and breast, as it does from the electric phial.

I was told that Mr. Kinnersly had contrived a little machine for interrupting the communication, by which the spark was obliged to leap from one bent wire to another; and that, on trying the experiment in the dark, the electric fluid was very visible, exactly resembling the common electric spark in every thing.

When small live fish were put into the vessel with him for food, they swam about without fear or molestation; but when he had a mind to make a repast, he singled out which ever he chose, and, approaching his prey, only seemed to smell at him, and instantly the little victim turned

belly upwards; floated on the water; and was then seized and devoured.

Such was the wonderful power nature had given this fish to defend it from its enemies, and procure food. There seems to be no way of accounting for the properties it possessed, by the present received philosophy of electricity. Water is said to be one of the best conductors or dispersers of the electric fluid that we know of, except metals; how then could this fish, suspended in water, collect or retain that subtle matter? or, by what æconomy could it proportion the shock to its inclination?

This fish is not of the torpedo kind. By all the accounts I have ever read or heard of the torpedo, it is a flat fish, and cannot communicate its shock to several persons by taking hold of hands, but only to one person in contact with it, or wincing it with a stick; which is supposed to be affected by a strong muscular stroke producing a benumbing jar; very different from the sensation of an electric shock.

*Philadelphia, March 1776.*



*November, 1781.*

*Address delivered by M. l'abbé Baudouin, to congress, the supreme executive council and the assembly of Pennsylvania, &c. &c. who were invited by his excellency the minister of France, to attend in the Roman catholic church in Philadelphia, during the celebration of divine service, and thanksgiving for the capture of lord Cornwallis.*

*Gentlemen,*

**A**Numerous people assembled to render thanks to the Almighty for his mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps resound with triumphal acclamations—while nations rejoice in victory and glory, the most honourable office a minister of the altars can fill, is to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent.

Those miracles, which he once wrought for his chosen people, are renewed in our favour; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which



lately confounded our enemies, and frustrated their designs, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.

And who but he could so combine the circumstances which led to success? We have seen our enemies push forward, amid perils almost innumerable, amid obstacles almost insurmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their disgrace: yet they eagerly sought it, as their theatre of triumph!

Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst, and inclement skies, poured their blood in battle against brave republicans, and crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jericho, whose walls were fated to fall before another Joshua. It is he, whose voice commands the winds, the seas and the seasons, who formed a junction on the same day, in the same hour, between a formidable fleet from the south, and an army rushing from the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who but he, in whose hands are the hearts of men, could inspire the allied troops with the friendships, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers? How is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so closely united, as to form but one? Worldlings would say, it is the wisdom, the virtue, and moderation of their chiefs; it is a great national interest which has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah! they are ignorant, that the combining of so many fortunate circumstances, is an emanation from the all perfect mind; that courage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impression of him who is divine.

For how many favours have we not to thank him during the course of the present year? Your union, which was at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your courage: and the knot, which ties you together, is become indissoluble, by the accession of all the states, and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight of a society, which,

founded in equality and justice, secures to the individuals who compose it, the utmost happiness which can be derived from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of efforts and misery, is granted by divine providence to the united states; and its adorable decrees have marked the present moment for the completion of that memorable and happy revolution which has taken place in this extensive continent. While your counsels were thus acquiring new energy, rapid and multiplied successes have crowned your arms in the southern states.

We have seen the unfortunate citizens of these states forced from their peaceful abodes; after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown, without mercy, into a foreign country. Master of their lands and their slaves, amid his temporary affluence, a superb victor rejoiced in their distresses. But Philadelphia has witnessed their patience and fortitude; they have found here another home, and, though driven from their native soil, they have blessed God, that he has delivered them from their enemies, and conducted them to a country where every just and feeling man has stretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtues. Three large states are at once wrested from the foe. The rapacious foldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts; and oppression has vanished like those phantoms which are dissipated by the morning ray.

On this solemn occasion, we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the success he has granted to the arms of your allies, and your friends, by land and by sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recal those events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurate. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to suspend his vengeance, to spare them in his wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation, to terminate their obstinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed by peace and tranquility. Let us beseech him to continue to

shed on the councils of the king your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice, and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us intreat him to maintain in each of the states that intelligence by which the united states are inspired. Let us return him thanks that a faction, whose rebellion he has corrected, now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer him pure hearts, unsoiled by private hatred or public dissention; and let us, with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise, by which christians celebrate their gratitude and his glory.

...<...>...<...>...<...>...

*Address to the ministers of the gospel of every denomination in the united states.*

**F**ROM the nature of your pursuits, and from your influence in society, I am encouraged to address you upon subjects of the utmost importance to the present and future happiness of your fellow-citizens, as well as to the prosperity of the united states.

Under the great diversity of opinions, you entertain in religion, you are all united in inculcating the necessity of morals. In this business, you are neither catholics nor protestants—churchmen nor dissenters. One spirit actuates you all. From the success, or failure, of your exertions in the cause of virtue, we anticipate the freedom or slavery of our country. Even the new government of the united states, from which so many advantages are expected, will neither restore order, nor establish justice among us, unless it be accompanied and supported by morality, among all classes of people. Impressed with a sense of the truth of these observations, I shall briefly point out a few of those practices, which prevail in America, which exert a pernicious influence upon morals, and thereby prepare our country for misery and slavery.

I shall begin by pointing out, in the first place, the mischievous effects of spiritous liquors upon the morals of our citizens.

1. They render the temper peevish and passionate. They beget quarrels, and lead to profane and indecent

language. They are the parents of idleness and extravagance, and the certain forerunners of poverty, and frequently of jail, wheelbarrows, and the gallows. They are likewise injurious to health and life, and kill more than the pestilence, or the sword. Our legislatures, by permitting the use of them, for the sake of the paltry duty collected from them, act as absurdly as a prince would do, who should permit the cultivation of a poisonous nut, which every year carried off ten thousand of his subjects, because it yielded a revenue of thirty thousand pounds a year. These ten thousand men would produce annually by their labour, or by paying a trifling impost upon any one of the necessities of life, twenty times that sum. In order to put an end to the desolating effects of spiritous liquors, it will be proper for our ministers to preach against, not the abuse of them only, but their use altogether. They are never necessary but in sickness: and then they are better applied to the outside, than to the inside of the body.

2. Frequent elections produce idleness—tempt to drunkenness, and prove the seeds of calumnies, falsehoods, and quarrels, among citizens and neighbours. Let ministers of the gospel use their influence to have those parts of all our governments mended, which encourage the too frequent meeting of our people for these melancholy purposes. Liberty can exist only in the society of virtue. In our attachment to frequent elections, as a means of preserving our liberties, we pull down with one hand, more than we build up with the other. The election of magistrates and militia officers, by the people, has been found, in a more especial manner, to have a most pernicious influence upon morals. If the twelve apostles could all be raised from their graves, they could not in half a century (without new miracles) preach down all the vice that is engendered by magistrates and militia officers holding their commissions by the voice of the people.

3. Fairs are a Pandora's box opened twice a year, in many of the states. They are wholly unnecessary, since shops are so common in all the civilized parts of the country. They tempt to extravagance—gaming—

drunkenness—and uncleanness. They are proper only in monarchical or despotic states, where the more a people are corrupted, the more readily they submit to arbitrary government.

4. Law-suits should be discouraged as much as possible. They are highly disreputable between persons who profess christianity. The attendance upon courts exposes to idleness—drinking—and gaming; and the usual delays of justice seldom fail of entailing hereditary discord among neighbours. It is with inexpressible pleasure that I have lately seen an account of a recommendation from the presbyterian synod of New-York and Philadelphia, to all the churches under their care, to settle their disputes after the manner of the primitive christians and friends, by arbitration. Blessed event in the history of mankind! may their practice spread among all sects of christians, and may it prove a prelude of that happy time foretold in the scriptures, when war and murder shall be no more!

5. The licentiousness of the press is a fruitful source of the corruption of morals. Men are deterred from injuring each other, chiefly by the fear of detection or punishment. Now both of these are removed by the usual secrecy of a licentious press. Hence revenge, scandal, and falsehood are cherished and propagated in a community. By means of this engine of malice, we sometimes see not only reputation but even life itself, taken away. The patriotic mr. Cummins, and the amiable dr. Hawkesworth, it is said, both died of a broken heart, in consequence of being attacked by persons, who concealed themselves behind a licentious press in London. Personal disputes and attacks in a newspaper, may be compared to duels, or to the Indian mode of fighting, according as they are carried on with, or without, the names of their authors. They shew in both cases, a degree of the same spirit, which leads to open murder or private assassination. But further: the cause of liberty is greatly injured by personal publications, which are not true, or which have no connexion with the public; for who will believe a truth that is told of a bad man, who has been accustomed to read falsehoods published every day,

of a good man? Printers who vend scurrility, would do well in considering, that the publisher of scandal, is as bad as the author of it, in the same manner that the receiver of stolen goods, is as bad as the thief. He would do well to consider, too, every time he sits down to eat with his wife and children, that the price of their dinner, was probably the cause of a melancholy fast-day to the innocent wife and children of some of his customers. I except the subject of his scandal from any of the distress of the family, for whether he be innocent or guilty, the repetition or fashion of private and personal abuse in newspapers, soon leads him to treat it with contempt.

The character of the united states has suffered very much in Europe from our newspapers. Christians suppose that we have no religion, and the friends of order believe that we have no government, from reading many of our publications. I do not, however, wish to see any new laws made to restrain the licentiousness of the press. Let the editors of scandal be discouraged\*, and let the teachers of religion inculcate upon their hearers, that the purchaser of calumny or falsehood, shares in the guilt of him who invents, or who sells it.

6. Horse-racing and cock-fighting are unfriendly amusements to morals, and of course to the liberties of our country. They occasion idleness, fraud, gaming, and profane swearing, and harden the heart against the feelings of humanity. These vulgar sports should be forbidden by law in all christian and republican countries.

7. Clubs of all kinds, where the only business of the company, is feed-

#### NOTE.

\* It may be apprehended that this advice, however benevolent, will hardly produce any effect. Such is the prevalence of curiosity, respecting private anecdote, scandal, detraction, &c. that a paper which enters largely therein, will, generally speaking, command a greater sale than any other, however properly soever conducted. One or two of the papers printed in London, owe their establishment, their celebrity, and their circulation, to the personalities they contain.—C.

ing (for that is the true name of a gratification that is simply animal) are hurtful to morals. The society in taverns, where clubs are usually held, is seldom subject to much order. It exposes men to idleness, prodigality, and debt. It is in private families, only, that society is innocent, or improving. Here manners are usually kept within the bounds of decency by the company of females, who generally compose a part of all private families; and manners, it is well known, have an influence upon morals.

8. Amusements of every kind, on Sundays, beget habits of idleness and a love of pleasure, which extend their influence to every day of the week. In those manufacturing towns in England, where the Sundays are spent in idleness, or frolicking, little or no work is ever done on the ensuing day; hence it is called St. Monday. If there was no hereafter—individuals and societies would be great gainers, by attending public worship every Sunday. Rest from labour, in the house of God, winds up the machine of both soul and body, better than any thing else, and thereby invigorates it for the hours and duties of the ensuing week. Should I ever travel into a christian country, and wish to know whether the laws of that country were wise and just, and whether they were duly obeyed, the only question I would ask, should be “do the people spend Sunday at church, or in pleasurable entertainments at home and abroad? the Sunday schools in England\* have

#### NOTE.

*\* That no Sunday schools have yet been established here, is extremely to be regretted. The learning they would afford to the lowest orders of society, would form but a small part of the benefits attendant on them; they would, in a short time, effect a total alteration in the manners of those who frequented them: for it can hardly be doubted that more corruption and depravity of manners are generated among the populace on Sundays than on all the other days of the week, which being spent in some active employments or other, leave little or no leisure for dissipation: therefore, any thing which keeps the chil-*

been found extremely useful in reforming the children of poor people. Who can witness the practices of swimming, sliding, and skating, which prevail so universally on Sundays, in most of the cities of the united states, and not wish for similar institutions to rescue our poor children from destruction? I shall conclude my remarks upon this subject, by declaring, that I do not wish to see any new laws made to enforce the keeping of the Sabbath. I call upon ministers of the gospel only, to increase and extend, by their influence, the pure and useful spirit of their religion. In riding through our country, we may always tell, by the appearance of the people we meet with on the road, or see at taverns, whether they enjoy the benefit of public worship, and of a vigilant and faithful ministry. Where a settlement enjoys these inestimable blessings, we generally find taverns deserted on a Sunday, and a stillness pervading the whole neighbourhood, as if nature herself had ceased from her labours, to share with man in paying her weekly homage to God for his creating goodness.

Thus have I briefly pointed out the principal sources of vice in our country. They are all of a public nature, and affect, in a direct manner, the general interests of society. I shall now suggest a few sources of vice, which are of a domestic nature, and which indirectly affect the happiness of our country.

1. The frequent or long absence of the master and mistress from home, by dissolving the bonds of domestic government, proves a fruitful source of vice among children and servants. To prevent in some degree, the inconveniences which arise from the necessary absence of the heads of a family, from home, it would be a good practice to invest the eldest son or daughter, when of a suitable age, with the government of the family, and to make them responsible for their conduct, upon the return of their parents. Government in a family is like an electric

#### NOTE.

*dren and youth engaged on the Sabbath, must remove one of the most prolific sources of vice and immorality.—C.*

rod to a house. Where it is wanting, a family is exposed to the attacks of every folly and vice, that come within the sphere of its attraction.

2. Frequent and large entertainments weaken domestic government, by removing children and servants too long from the eye of authority. They moreover, expose children and servants to the temptation of eating and drinking to excess.

3. Boys and girls should never be admitted as servants—into a genteel family. They are seldom instructed properly, by their masters or mistresses. Their leisure hours are moreover spent in bad company: and all the vices which they pick up, are spread among the children of the family, who are generally more prone to associate with them, than with any other. Where poverty or death makes it necessary to bind out children, they should be bound to those persons only, who will work with them. By these means, they will be trained to industry, and kept from idleness and vice.

4. Servants, both male and female, should always be hired by the year, otherwise no proper government can be established over them. The impertinence and irregular conduct of servants, arise from their holding their places by too short a tenure. It would be a good law to fine every person, who hired a servant, without a written good character, signed by his last master, and countersigned by a magistrate. This practice would soon drive bad servants out of the civilized parts of our country, and thereby prevent much evil both in families and society. How many young men and women have carried through life the sorrowful marks in their consciences or characters, of their being early initiated into the mysteries of vice, by unprincipled servants of both sexes!

5. Apprentices should always board and lodge, if possible, with their masters and mistresses, when they are separated from their parents. Young people seldom fall into bad company in the day time. It is in the evening, when they cease to be subject to government, that they are in the most danger of corruption: and this danger can be obviated only by subjecting

all their hours to the direction of their masters or mistresses.

I shall conclude this address, by suggesting to ministers of the gospel, a plan of a new species of federal government for the advancement of morals in the united states. Let each sect appoint a representative in a general convention of christians, whose business shall be, to unite in promoting the general objects of christianity. Let no matters of faith or opinion ever be introduced into this convention, but let them be considered as badges of the sovereignty of each particular sect. To prevent all disputes, let the objects of the deliberations of this general convention be ascertained with the same accuracy, that the powers of the national government are defined in the new constitution of the united states. By this previous compact, no encroachments will ever be made by the general government, upon the principles—discipline—or habits of any one sect—for in the present state of human nature, the division of christians into sects, is as necessary to the existence and preservation of christianity, as the division of mankind into nations, and of nations into separate families, are necessary to promote general and private happiness. By means of such an institution, christian charity will be promoted, and the discipline of each church will be strengthened—for I would propose, that a dismission for immorality, from any one church, should exclude a man from every church in the ecclesiastical union. But the advantages of this christian convention will not end here. It will possess an influence over the laws of the united states. But this influence will differ from that of most of the ecclesiastical associations that have existed in the world. It will be the influence of reason over the passions of men. Its objects will be morals, not principles, and the design of it will be, not to make men zealous members of any one church, but to make them—good neighbours—good husbands—good fathers—good masters—good servants—and of course good rulers and good citizens. The plan is certainly a practicable one. America has taught the nations of Europe by her exam-

ple to be free, and it is to be hoped she will soon teach them to govern themselves. Let her advance one step further—and teach mankind, that it is possible for christians of different denominations to love each other, and to unite in the advancement of their common interests. By the gradual operation of such natural means, the kingdoms of this world are probably to become the kingdoms of the prince of righteousness and peace.\* Z.

*Philadelphia, June 21, 1783.*



*Address to the clergy of these states :  
by Clericus.*

**W**HEN an individual only of your reverend and sacred order, presumes thus publicly to solicit your attention, and on the subject too of the discharge of the duties of the ministerial function, the act, perhaps, may be deemed assuming, vain, and arrogant : but conscious of the humility of his disposition, the integrity of his heart, and the rectitude of his intentions, he inclines rather to hazard censure, than continue in silence.

As the present period is marked for depravity of morals, for an inattention to the momentous concerns of religion—as heaven hath ordained the preaching of the gospel should be a principal means of disseminating the principles of virtue, of liberating men from the vassalage of sin, and of “bringing them into the glorious liberty of the children of God”—and as we are honoured with the character of “ambassadors of Christ,” sent to be instrumental in restraining the vicious, and in saving them from perdition—will it be esteemed superfluous, or can it be injurious, to contemplate our actions, and, with seriousness, for each one to ask himself,—whether, with fidelity, he hath performed the obligations of his office ?

Whether he hath entertained due conceptions of the importance of his heavenly mission ?

#### NOTE.

\* *The correspondence of the truly-benevolent writer of this essay is earnestly solicited by the printer. Were his talents indefatigably exerted in favour of Sunday Schools, no doubt could be entertained of success, &c.*

Whether, with saint Paul, he hath been disregarding of human applause, “so speaking as not to please men, but God, who trieth the heart ?”

If also, with the same apostle, he “hath kept back nothing which would profit those committed to his care,” but declared unto them the whole counsel of God ?”

And if, with this exemplary teacher of goodness, he can say, “My rejoicing is this, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, I have had my conversation in the world ?”

Should a retrospective view of life give pain to the eyes of any—reproach to their conscience—or anguish to the soul,—will such still pursue that conduct which must augment this unhappiness ?

Will such still be regardless of their duty—their engagements of piety—and the favour of the Almighty ?

Still shall they be inattentive to the glory of God—the salvation of men—and their own honour and felicity ?

Still shall they be governed by folly—possessed by sensuality—and fettered by indolence ?

Yet shall treachery be theirs, and insanity, and contempt ?

Yet shall they be unmoved by the “terrors of the Lord ;” despise the denunciations of his wrath, and the effects of his displeasure ?

“Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore, hear the word at my mouth, and give them warning from me. When I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die—and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way to save his life—the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity : but his blood will I require at thine hand !”

“If that evil servant shall say in his heart, my Lord delayeth his coming ; and shall begin to finite his fellow servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites ; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth !”

“Thou wicked and slothful ser-

vant ! Take the talent from, and cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness !”

Forbid it, most merciful Jesus ! Let not any of the shepherds of thy flock be as ravenous wolves ! Let not persistently this triumph over fidelity !

Suffer not barbarity and vice so to have the pre-eminence of humanity and virtue ! Permit not any of the messengers of benevolence, holiness, and salvation, to partake of the miseries of the spirits of hatred, pollution, and death !

Those who, with pleasure, can reflect on their deeds, their doctrine of purity, their unremitting exertions for the advancement of religion, their disinterested beneficence, and examples of piety,—shall not these, from a sense of the declension of holiness, and the increase of wickedness, proceed from indolence to still greater diligence, if possible, in the performance of their duty ?

Particularly anxious will they not be to demolish the empire of sin—promote the kingdom of the Redeemer, “ pluck sinners as brands from the burning,”—and deliver them from exquisite and increasing torments ?

Yes !—Methinks the example of the love, the surpassing love of the divine Saviour of men, shall anew pass before them, and re-animate their zeal ; “ constrain” them, with distinguished fervency, to treat the disobedient to “ be reconciled to God ;” shall occasion them, in a peculiar manner, to revere that divine authority which enjoins they should “ Cry aloud, and spare not, but lift up their voice like a trumpet, and shew the sinful their transgressions ; and in “ preaching the word, to be instant in season and out of season !”

Each favourable occurrence shall be improved for the promotion of godliness, and, with the greatest ardour, they will petition the Omnipotent to smile on their “ labours of love !”

A recollection of the animated zeal of prophets and apostles, and even of ministers of religion of more modern date, shall add strength to their efforts in behalf of virtue ; and that its sacred cause may not be injured through inadvertency of conduct, increased circumspection and

care will attend their actions ; they will “ set a watch before the door of their lips ;” their words will be “ as choice silver,” and they will be, indeed, “ as a well of life !”

Again, reflecting on the demerits of evil—its pernicious effects through time and eternity—they will be excited, with redoubled vigour, to banish it the earth : and again calling to mind the promises of celestial aid, in the discharge of their duty, zeal shall be added to zeal, and activity to diligence !

Faithful ambassadors of the Prince of peace, how great your dignity ! What blessings are ye to the world ! How honourary to human nature ! What blessedness awaits you ! What honour, and glory, and happiness ! The praises of saints and of angels ! The applause even of the Supreme Being ! The everlasting enjoyment of his favour, munificence, and love !

May success attend your toil !—May you be endued with most plentiful effusions of the holy Spirit !—And, through divine goodness, may you happily contribute to restore to your country, virtue and prosperity !

CLERICUS.

*New York, June 16, 1785.*



*An address to the laity of these states: by Clericus.*

**H**OWEVER the present period is distinguished for the prevalence of vice, there are some—it is hoped there are many—who do honour to virtue, and are attentive to the duties of religion—who extend their views beyond the limits of this earthly scene, and regard their everlasting felicity—who answer the ends of their creation, and are entitled to the blessings of the divine favour.

But while we rejoice that virtue hath still a residence on earth, it cannot but be deplored that, comparatively, the number of its votaries are so few ; and that the generality of mankind suffer their reason to be clouded by sin, their hearts to be polluted by vice, and their souls exposed to the wrath of incensed omnipotence.

Say, ye practisers of evil, whither hath fled your wisdom ?—Whence

your sense of honour, your love of pleasure?

Christianity demands your attention; in words you profess to revere its precepts, but in deeds disclaim its authority!

Tranquility, peace, and joy court your favour; but you welcome to the heart perturbation, discord, and misery!

The heavenly mansions solicit your presence; but you determine to take up your abode in the infernal regions; or, perhaps, vainly hope to participate of celestial bliss, without the renovation of your nature, the necessary, the indispensable qualification for heavenly enjoyments!

"Verily, verily, I say unto thee," said the divine Saviour of the world, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

And, saith an apostolic teacher, "whosoever is born of God, doth not," habitually, "commit sin. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother."

Ye possessors of opulence, but who are not "rich in faith and good works," how soon must you, and for ever, bid adieu to your wealth, and be encompassed by want?—wherefore, then, will you permit the riches of the world to engage your affections, and rob you of the treasures of heaven?

Ye who are in a state of indigence, and are not ambitious of heavenly treasure, why will you resolve, through eternal ages, to be enwrapped with the garb of poverty?

Ye governors of others, but who govern not yourselves, to you how peculiarly painful must be the domination of Satan, the mandates of the prince of darkness?

The sons of science, but unacquainted with "that wisdom which cometh from above," how unimportant will be their knowledge, when they shall be removed from those things about which it is conversant?—why, therefore, with respect to true wisdom, will they wish to be novices, nay very idiots?

The offspring of ambition, whose pursuit is fame, but who enjoy not

"that honour which is of God,"—why will they incline to be covered with infamy?—why reject that honour which will be more permanent than time, and which is celestial?

Thou that art enamoured with pleasure, but who delightest only in the enjoyments of voluptuousness, wherefore despisest thou the sublime joys of purity?—why art thou disregarding of delights which are not succeeded by pain or satiety, and which are worthy of thy being?

Thou who possessest an esteem for the happiness of others, but hast no regard for thine own felicity, how canst thou be chargeable with inhumanity to thyself?

Thou whose pride is offended by insult, but who daily affrontest even thy Creator, how wilt thou support the provocations of demons?—why wilt thou be exposed to their eternal derision?

Ye strangers to goodness, whose hearts are not softened by contrition—whose actions are disgraced by vice—and who are the objects of the Almighty's displeasure?—still will you procrastinate your repentance; be insensible of duty; and continue the servants of Satan?

Still will you be wedded to vanity, attached to delusion, and influenced by folly?

Yet will you add sin to sin, be regardless of its consequence, and of your redemption?

For you in vain shall a Saviour bleed:—in vain by you shall mercy's voice be heard!

Encircled by danger, how can you repose in security?

Hastening to death, how can you be indifferent to its effects?

What trepidation must seize, what horror possess you, in the hour of your dissolution—when you shall be torn from the sinful embrace—be compelled to part with the objects of your affection, and with the world itself?

The curtain of time falling, and eternity presenting itself to your view, how will you then lament your present unrighteousness, your disregard of the concerns of religion!

At that moment, how will the soul be pierced with remorse—be filled with anguish—and struck with terror;



at the apprehension of divine vengeance !

But who can sustain the indignation of the Omnipotent ? Who “ abide his anger,” or escape his justice ?—Who, of the sons of men, but those that, by faith, flee for sanctuary to the “ prince of peace,” are cleansed from sin by virtue of the efficacy of his blood, and restored to holiness through the power of his grace ?

Compassionate Redeemer, who now inviteest even the most guilty to approach thee, that they may be delivered from contempt and sorrow, and be exalted to glory and blessedness !

And shall the happiness of virtue—shall immortal and extatic joys still be despised ?

Shall beings aspiring after felicity, with deliberation, embrace misery, wretchedness undefinable and never ending ?

Forbid it religion, wisdom, and humanity ! Let not such conduct be objected to man ! Let not such stupidity degrade human nature !

Ye heirs of redemption, persons of sanctity, beholding the increase of impiety, will not you be particularly anxious to “ let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and,” by imitation of them, “ glorify your Father who is in heaven ?”

Yourself being illumed with religious wisdom, will you not, in your respective capacities, be most sedulous that others may become “ wise unto salvation ?”

And as “ righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is its reproach,” will not a regard for the honour and prosperity of your country excite you, with fervency, to supplicate heaven in its behalf, that “ God will not cast off his people, nor forsake his inheritance ?”

“ Lord of compassion !” wilt thou in mercy behold us, and bless us with thy love !—May vice cease to predominate and triumph over virtue ! May we be habited with the “ robe of righteousness,” and be “ clothed with the garments of salvation.”

CLERICUS.

New-York, June 22, 1785.

*Thoughts on the confinement of debtors.*

IT seems that a bill is preparing to moderate the rigour of the penal laws, at least to render them less sanguinary, by substituting servitude, as a punishment for divers crimes, instead of death : a substitution, which, while it gives opportunity, and tends to reclaim offenders, will operate much more powerfully than death, to prevent the commission of crimes. But the objects of this law are criminals only, in the strict sense of the word. But is adequate relief provided for miserable debtors ? It is granted that they are often criminal, in contracting debts which they know they cannot (and, in some instances, perhaps, intend not to) discharge : and imprisonment, considered as a mode of punishment, if it could be proportioned to the degree of such criminality, might be admissible. But on this principle, ought not public provision to be made for their necessary support, as in the case of other criminals ? Or, if legal punishment be excluded from the idea of imprisonment for debt, then it follows that the wretched insolvents are doomed to confinement, to gratify the vengeful resentments of their hard-hearted creditors. The merciful do not imprison hopeless insolvents. But if such gratifications are to be indulged, surely it should be at the expence of the creditors, who alone enjoy the pleasure of them. Why should the charity of this city (and of all other places where there are prisons for debtors) be charged with an additional tax, to enable the merciless creditors to prolong their own criminal resentments, and the miseries of the helpless debtors ? Is it not a reproach to the policy of a state, to authorise, by law, an act, the ill consequences of which the benevolence of individual citizens is constantly and necessarily called upon to counteract and prevent, but which that divine virtue can only partially effect ? For, that the confined debtors suffer the pains of hunger and cold, is but part of the mischief : the commonwealth is deprived of the labour of so many of its citizens ; and these citizens, from being only indigent, are in danger, by such confinement, of con-

trading a habit of indolence, and a disposition to vice in general, which, on their enlargement, may issue in real crimes.

By the advertisement of Mr. Reynolds, keeper of the jail in this city, it appears, that of one hundred and fifty-one prisoners now there confined, about one half are debtors, of whom not more than fifteen can support themselves: and that the residue, amounting to sixty persons, are so miserably poor, that they must perish with hunger and cold, unless fed and clothed by the charitable inhabitants of the city! And for what good, for what lawful purpose can these sixty be continued in prison? If they have not the means of procuring even the "scanty subsistence allowed by the county to criminals," how can they pay their debts? And if the latter be impossible, why are creditors permitted to keep them in prison? If the disgrace and sufferings of confinement in a jail, be thought useful, as motives to debtors to discover their money or goods, and therewith to discharge their debts; yet, as this effect is, at best, very problematical, and for the most part fruitlessly expected, ought any creditor to be suffered to thrust his debtor into jail, unless he at the same time stipulates, and gives security, for supporting him there, with at least a "scanty subsistence," like that which, at the public expence, is allowed to criminals?\*

Most of these miserable debtors are confined for small debts, which yet, without property or the labour of their hands, cannot possibly be discharged; but the former they possess not, and of the latter they are deprived by confinement. If these debtors are not to be forgiven, would it not be

#### NOTE.

\* It may deserve consideration, whether any creditor ought to be permitted to put his debtor in jail, or at least continue him there beyond a limited time (which in general might be a very short period) unless he provided, to a judicial officer, some evidence, at least that of his own oath, rendering it probable that the debtor has effects, which he conceals, or refuses to expose to attachment, to secure or satisfy the debt.

more merciful to them, and more beneficial to the commonwealth, at the same time that it finished the creditor; if they were required to perform proportionate quantities of labour, the earnings of which, the creditors should receive? Many creditors, in such case, would compound for one half or one quarter of their dues. And if the debtors should attempt to defraud their creditors, by refusing to perform the labour enjoined by the judgment of the court, or by running away—as they would deserve, so no one, not even the most merciful, who regarded the welfare of the community, would then wish to prevent their doing penance as criminals, by services compulsory, like those, probably, in contemplation of the bill now before the assembly.†

Would it not be a very useful (surely it would be a very merciful) institution, if it were made the duty of certain public officers, or rather of persons specially appointed for the purpose, to visit, at least quarterly, the jails of every county in the state, to enquire into the situation and treatment of the prisoners? By inspecting the warrants of commitment, by examining the prisoners, and by the information of the jailors, they would ascertain the causes of commitment, and the condition and circumstances of the prisoners: all which being clearly and particularly written down,

#### NOTE.

† Doubtless there are many unfortunate debtors who merit relief by the acts relating to bankrupts; but even equity does not seem to require that they should be for ever discharged of their original obligations to their creditors. Many persons, after receiving the benefit of those acts, acquire property, and even wealth, which would enable them to pay their debts partially, or in full: and now and then (but alas too seldom) we are delighted with the ingenuity and liberal virtue of a *quondam* bankrupt, who disclaiming a merely legal indemnity, voluntarily pays his old but honest debts. Ought not the law to compel the unwilling to do what all pronounce to be but just; and what, when freely done, is by all esteemed worthy of the highest praise?

should be reported to the supreme executive council, to be laid before the assembly, and communicated to the judges of the supreme court. The latter would then apply remedies to such evils and abuses, as by the laws existing, fell within their cognizance; and the former, by additional laws, would provide new remedies for the rest.

This subject, it is conceived, highly merits the attention of the assembly; and with the hope of exciting that attention, these hints are made public.

### *JUSTICE in MERCY.*

*Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1785.*



### *Pernicious effects of the use of spiritous liquors—substitutes proposed.*

AT a time when public spirit and philosophy are uniting their efforts to destroy human life, by suggesting improvements in the art of war, I beg leave to lay before my countrymen a few thoughts, upon the means of preserving life. The approach of harvest reminds me of the custom of consuming large quantities of spiritous liquors at that season. My design in the following essay is to shew, 1<sup>st</sup>. that spiritous liquors are unnecessary; and 2<sup>dly</sup>. that they are mischievous, and often produce the diseases they are intended to obviate, during the time of harvest.

1<sup>st</sup>. That spiritous liquors are unnecessary to support hard labour, I infer, from the use of them being unknown in many ages and countries. The apparatus of the distiller is far from being an ancient invention. Even the toils of war, in the warmest climates and seasons, never suggested an idea of spirits to the armies of Greece, Carthage or Rome. They supported the fatigues of laborious marches, under a load of arms, which, in some instances, weighed sixty pounds, without any other liquor to allay their thirst, than vinegar and water. Spirits were unknown in the warm and fruitful harvest-fields of Palestine. Boaz, a wealthy farmer of that country, treats the beautiful damsel, who came to glean in his fields, with nothing but water, that had been drawn for the use of his reapers\*.

### NOTE.

\* Ruth, chap. 11, verse 9.

But I add farther, that hundreds in this country have undergone the fatigues of working two or three weeks in harvest, without tasting a drop of spirits. Instead of fainting under the weight of their labour, they have appeared at all times cheerful and alert—have complained but little of heat or fatigue—have exceeded their drinking companions, in feats of active labour—and have, after the harvest was over, returned to their ordinary employments in good health.

After the revival of these facts, it is hardly necessary to borrow an argument from analogy, or I might call the attention of my reader to the horse, who supports the fatigue and labour of the plough—the team—and even of the race itself, with no other drink than simple water.

I proceed, 2<sup>dly</sup>, to shew, that the common use of spirits in harvest, is hurtful, and often produces the diseases they are intended to obviate.

Spiritous liquors are injurious, inasmuch as they add an internal fire to the external heat of the sun. They relax the stomach, quicken the circulation of the blood, and thus dispose it to putrefaction. I believe there are few instances of people dropping down dead in a harvest field from excess of heat or labour. Upon enquiry, it is generally found that the sudden deaths which sometimes occur in this country, in this season, have been occasioned by the excessive use of spiritous liquors.

After the stimulating effects of the spirits are over, they act as sedatives upon the system, that is, they produce relaxation and languor. The system, it is true, may be roused in these cases, by fresh and increased draughts of spirits, but these produce corresponding degrees of debility, so that in the evening of a day spent in the alternate and compound exertions of working and drinking, a labourer is a proper subject for a physician. He often stands in more need of a flesh brush, or a warm bath, than of a supper, or a bed.

I say nothing here of the effects of the common use of spiritous liquors upon the tempers and morals of labourers. How many quarrels, and how much indecent language are extorted from men of the most peaceable dispositions and decent conversation,

at ordinary times, by the prevailing use of spirits in the time of harvest?

It is equally foreign to my purpose, to dwell upon the expence of drenching reapers for two or three weeks with spirits. Many a farmer of late years has paid a fourth part of the whole profits of his crop, to a store-keeper, for rum or whisky to be expended at harvest. The highest and most expensive head dress of a city lady is not a more idle expence. The money spent for liquor is not only wasted to no purpose, but it does real mischief. It produces fatigue—it destroys health—and in some instances produces sudden death.

If it should be asked, how is the reaper to allay the thirst, and support the profuse sweats, that are excited by his labour? I answer, by the following simple, healthy, and frugal drinks.

1st. By butter-milk and water, or sour milk, (commonly called *bonne clabber*) and water, or plain milk and water. These drinks are within the reach of every farmer.

2d. By cyder and water, or table beer and water. Both these liquors will not be the worse for this purpose, if they are a little pricked.

3d. By water, suffered to stand for some time upon parched Indian corn. This is a very agreeable and strengthening drink. It may be improved by the addition of a little vinegar. It was a species of parched corn, dipped in vinegar, that constituted the wholesome repast with which Boaz fed his reapers, and treated his mistress in his harvest fields.†

4th. By vinegar and water, sweetened with melasses or brown sugar. This drink is pleasant, and in some respects is preferable to any that have been mentioned.

All these drinks are cooling, and grateful to the stomach. They invigorate the appetite, and obviate that disposition to putrefaction in the humours to which excessive heat and labour naturally dispose them.

To obviate any ill effects that may arise from receiving those liquors into the stomach in a cold state, I would recommend it to reapers ne-

ver to drink while they are warm, without first wetting their hands or feet in cold water, or grasping the cup they drink from (provided it is made of earth, glass or metal) for about a minute, with both their hands.

The extraordinary heat of the body is conveyed off, in both these ways, with nearly the same certainty as an accumulated quantity of electric matter is conveyed from any body by means of a rod, or any other conductor of electric fire. R.

June 22, 1782.



*Utility of planting willow trees in burying grounds.*

FOR many years past, the philosophers and physicians of Europe have borne a testimony against the interment of the dead in the centre of large cities. But since the discovery of the usefulness of trees in absorbing putrid air, and discharging it in a pure state, much less evil than formerly is to be apprehended from this practice. To derive and extend the utmost possible benefit from this discovery, would it not be an act of humanity in each of our religious societies, to surround their grave-yards with trees? They would afford a shade to a considerable part of our city, and add to its coolness and ornament in the summer. The weeping willow would accord most with the place. It puts forth its leaves early in the spring, and retains them late in the fall. Besides, doctor Priestly has demonstrated, that it is the best and quickest corrector of impure air of any tree that grows. Its rapid growth will moreover in a few years give us all the advantages we expect from it. X.



*Description of the mineral springs of Saratoga.*

THEY are eight or nine in number, situated in the margin of a marsh, formed by a branch of Kayadashora creek, about twelve miles west from the confluence of Fish Creek and Hudson's River. They are surrounded by a rock of a peculiar kind and nature, formed by the petrefaction of the water. One of them, however, more particularly attracts the at-

NOTE.

† Ruth, chap. 11, verse 14.

tion; it rises above the surface of the earth five or six feet, in the form of a pyramid. The aperture in the top, which discovers the water, is perfectly cylindrical, of about nine inches diameter. In this, the water is about twelve inches below the top, except at the time of its annual discharge, which is commonly in the beginning of summer. At all times, it appears to be in as great agitation as if boiling in a pot, although it is extremely cold. The same appearances obtain in the other springs, except that the surrounding rocks are of different figures, and the water flows regularly from them.

By observation and experiment, we found the principal impregnation of the water is a fossile acid, which is predominant in the taste. We also found it strongly impregnated with a saline substance, which is very discernable in the taste of the water, and in the taste and smell of the petrified matter about it. From the corrosive and dissolving nature of acid, the water acquires a chalybeate property, and receives into its composition a portion of calcareous earth, which, when separated, resembles an impure magnesia. As the different springs have no essential variance in the nature of their waters, but the proportions of the chalybeate impregnation, it is rendered probable that they are derived from one common source, but flow in separate channels, where they have connexion with metallic bodies, in greater or less proportions.

The prodigious quantity of air contained in this water, makes another distinguishing property of it. This air striving for enlargement, produces the fermentation and violent action of the water before described. After the water has stood a small time in any open vessel (no tight one will contain it) the air escapes; it becomes rapid, and loses all that life and pungency which distinguish it when first taken from the pool. The particles of dissolved earth are deposited as the water flows off, which, with the combination of the salts and fixed air, concrete and form the rocks about the springs.

The effect it produces upon the human body is various; the natural operation of it, when taken, is cathartic; in some instances an emetic. As

it is drank, it produces an agreeable sensation in passing over the organs of taste; but as soon as it is swallowed, there succeeds an unpleasant tang, and the eructations which take place afterwards, have a pungency very similar to those produced by the use of cyder or beer in a state of fermentation.



*Experiments on the mineral waters of Saratoga.*

A Young turkey, held a few inches above the water in the crater of the lower spring, was thrown into convulsions in less than half a minute; and, gasping, shewed signs of approaching death; but on removal from that place and exposure to the fresh air, revived, and became lively. On immersion again for a minute in the gas, the bird was taken out languid and motionless.

A small dog, put into the same cavity, and made to breathe the contained air, was in less than one minute, thrown into convulsive motions—made to pant for breath—and lastly to lose entirely the power to cry or move; when taken out, he was too weak to stand, but soon, in the common air, acquired strength enough to rise, and stagger away.

A trout recently caught, and briskly swimming in a pail of brook water, was carefully put into a vessel just filled from the spring; the fish was instantly agitated with violent convulsions, gradually lost the capacity to move and poize itself, grew stupid and insensible, and in a few minutes was dead.

A candle repeatedly lighted and let down near the surface of the water, was suddenly extinguished, and not a vestige of light or fire remained on the wick.

These experiments nearly correspond with those usually made in Italy, at the famous grotto del cani, for the entertainment of travellers; as mentioned by Keyser, Addison, and others.

A bottle filled with the water and shaken, emits suddenly a large quantity of aerial matter, that either forces out the cork, or makes a way beside or through it, or bursts the vessel.

A quantity of wheaten flour, moistened with this water; and kneaded in-

to dough, when made into cakes, and put into a baking pan, rose, during the application of heat, into light and spongy bread, without the aid of yeast or leaven.

From which it appears, that the air extricated from the water, is precisely similar to that produced by ordinary fermentation.

Some lime-water, made of abalacites brought from the subterranean cave at Rhinebeck, became immediately turbid, on mixture with the spring water; but when the water had been lately drawn, the precipitate was quickly re-dissolved.

Some of the rock surrounding the spring, on being put into the fire, calcined to quick-lime, and slacked very well.

When the aerial matter has evaporated, the water loses its transparency, and lets fall a calcareous sediment.

Whence it is true, that the gas is aerial acid, that the rock is lime-stone, and that by means of the former, the water becomes capable of dissolving and conveying the latter.



*Description of a horn or bone lately found in the river Chemung or Tyoga, a western branch of the Susquehanna, about twelve miles from Tyoga point.*

IT is six feet nine inches long, twenty-one inches round, at the large end, and fifteen inches at the small end. In the large end is a cavity two and an half inches diameter, much like the hollow which is filled with the pitch of the horn of the ox: this is only six inches deep—every other part is, or appears to have been solid. The exterior part, where entire or not perished, is smooth; and, in one spot, of a dark colour. The interior parts are of a clear white, and have the resemblance of well-burnt, unslacked lime stone; but these can be seen only where it is perished, tender, and broken. From one end to the other, it appears to have been nearly round; and on it there have been no prongs or branches. It is incurvated nearly into an arch of a large circle. By the present state of both the ends, much of it must have perished; probably two or three feet from each end. From a general view

of it, there is reason to believe, that in its natural state, it was nearly a semicircle of ten or twelve feet. The undecayed parts, particularly the outside, send forth a stench like a burning horn or bone. Of what animal this is the horn or bone, and what is become of this animal, are questions worthy of the curious and learned.

This curiosity is in the possession of the hon. Timothy Edwards, esq. of Stockbridge.



*The utility of mowing wheat.*

ON the banks of the Rhine, and almost all over Flanders, and lately in France, they mow their wheat with a scythe, instead of a sickle, because it is better and more easily performed, and at much less expence. A good reaper in France will cut six tenths of an English acre and a half in a day. The mower leaves stubble but two inches high; the reaper leaves stubble six or eight inches high, by which the first gains more straw. In France, to reap one hundred and twelve acres of wheat, English measure, with a sickle, they commonly allow ten men twenty days, that is, two hundred days of one man. To cut the same quantity of acres of wheat with a scythe, they allow seven mowers and seven binders ten days, equal to one hundred and forty days of one man, by which they save sixty days work. Besides that the binders have less wages than the mowers and reapers, for the binders are children of twelve or fifteen years of age, old women and men not able to stand hard work; the mower therefore does three fifths more than the reaper. The scythes used are of a different form from those commonly used in England. The blade of every one of them is six inches shorter than that of the English scythe. The French is a direct cradle scythe, only the handle is quite strait. Now, when the crop is cut, it may not be amiss, to shew how it is stacked to preserve it from the wet, in which situation it may remain in the fields six weeks or two months, without any danger from the inclemency of the weather. They set one sheaf upright, with the ears uppermost, and round that place a circle of many other sheaves with the

ears uppermost, inclining on the first sheaf; and when so placed, they look like the figure of an extinguisher. Then they lay an horizontal circle of sheaves, with all the ears in the centre, and cover those ears in the middle with a loose sheaf or two. Thus placed they are protected from all wet, and may remain six weeks or two months, as safe as in a barn; and this method of stacking has been adopted in many of the southern counties of England, to the great benefit of the farmers and the public.



*Method of making pearl-ashes, as practised in Hungary, and Poland; published by order of the Pennsylvania agricultural society\*.*

**M**OST of the manufactories of calcined or pearl ashes in Hungary are carried on in the woods. The buildings they use are wooden sheds slightly put up, so as to be taken to pieces and carried from one forest to another.

They find the oak tree, which bears acorns, to be the best wood, and always prefer the oldest: one of a large growth will produce five kibbles and a half, (a Hungarian measure) or twelve English bushels and a half of ashes, which is the quantity they generally find requisite to make a hundred weight of calcined or pearl ashes;—consequently two hundred and fifty bushels of common ashes will make a ton of pearl ashes. There is a great difference in the nature of the wood; that cut in the forests of Canissa and Tjagadoru yields double the quantity of lixivial salt which the wood does in the forests near Eperies under the Carpathian mountains. This ought to make people cautious in their choice of proper wood: too much attention cannot be had to this point, altho' to some its importance may not appear at first view.

When the wood is felled and cut

#### NOTE.

\* This treatise was published in the American Museum for January, 1788—but is here republished, on account of the interesting notes added thereto, by “an experienced manufacturer of pot and pearl ashes, now residing in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.”—C.

into billets, it is burnt on a large hearth in a kind of kiln; they commonly place them at the side of a hill, and throw the wood into the fire down the chimney. They keep their ashes several months†, in a dry place, before they use them; they also sift them through sieves in order to get any charcoal out of them that may be mixed with them; for when the charcoal, left in the ashes, comes into the lye vats, it soaks in a good deal of the lye, which is a great loss.‡

#### Of lixiviating the ashes.

To lixivate, or draw the salts out of the ashes by filtering them, they use casks about the size of a hoghead; they are about two feet ten inches high, and have a double bottom, the uppermost of which is placed nine or ten inches above the undermost one, and is bored with several holes to let the lye run through, into the undermost, which has a hole to allow the lye to drop gently through into a trough or receiver; the space between the two bottoms is filled with straw. Twelve or fourteen of such casks, being ranged in a row, upon a trough, are filled with ashes, and by means of a gutter laid upon the casks, with a hole corresponding to each of them, water is conveyed into them from a pump: this water passing through the ashes, carries their salts along with it; so long as it is discoloured, they continue to let it run through; after which they shift the ashes, and the lye thus procured not being strong enough, is poured upon a second or third cask, till it is so strong that an egg will swim in it. The casks used for this purpose are made of oak; pine casks are improper; they impregnate the lye with a resinous matter, which is found to give a bad colour

#### NOTES.

† The salts are discharged more readily, after the ashes have been preserved some time, than from new ashes.

‡ Sifting the ashes is doubtless a troublesome, and appears altogether an useless operation; the salts admitted into the pores of the charcoal on the first, being discharged by the succeeding soakings.

to the ashes.\* The lye is kept to settle and depurate in receivers or cisterns of oak; they are careful in this part of the process, to have the lye as clear as possible, for on this point depends the fine colour of the pearl-ashes.†

*Of evaporating the lye.*

When the lye is thus procured, they proceed to evaporate the watry particles from it by ebullition, or boiling; this they call making black pot-ash.‡ For this purpose they use iron pans, much like those used in making salt: they are about four feet diameter above, and near three feet at the bottom. Between every pair of these pans they have a brass boiler, considerably less than the pans. They are fixed in masonry like a sugar baker's row of pans, with a fire place below them, and an open chimney to carry off the steam. They use, according to the largeness of the work, three, six, nine, or twelve pans and boilers.—Suppose they work only two iron pans, and the boiler, they begin by filling one pan and the boiler with lye, and then making fire: in proportion as the lye evaporates and diminishes in the iron pan, it is supplied with boiling lye from the boiler, which

N O T E S.

\* Although pine casks are improper, yet oak vessels are also subject to an inconvenience; the staves warp by means of the lye, and the casks soon leak. White cedar vessels are best, this wood being equally free from the inconveniencies of both the former. Where this wood is not readily to be procured, cypress or white pine might answer in its place.

† As much attention as possible should be given to preserve the lye clean: yet after great care it will frequently remain impure, which defect may be remedied as follows:—

When the lye first boils in the kettles hereafter described, the dregs will settle, and may be lifted from the bottoms of the kettles with a ladle.

‡ Say rather alkaline salts. Those salts melted in the kettles, by a violent heat, are more properly termed black pot-ash. N. B. The salts, if suffered to melt, cannot be calcined or made into pearl-ash.

is again supplied with cold lye.—When the first pan has boiled ten or eleven hours they begin the second, and supply it continually from the boiler as the first was. When the salts in the first pan begin to thicken, no more lye is added, but the fire is continued, and the mass becomes thick and hard; this is what is called black pot-ash: it is cut into pieces, and taken out, and fresh lye is put into the pan, and the operation continued in the manner related. When the first pan is half evaporated, the second is then begun, by which means they never discontinue the work till they have finished the lye. ||

*Of calcining the black pot-ash.*

The process of calcining the black pot-ash, rendering it of a fine whitish blue colour, and able to stand the weather, without running into a liquid, is performed in an oblong furnace, in the midst of which there is a hearth,

N O T E.

|| The following method is chiefly practised in the works established in America.

When the lye is procured as before directed, the watry parts are to be evaporated by boiling.

For this end two or more pans are fixed in mason-work, side by side, with a fire-place under the whole, and an open chimney to carry off the steam—These pans are usually of about four feet diameter, their depth half the breadth, rounding regularly from the margin to the bottom, so as to form the half of a hollow globe, or a figure nearly similar—The pans are to be filled with lye, and a strong fire kept under them. As the watry part evaporates, the salts form upon the bottoms and sides of the pans, from whence they are taken by a ladle, and put into a small pan (fixed also in mason-work) with a fire under it, to evaporate the remaining watry particles. As the lye diminishes, and the salts form and are lifted from the pans, fresh lye must be added, and this operation continued, during the pleasure of the manufacturer, or as long as a supply of lye can be had, without suffering the kettles to cool—Two, four, six, or more kettles are made use of, according to the extent of the design.



with a border of bricks, somewhat raised, to prevent the pot-ash from falling into the fire during the calcination. The fire is made on each side of the hearth. There is a door to the hearth through which the pot-ash is put into the furnace, and a door on each side of it to put wood into the fire places. The furnace is arched over with a double arch; three holes are contrived in the centre of it, to carry off the smoke and vapours into the chimney, which is placed at the front of the furnace.

When a sufficient quantity of black pot-ash is ready, they begin to calcine, and make it a rule never to leave off, or let the furnace cool, till they have finished the whole. The black pot-ash is broken into lumps about the bigness of a man's fist, and spread upon the hearth five or six inches thick, after which the iron door is shut, and a gentle fire is made, taking care to prevent the pot-ash from running or melting, which too violent a heat would occasion. When the pot-ash grows red hot, it must be stirred, with an iron rake, to calcine equally: when it whitens, the flames become bright, and the fire is increased to the greatest degree, but so as by no means to melt the black pot-ash. When they want to know if the calcination has succeeded, they take a few lumps out, and if, in breaking them, they find them white in the middle, it is a sign they are enough done. The iron hearth door is always kept shut, except when they are stirring the black pot-ash; but in order to observe the progress of the calcination, they have a small hole, or door, in the iron hearth door, through which they look into the furnace. When the calcination is finished, the pearl-ashes are raked out upon the pavement before the furnace, and packed into casks of fifteen or sixteen hundred weight. When the furnace is cooled a little, more black pot-ash is put in to calcine; and by the workmen relieving one another, they continue calcining till all the black pot-ash is done. Four men and a boy will make forty-two tons of pearl-ashes, in a twelve-month, if the work properly carried on and rightly understood.

Pearl-ashes thus prepared by calcination, are more valued, consequently

bear a higher price, than a common vegetable salt melted in the pan. The pearl-ashes can be put to every purpose, on account of the colour; whereas that melted, cannot, for the same reason. Calcined or pearl-ashes stand the weather better, and do not so readily run *per deliquium* as the melted. The same quantity of lye will make a ton of calcined or pearl-ashes, that goes to make a ton of melted pot-ash of the same strength. But the former will be more valuable, and fetch a better price at market.



*Directions for the culture of the currant bush.*

**T**HE currant-bush, though a shrub that grows almost spontaneously, requires nevertheless some dressing; in regard to which the following directions may be of service.

Plant them round the quarters in your garden, that they may have the benefit of the dung and culture annually bestowed thereon, which will consequently make the berries large and the juice rich.

The red currant is preferable to the white, as yielding richer juice, and in much greater quantity.

Take the most luxuriant slips or shoots of a year's growth, set them in the ground about eight inches deep, and not less than twenty-four distant from each other; these never fail of taking root, and generally begin to bear in two years. For the rest, let them, from time to time, be treated as espaliers (but not against a wall) observing to keep the roots, especially in the spring of the year, free from suckers and grass.

This treatment is the more necessary, as the goodness of the wine in a great degree depends on their having the full benefit of the sun and air, to mature and give the berries a proper balsamic quality, by exhaling a due proportion of their acid watry particles.



*Receipt for making currant-wine.*

**G**ATHER your currants when full ripe, which will commonly be about the middle of July; break them well in a tub or vat, (some have a mill constructed for the purpose, con-

filing of a hopper, fixed upon two lignum vitæ rollers) press and measure your juice, and two-thirds water, and to each gallon of that mixture, (i. e. juice and water) put three pounds of muscovado sugar (the cleaner and drier the better; very coarse sugar, first clarified, will do equally well) stir it well, till the sugar is quite dissolved, and then tun it up. If you can possibly prevent it, let not your juice stand over night, as it should not ferment before mixture.

Observe, that your casks be sweet and clean, and such as never have had either beer or cyder in them, and, if new, let them be first well-seasoned.

Do not fill your casks too full, otherwise they will work out at the bung, which is by no means good for the wine; rather make a proportionable quantity over and above, that, after drawing off the wine, you may have a sufficiency to fill up the casks.

Lay the bung lightly on the hole, to prevent the flies, &c. from creeping in. In three weeks or a month after making, the bung-hole may be stopped up, leaving only the vent hole open till it has fully done working, which generally is about the latter end of October. It may then be racked off into other clean casks, if you please: but experience seems to favour the letting the wine stand on the lees till spring, as it thereby attains a stronger body, and is by that means in a great measure divested of that sweet, luscious taste, peculiar to made wine; nay, if it is not wanted for present consumption, it may, without any damage, stand two years on the lees.

When you draw off the wine, bore a hole, an inch, at least, above the tap hole, a little to the side of it, that it may run clear off the lees. The lees may either be distilled, which will yield a fine spirit, or filtered through a Hippocrates's sleeve, and returned again into the cask. Some put in the spirit, but I think it not advisable.

Do not suffer yourself to be prevailed on to add more than one-third of juice, as above prescribed, in hopes the wine may be richer, for that would render it infallibly hard and unpleasant, nor yet a greater proportion of sugar, as it would certainly deprive it of its pure vinous taste.

By this management you may have

wine, letting it have a proper age, equal to Madeira, at least superior to most wines commonly imported, and for much less money.

In regard to the quantity of wine intended to be made, take this example, remembering that twelve pounds of sugar are equal to a gallon of liquid.

For instance, suppose you intend to make thirty gallons only, then there must be,

8 gals. of juice,	24 gls. mixtr.
16 of water,	3 multib. by
24 gals. mixture,	12) 72 lb. sugar,
6 gals. produced	equal to 6 gals. of
by sugar.	liquid,
30 gallons.	

And so proportionably for any quantity you please to make.

The common cyder presses, if thoroughly clean, will do well in making large quantities: the small hand-screw press is most convenient for such as make less.

N. B. An extraordinary good spirit for medicinal and other uses, may be distilled from currant juice, by adding a quart of melasses to a gallon of juice to give it a proper fermentation,



#### Receipt for making pomona wine.

**B**OIL two barrels of cyder into one; then strain it through sand placed in a vessel made like a lye-tub. Set it in a cool cellar, and, after two years, it will be fit for use. If kept for three or four years, it is equal to Rhemish or Malaga wines, according to the quality of the cyder. It is most agreeable drink, when mixed with water. Or,

To each gallon of cyder, add a pint of a syrup made of the juice of sweet apples. Set it in a proper place to ferment, and preserve it afterwards in a cool cellar. In time it will become an agreeable wine.



#### Sun-flower-oil.

**I**T appears from experiments made formerly in this state, that a bush of sun-flower seed yields a gallon of oil, and that an acre of ground planted with the seed, at three feet apart will yield between forty and fifty bushels of the seed. This oil is as mild sweet oil, and is equally agreeable

with it in fallads, and as a medicine. It may moreover be used with advantage in paints, varnishes, and ointments. From its being manufactured in our country, it may always be procured and used in a fresh state. The oil is expressed from the seed in the same manner that cold drawn linseed oil is obtained from flax seed, and with as little trouble. Sweet olive oil sells for six shillings a quart. Should the oil of the sun-flower seed sell for only two thirds of that price, the product of an acre of ground, supposing it to yield only forty bushels of the seed, will be thirty-two pounds, a sum far beyond the product of an acre of ground in any kind of grain. The seed is raised with little trouble, and grows in land of moderate fertility.—It may be gathered and shelled, fit for the extraction of the oil, by women and children.

Account of the progress of the  
Hessian fly.

THE little thing called the Hessian fly or insect, first began to make its appearance on Long-Island, and cut off most of the wheat there for several years past, and last season did considerable damage to the wheat in many parts of East Jersey; and near Crosswicks cut off many fields, and even appeared on the banks of Delaware river. Near seed time last year, many persons on the Pennsylvania shore, saw the same insect so thick in the air as to appear like a cloud coming over Delaware river; and on examining some of the largest flies, they had many of their young brood clinging to them, some of which could fly, others not. They have so infested the wheat fields, from the Falls township to Makefield, and many are of opinion much further, that some persons, discovering their numbers, have pastured their green wheat, ploughed, and planted their fields with spring produce, and more are following their example.

The 17th inst. I went with some persons into a wheat field to examine for the insect. On drawing up either green, dry, or dead spires of wheat, we saw them plenty in each, in a white coloured nit, seed, or worm, and where rye grew amongst the

wheat, it was also full of the insect: and since that, the owner of the wheat field has turned in his horses to pasture, and intends to plant it with corn shortly. I am credibly informed that it is the opinion of many in Amwell and Hopewell, New Jersey, that they do not expect to save so much as their seed: many of them have ploughed all up and planted with corn.

The insect in the spring resembles a small flax seed, rather of a rounder shape, but now mostly appears of a white colour, and rather longer than when of the brown colour; they lay mostly and may be found between the first, second, and third blades near the root above the ground, sometimes in the middle of the spire near the root.

Falls township, Bucks county,

May 20, 1788.

◆◆◆◆◆

Mode proposed of preventing the destruction of wheat by the Hessian fly.

THE progress of the Hessian fly has become a very alarming matter to the middle states. It appears highly probable that the eggs of this destroying insect are laid in the grains of ripe wheat, and sowed with them. The following method of avoiding them, is therefore earnestly recommended to all who are concerned.

1st. Let every farmer carefully avoid sowing any grain raised on farms, or in neighbourhoods where the Hessian fly has appeared.

2dly. Let every farmer in and near such places be careful to sell his whole crop to millers or others, who will promise not to sell any of it for seed, that the fly may not be propagated.

3dly. Let the farmers procure their seed from places that are certainly not infested with the Hessian fly.

4thly. When the millers get parcels of good grain from distant places, which they believe are quite free from the fly, let them take great pains to inform the farmers, that they may be easily supplied with seed, which does not contain any eggs of these insects. The millers will do well to be particularly attentive to this easy matter, as all their business depends on a plentiful supply of good grain for their mills. A LANDHOLDER,

Philadelphia, June 13, 1788.

*Remarks on the preceding paragraph. Phenomenon respecting the gravity of water.*

**O**BSERVING a paragraph in the papers dated at Philadelphia, the 13th of June, and signed, *A Landholder*—I am induced from the same motives with the writer, which I am sure were good, to inform him that his ideas respecting the Hessian fly, are ill founded. As they may mislead others, who have had no opportunity to know this destructive insect, I beg leave to refer him, and them, to the publications of the Philadelphia agricultural society\* on this subject, as they contain its true history. If the landholder will read those publications, he will be convinced that his address may do much injury to many, who have not had the means of better information, however good his intention may have been. As a lover of my country, and a friend to the farmers of the middle states, I am further induced to declare, from experience, and a thorough investigation of the matter, that their absolute reliance (under providence) must be on the yellow bearded wheat, not the white, nor the red bearded wheat, the sowing of which, by mistake, has occasioned much disappointment. That this declaration may have its full weight with all who know me, I give my name.

GEORGE MORGAN, of  
Prospect, N. Jersey.

New-York, June 24, 1788.

#### DIRECTIONS.

Sow strong ground between the 10th and 20th of September, as far south as lat. 40, and proportionably later, more southward; and manure well with lime where it is convenient. As I have reason to believe this yellow bearded wheat came originally from Chesapeak Bay or the state of Delaware, I have sent samples thereof to his excellency general Washington, to John Dickinson, esq. and John Beale Bordley, esq. to ascertain the matter, in hope of rendering an acceptable service to the states of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.

#### NOTE.

\* These publications may be seen in the American Museum, vol. I. page 226, and vol. II. page 298.—C.

**I** Have resided for some years at a water mill, not many miles from Philadelphia, and in the course of these years I have strictly attended to the mechanical powers and principles of mills that go with water; and I have remarked, that there are certain times that the water-wheel runs with more velocity than at other times; i. e. the wheel makes more revolutions upon its axis in one minute, than it does at other times in one minute and one-fourth of a minute, notwithstanding the water above the wheel continues at the very same depth, as the water is confined, and stands four or five feet in-head dead water, so that the height or depth of water can be easily ascertained. The times that I have remarked, in which the wheel runs quickest, are about three and four o'clock in the morning, and about nine in the evening; at which times, I have found the wheel far more quick in its motion, than at any other time of the day or the night, the water being still of the same depth, and the friction or resistance equally the same as at other times. By this it would appear, that there must be more gravity or density in the water at these periods of time than at others, which must necessarily add a superior motion to the wheel. If that be the only reason that can be assigned, I would wish to know why there is more gravity in the water at the time, above specified than at other times, though it must be confessed, that water has not the power in summer which it has in winter, or in cold weather, which I believe can be accounted for; but it is past my comprehension to find why water should be heavier (to use the expression) three hours before and after midnight than at any other time. A natural or physical reason assigned for the above, will very much oblige,  
J. B.—

C—— Mill, June 13, 1788.

•••••

Cotton.

**I**T must afford the utmost pleasure to every good citizen, to be informed that the cotton manufactory lately established in this city is in a very flourish.

rising condition. Many of our patriotic citizens are clothing themselves with the jeans made at it.

In the course of a few years, the different wares made from cotton may supply the use of woolens, which, from the infancy of our country, and the present state of its cultivation, cannot be procured in a sufficient quantity to clothe all our inhabitants. Cotton enough may be raised in the southern states, to clothe not only every citizen of America, but half the inhabitants of Europe. It is much to be wished, that machines for carding and spinning cotton, similar to those now at work in Philadelphia, were established in all our country towns and villages. Germantown, in particular, should take the lead in this business. That town has been famous for the manufacturing of saddles, stockings and carriages. It will be her own fault, if she is not celebrated as much as formerly for her skill and success in the manufactory of jeans, fustians, velvets, velverets, corduroys, and even muslins.

*Philadelphia, June 12, 1788.*



*Letter from his most christian majesty to the united states in congress assembled.*

*Very dear great friends and allies,*

**P**ARTICULAR reasons, relative to the good of our service, have determined us to appoint a successor to the chevalier de la Luzerne, our minister plenipotentiary with you.—We have chosen the count de Moustier to take his place, in the same quality. The marks of zeal which he has hitherto given us, persuade us, that on this new occasion, he will conduct himself in such a manner as to render himself agreeable to you, and more and more worthy of our good will. We pray you to give full faith to whatever he may say to you on our part; particularly, when he shall assure you of the sincerity of our wishes for your prosperity, as well as of the constant affection and friendship which we bear to the united states in general, and to each of them in particular. We pray God, that he will save you, very dear great friends and

allies, in his holy keeping. Written at Versailles, the 30th September, 1787.

Your good friend, and ally,

(Signed) L. O U I S.

Count de Montmorin.

*To the united states of North-America.*

*The above letter being read in congress, February 26. 1788, the count de Moustier addressed that honourable body as follows:*

*Gentlemen of the congress,*

**T**H E relations of friendship and affection which subsist between the king my master and the united states, have been established on a basis which cannot but daily acquire a new degree of solidity. It is satisfactory to be mutually convinced, that an alliance formed for obtaining a glorious peace, after efforts directed by the greatest wisdom, and sustained with admirable constancy, must always be conformable to the common interests; and that it is a fruitful source of infinite advantages to both nations, whose mutual confidence and intercourse will increase in proportion as they become better known to each other.

The king, who was the first to connect himself with the united states as a sovereign power—to second their efforts—and favour their interests, has never ceased, since that memorable period, to turn his attention to the means of proving to them his affection. This sentiment directs the vows which his majesty forms for their prosperity. Their success will always interest him sensibly; and there is reason to hope for it, from the wisdom of the measures which they will adopt.

To this solemn assurance of interest and attachment on the part of the king—to the unanimous sentiment of the nation—and to the fervent wishes of a great number of my countrymen, who have had the advantage to be associated in the military toils and success of the united states—permit me to add those which I in particular entertain for the growth and glory of these states. I at length enjoy the satisfaction of having it in my power here to testify the profound veneration with which I have been constantly penetrated, for a people who have been able to fix, from their birth, the

attention of the most considerable powers in Europe, and whose courage and patriotism have astonished all nations. My happiness will be complete, gentlemen, if I could succeed by my zeal and most constant care, to merit your esteem, your confidence, and your approbation.

The task which I have to accomplish, appears to me to be the more difficult, as in succeeding a minister who held the place near you, gentlemen, with which I am now honoured, I am far from enjoying the advantages which he derived from his talents, his knowledge, and those circumstances which placed him in the most intimate relations to you. I will endeavour to resemble him, at least by the greatest attention to promote and give success to whatever may contribute to the satisfaction, the glory, and the prosperity of the united States.

*To the foregoing address, the president of congress replied thus :*

S I R,

IT will always give us pleasure to acknowledge the friendship and important good offices, which we have experienced from his most christian majesty, and your generous nation ; and we flatter ourselves, that the same principles of magnanimity and regard to mutual convenience, which dictated the connexions between us, will continue to operate, and to render them still more extensive in their benefits to the two countries.

We consider the alliance as involving engagements, highly interesting to both parties ; and we are persuaded that they will be observed with entire and mutual good faith.

We are happy in being so explicitly assured of the continuance of his majesty's friendship and attachment ; and in this opportunity of expressing the high sense we entertain of their sincerity and value. It is with real satisfaction, sir, that we receive you as his minister plenipotentiary ; especially as your character gives us reason to expect, that the harmony and interest of both nations, will not be less promoted by your talents, candour and liberality, than they were by those which distinguished your predecessor, and recommended him to our esteem and regard.

*Letter from one of his Swedish majesty's principal secretaries of state to the Swedish consul in Philadelphia.*

*Stockholm, November 9th, 1787.*

S I R,

THE war now kindling between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, will probably excite a desire amongst particular people, to arm corsairs or to be interested in armaments against merchant vessels of the two empires ; and the king, not willing to grant his protection to enterprises, founded on hopes of an illicit gain, and contrary to the neutrality his majesty has thought proper to adopt, has commanded me inform you of these his sentiments, and by these authorises you, sir, to forbid all Swedish subjects who may be under your department, to take any part, directly or indirectly, in such enterprises, either by selling their vessels to be employed in piracy against the subjects of Russia, or those of the Porte, or chartering them for that purpose, or to enrol themselves on board vessels in that employment—In order to do your duty in this regard, it is the king's will, that you make the above, his orders, known to all it may concern, conformably to the strictest principles of neutrality.

JO. G. ONENSTIERNA.

*Charles Hultstedt, his Swedish majesty's consul, Philadelphia.*



*Letter from the agent of the French navy, residing in New-London, to his excellency governor Huntington :*

Sir,

REPEATED complaints having been made by several owners and masters of vessels trading to our French islands, respecting the charges, duties, and various gratifications demanded by the inferior officers of the customs—and having nothing more at heart than to assist our allied friends the Americans, in their navigation and trade, I have laid before M. de la Forest, our honourable vice consul-general, residing in New York, the said complaints, who desires me to inform the merchants, owners, and masters of vessels in the state of Connecticut, that as soon as those con-

cerned in the West-India trade, shall give in to the agent of the French navy, residing at New-London, an account attested before his excellency the governor, of the various charges paid to our custom houses, with the names of the places where paid, and those made triplicate; he will immediately lay them before his majesty, who will, no doubt, give orders for a strict enquiry, his intentions being to promote and encourage, as much as possible, the commerce of both nations.

If your excellency pleases to have the above inserted in the public news papers of this state, for the perusal of all concerned, it will be an additional favour to him, who has the honour to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, PHILIP DEJEAN.

*His excellency governor  
Huntington.*



*Military anecdote.*

THE following story is related of the late right honourable major general earl Sterling. Having detected a spy in his camp, from the British army, and the crime being fully proved upon him, he was ordered for execution. When under the gallows, the awful scene before him inspired his soul with devotion, and he thus addressed the Deity: "O Lord, have pity on me! extend thy mercy to a wretched sinner! O Lord, forgive me, and save me from the torments of hell!" His lordship thinking that the address was to him, and not the Deity, replied, "d—n you for a villain—don't talk to me—I'll have no mercy upon you—turn him off, hangman."



*Letter from his excellency general  
Washington, to the proprietors of  
the ship Federalist\*.*

Mount Vernon, June 8, 1788.

Gentlemen,

CAPTAIN Barney has just arrived here in the miniature ship,

NOTE.

\* This little ship was made use of in the procession at Baltimore, in so-

called the Federalist; and has done me the honour to offer that beautiful curiosity as a present to me, on your part: I pray you, gentlemen, to accept the warmest expressions of my sensibility for this specimen of American ingenuity; in which the exactitude of the proportions, the neatness of the workmanship, and the elegance of the decorations (which make your present fit to be preserved in a cabinet of curiosities) at the same time they exhibit the skill and taste of the artist, demonstrate that Americans are not inferior to any people whatever in the use of mechanical instruments and the art of ship-building.

The unanimity of the agricultural state of Maryland in general, as well as of the commercial town of Baltimore in particular, expressed in their recent decision on the subject of a general government, will not (I persuade myself) be without its due efficacy on the minds of their neighbours, who, in many instances, are intimately connected not only by the nature of their produce, but by the ties of blood and the habits of life. Under these circumstances, I cannot entertain an idea that the voice of the convention of this state, which is now in session, will be dissonant from that of her nearly-allied sister, who is only separated by the Potowmack.

You will permit me, gentlemen, to indulge my feelings in reiterating the heart-felt wish, that the happiness of this country may equal the desires of its sincerest friends; and that the patriotic town, of which you are inhabitants (in the prosperity of which I have always found myself strongly interested) may not only continue to increase in the same wonderful manner it has formerly done, but that its trade, manufactures, and other resources of wealth, may be placed, permanently, in a more flourishing situation than they have hitherto been.

NOTE.

*lemnization of the ratification of the federal constitution by the state of Maryland; and was, by the owners, afterwards ordered to be presented to his excellency general Washington, as a mark of their veneration and respect.—C.*

I am, with sentiments of respect,  
Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient and most humble  
servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To William Smith, esq. and the  
other gentlemen proprietors  
of the ship *Federalist*.



Extract of a letter from gen. Wash-  
ington to the president of congress.

Paranus, October 7, 1780.

"I Have now the pleasure to commu-  
nicate the names of the three per-  
sons who captured major Andre, and  
who refused to release him, notwith-  
standing the most earnest importuni-  
ties, and assurances of a liberal reward  
on his part. Their names are,

{ JOHN PAULDING,  
DAVID WILLIAMS,  
AND  
ISAAC VAN WERT\* }"



Mr. Printer,

I Have observed an advertisement  
in a late paper, of a plantation  
to be sold in Maryland for "negroes,  
merchandize, or cash." From this it  
appears, that negroes are to be intro-  
duced in that state instead of paper  
money as a medium of commerce.—  
To save trouble in counting or calcul-  
ating the value of this new black  
flesh coin, I beg leave to furnish the  
dealers in it with the following table,  
which, I hope, will be current here-  
after in the state of Maryland.

Dollars.

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. A middle aged healthy negro<br>man or woman, -                  | 300 |
| 2. A negro man or woman above<br>55 years of age, -                | 100 |
| 3. All negro boys and girls be-<br>tween 12 and 18 years of age, - | 100 |

NOTE.

\* The patriotism of these worthy  
men has been applauded by every good  
citizen who has heard of the circum-  
stances of major Andre's capture :  
yet their names have been unfortun-  
ately known to very few : numbers of  
gentl men have anxiously enquired  
after them in vain : for this reason,  
they are here inserted, in perpetuum  
memoriam rei.—C.

4. All negro children between 6  
and 12 years of age, 80  
As change will be necessary in this  
species of money, the following mode  
may be adopted to obtain it.

Dollars.

A negro's head,	20
A right arm,	16
A left arm, -	12
A leg, -	8
A hand and foot, -	4
A thumb and great toe,	1
A finger and toe of the common size, 2 3-ds of a dollar.	
A little finger and toe, 1 3-d of a dollar.	

To prevent any inconvenience from  
the smell of this species of change  
when it is first emitted, it is proposed  
to harden it by exposing it to salt and  
smoke, before it is taken from the  
mint.

Should this species of coin be adopt-  
ed, a new mode of determining the  
value of estates will become necessary.  
Instead of saying a man is worth ten  
thousand pounds, it will be common  
to say, he is worth ten thousand dried  
hands or feet, or forty thousand dried  
thumbs or great toes.

The fortunes of young ladies will  
likewise be estimated in the same man-  
ner ; and instead of saying miss —  
of the Western Shore, is worth six  
thousand guineas, it will be common  
to say, she is worth near three thou-  
sand negroes' arms well smoked and  
salted.

An enemy to the society for the  
abolition of slavery.

Philadelphia, May 29, 1787.



Law case, respecting the transfer of  
certificates, tried at Falmouth in  
Massachusetts, July, 1786.

SOME time in February, 1785, A  
bought of B, a treasurer's note for  
the nominal sum of three pounds ten  
shillings, for which he paid forty-nine  
shillings in specie. The note was re-  
deemable on the first of December,  
1784, and at the time of sale was in-  
dorsed by B, who acknowledged the  
receipt of the value in the indorsement.  
A having several times been to the  
treasurer's office, and demanded pay-  
ment, could only obtain certificates  
for the interest. He at length grew  
tired of waiting for the principal, and  
made a formal demand of payment



from the treasurer, before two witnesses, who both belonged to Falmouth, in the course of May, 1786. The treasurer had it not in his power to pay. When A went home, soon after the last refusal, he sued B, as indorser of the note, for the principal sum, and the interest that had accrued since last December. The trial came on, before a justice of that county, on the third of July, 1786.

The singularity of the action had brought together such a number of spectators, that the justice adjourned from his house to the meeting-house, which was crowded with people.

After opening the cause by the plaintiff, and examining the witnesses, when the circumstances which have been stated were sufficiently ascertained, the counsel for the defendant pleaded, that the common practice of people had determined, that an indorser of a public security did not make himself a surety, and of course, that he was not answerable for the money; that the security of the commonwealth was so far superior to that of any individual in the state, as to render it absurd to suppose that the latter had become surety for the former; and, indeed, that the security of the individual was virtually included in that of the state. He contended, that ever since the notes were first issued, they had been universally considered as an article of merchandise, which was to be estimated at the price it would fetch in the market; and that the whole use of the indorsement, was to shew, as in any other transfer of property, that the indorser had sold his right in it, but did not, by any means, imply a contract to redeem it, any more than the absolute sale of an house implies that the grantor shall redeem it when the grantee wishes to part with it. He urged, that, even admitting the supposition that by his indorsement he had become surety, still it appeared, in the course of evidence, that he had received no more than forty-nine shillings, which was all that in equity, even upon the plaintiff's own ground, ought to be refunded; but though he for a moment admitted the idea, for the sake of argument, he could not admit it as true, that any thing should be refunded; the plaintiff had the use of the whole

sum, and had taken the whole risk upon himself; and that the plaintiff's argument could not be founded in truth, as it would breed endless confusion, if individuals were made answerable for the debts of the commonwealth.

The plaintiff replied, that however good the security of the original obligor might be, it was an universal rule that an indorser became surety for the money. Nothing could be more uncertain or indeterminate than an attempt to regulate judicial proceedings by the apprehensions of people at large, who had but little opportunity for information, and were liable to be deceived. The truth must be ascertained by some statute, or by an adjudication in the courts of law. Upon this ground, the plaintiff apprehended that he was clearly entitled to recover his money. The attempt to confound transferable notes with articles of merchandise, was idle; for every body knew that when the latter were conveyed, there was an equivalent given for the money, which was not always the case with promissory notes. The distinction, therefore, as it tended to prevent fraud, was founded on the highest reason. He would not presume to doubt the validity of the promise from government; but he had made a demand, according to the original appointment, and could not get his money; and he found it inconvenient to wait until it should be in the power of government to pay. Had government made to a citizen a grant of land, which would be as solemn an assurance as could be given, and the grantee had afterwards sold the land, nobody would say that the last seller should not make good the title—or, to keep more near to the parallel, that he had not so far become surety for the money. If, therefore, the reasoning was just in the stronger, it ought and it must avail in the weaker instance. The pretence, that if any thing was recovered, it ought not to be the whole sum mentioned in the note, was really surprising. Nothing was more common than to sell securities for money at less than the nominal sum, and he believed they were never sold at par; but it was always regulated by the agreement of the parties. He therefore ought to recover

the whole sum mentioned. A judgment in this case upon the principles of the defendant would be so far from producing confusion in the state, that it would afford great relief to the citizens : for if, as the defendant stated, only the real sum which the indorser received, was to be refunded, every indorser would be benefited, as he might go back to a former indorser, and recover a larger sum than he was obliged to pay. This would assuredly tend to raise the value of the notes, but not so fast as they would rise upon the plaintiff's idea, which was, that the full sum should be paid. Most of the notes had indeed been transferred from the poor to the rich, and therefore in general, would not be carried back to the indorser ; but it was of importance, in the present scarcity of cash, that there should be means adopted, by common consent, for paying large contracts, and nothing would have an happier effect than the judgment contended for by the plaintiff, as it would have a direct tendency to establish the credit of the notes, without compelling any body to receive them : for the receipt of them would, if their credit was by this means established, become perfectly voluntary.

The justice, in a short speech, remarked, that so full a discussion of the question, which had been debated with so much candour by both parties, had given him great satisfaction. He waved entering into any considerations of the expediency of a decision, as being foreign to the business of a judge, whose province was to declare the law. The statute makes no difference between public and private securities. He could not admit the idea of securities for money being sold for less than the nominal sum, and afterwards the whole sum demanded of the indorser, as he conceived it to be a gross evasion of the law against usury. It appeared, from an indorsement made in the treasurer's office upon the note, that the plaintiff had received a sum equal to the interest upon forty-nine shillings for seventeen months ; but nineteen months had elapsed since the last preceding payment. He, therefore, gave judgment, that the plaintiff should recover forty-nine shillings, with two months interest—making in the whole damage for-

ty-nine shillings and five-pence half-penny ; and the costs taxed at twenty shillings more.

The plaintiff appealed to the next court of common pleas, on account of insufficient damages being given. The defendant gave notice, that, instead of appealing, he should, the next day, move the supreme court for a *certiorari* to bring the whole proceedings before them, and for a *mandamus*, to the court of common pleas, to stay the proceedings until the point of law should be decided\*.



*Decision at law respecting money forwarded by a stage.*

ON Tuesday, February 8, 1787; the court of session in Edinburgh, determined a cause of very great importance to the proprietors of diligences and carriers of every denomination. It was an action brought at the instance of a gentleman, for recovery of a parcel, containing two hundred pounds sterling, which had been given into the Glasgow diligence, but which never came into the hands of the person to whom it was directed. The proprietors of the diligence were therefore prosecuted for that sum. The court unanimously sustained the defence of the proprietors of the diligence, and found them entitled to costs, chiefly upon this ground, that the parcel had not been given in and entered as cash, or paid for as such—only six-pence having been paid with it ; therefore the concealment was improper, and not agreeable to the usual practice ; as it is understood, the proprietors of diligences are only liable for money or jewels, when they are entered, and the carriage paid for as such.

NOTE.

\* That the final decision in this case has not been published, is much to be regretted. It is a most interesting point, particularly when we consider the extent of the traffic carried on in securities in this country. Should any gentleman, into whose hands this may fall, know what was the judgment of the supreme court, he would much oblige the printer by sending him a short statement of it, for a future number of the Museum.—C.

*Decision at law respecting copy right.*

ON the 2d of July, 1787, was tried in the court of king's bench, London, before the hon. mr. justice Henn, and a most respectable jury, a very interesting cause, in which mr. Wilton, bookseller, and author of the post-chaise companion, was plaintiff, and mr. Lewis, corrector of the press, defendant. After a very full and impartial hearing of the evidence on both sides, it clearly appeared, that the plaintiff had entrusted the defendant with a variety of materials, to copy fair for the above mentioned work, from which the defendant had secretly endeavoured to compile a similar book under a different title, for his own private emolument. The jury brought in a verdict in favour of mr. Wilton for costs and damages. This verdict has fully established the important decision of literary property in original productions.



*Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.*

LETTER 1.

THE constitution proposed by the federal convention, now engages the fixed attention of America.

Every person appears to be affected. Those who wish the adoption of the plan, consider its rejection as the source of endless contels, confusions, and misfortunes; and they also consider a resolution to alter, without previously adopting it, as a rejection.

Those who oppose the plan, are influenced by different views. Some of them are friends, others of them are enemies, to the united states. The latter are of two classes; either men without principles or fortunes, who think they may have a chance to mend their circumstances, with impunity, under a weak government, or in public convulsions, but cannot make them worse even by the last—or men who have been always averse to the revolution; and though at first confounded by that event, yet, their hopes reviving with the declension of our affairs, have since persuaded themselves, that at length the people, tired out with their continued distresses, will return to their former connexion with Great Britain. To argue with these

opposers, would be vain. The other opposers of the plan, deserve the highest respect.

What concerns all, should be considered by all; and individuals may injure a whole society, by not declaring their sentiments. It is therefore not only their right, but their duty, to declare them. Weak advocates of a good cause, or artful advocates of a bad one, may endeavour to stop such communications, or to discredit them by clamour and calumny. This, however, is not the age for such tricks of controversy. Men have suffered so severely by being deceived upon subjects of the highest import, those of religion and freedom, that truth becomes infinitely valuable to them, not as a matter of curious speculation, but of beneficial practice: a spirit of enquiry is excited, information diffused, judgment strengthened.

Before this tribunal, let every one freely speak, what he really thinks, but with so sincere a reverence for the cause he ventures to discuss, as to use the utmost caution, lest he should lead into errors, upon a point of such sacred concern as the public happiness.

It is not the design of this address, to describe the present derangement of our affairs, the mischiefs that must ensue from its continuance, the horrors of a total dissolution of the union, or the division of it into partial confederacies. Nor is it intended to describe the evils that will result from pursuing the plan of another federal convention; as if a better temper of conciliation, or a more satisfactory harmony of decisions, could be expected from men, after their minds are agitated with disgusts and disappointments, than before they were thus disturbed; though from an uncontradicted assertion it appears, that without such provocations, the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the several states was so near to insuperable, in the late convention, that after many weeks spent in the most faithful labours to promote concord, the members were upon the very point of dispersing in the utmost disorder, jealousy and resentment, and leaving these states exposed to all the tempests of passions, that have been so fatal to confederacies of democratical republics.

All these things have been said be-

fore the public in a much better manner, than the writer of this address is capable of: and to repeat what has been said, he means not. What he wishes, is to simplify the subject, so as to facilitate the enquiries of his fellow-citizens.

Many are the objections made to the system proposed. They should be distinguished. Some may be called local, because they spring from the supposed interests of individual states. Thus, for instance, some inhabitants of large states may desire the system to be so altered, that they may possess more authority in the decisions of the government, or some inhabitants of commercial states may desire it to be so altered, that the advantages of their trade may centre almost wholly among themselves; and this predilection they may think compatible with the common welfare. Their judgment being thus warped at the beginning of their deliberation, objections are accumulated as very important, that, without this proposition, would never have obtained their approbation. Certain it is, that strong understandings may be so influenced by this insulated patriotism, as to doubt, whether general benefits can be communicated by a general government.

Probably nothing would operate so much for the correction of these errors, as a perusal of the accounts transmitted to us by the ancients, of the calamities occasioned in Greece by a conduct founded on similar errors.—They are expressly ascribed to this cause, that each city meditated apart on its own profit and ends—insomuch that those who seemed to contend for union, could never relinquish their own interests and advancement, while they deliberated for the public.

Heaven grant! that our countrymen may pause in time—duly estimate the present moment—and solemnly reflect, whether their measures may not tend to draw down the same distractions upon us, that desolated Greece.

They may now tolerably judge from the proceedings of the federal convention and of other conventions, what are the sentiments of America upon her present and future prospects. Let the voice of her distress be venerated—and, adhering to the generous Virginian declaration, let them resolve to

cling to union as the political rock of our salvation.

*F A B I U S.*

*Philadelphia, April 12, 1788.*

*[To be continued.]*



*To the inhabitants of the states that have adapted the new constitution.*

*Friends and countrymen,*

**Y**O U will soon be called upon to enact laws for choosing members of the house of representatives in the new federal legislature. The following mode of electing them is hereby recommended to such of the states as choose more than one representative. Divide the state into as many districts as there are members to be chosen, and direct the electors to fix upon a member from each district, and then let the whole state vote for the whole number of members. By these means a knowledge of the local interests of every part of the state, will be carried to congress, but in such a manner, as not to interfere with the general interest of the whole state. When members are chosen by the whole state, they will consider themselves as the servants of the whole state, and not suffer themselves to be misled by the local prejudices or interests of a few men, who often govern counties and districts. By these means, the agriculture and commerce of the states, will always be kept in friendship with each other, for the farmer and the merchant will mutually vote for the same rulers. By these means, likewise, none but men of real character and abilities will be returned, for such men are generally best known throughout every part of a state. A house of representatives, thus chosen, cannot fail of being truly respectable. The members of each state will be a band of brothers. No local considerations, no sacrifice of the general interests to the customs of a store, or a mill, will ever divide or influence them. In every vote, they will have their eyes fixed upon the commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and upon the interest of every county, town, and individual of the whole state.

*N U M A.*

*Philadelphia, July 16, 1788.*

*Account of the grand federal procession in Philadelphia, July 4, 1788.*

ON Friday, the 4th day of July, 1788, the citizens of Philadelphia celebrated the declaration of independence made by the thirteen united states of America on the 4th of July, 1776, and the establishment of the constitution or frame of government proposed by the late general convention, and now solemnly adopted and ratified by ten of those states.

The rising sun was saluted with a full peal from Christ church steeple, and a discharge of cannon from the ship Rising Sun, commanded by captain Philip Brown, anchored off Market-street, and superbly decorated with the flags of various nations. Ten vessels, in honour of the ten states of the union, were dressed and arranged thro' the whole length of the harbour, each bearing a broad white flag at the main-head, inscribed with the names of the states respectively in broad gold letters—in the following order—New-Hampshire opposite to the Northern Liberties; Massachusetts to Vine-street; Connecticut to Race-street; New-Jersey to Arch-street; Pennsylvania to Market-street; Delaware to Chestnut-street; Maryland to Walnut-street; Virginia to Spruce-street; South-Carolina to Pine-street; and Georgia to South-street. The ships at the wharfs were also dressed on the occasion; and as a brisk south wind prevailed through the whole day, the flags and pendants were kept in full display, and exhibited a most pleasing and animating prospect.

According to orders issued the day before, the several parts, which were to compose the grand procession, began to assemble at eight o'clock in the morning, at the intersection of South and Third-streets.

Nine gentlemen, distinguished by white plumes in their hats, and furnished with speaking-trumpets, were superintendants of the procession, viz. general Mifflin, general Stewart, colonel Proctor, colonel Gurney, colonel Will, colonel Marsh, major Moore, major Lenox, and mr. Peter Brown.

The different companies of militia, trades and professions had previously met at different places in the city

of their own appointment, where they were separately formed by their officers and conductors, and marched in order with their respective flags, devices, and machines, to the place of general rendezvous. As these companies arrived in succession, the superintendants disposed of them in the neighbouring streets in such manner as that they might easily fall into the stations they were to occupy in forming the general procession, as they should be successively called upon.—By this means, the most perfect order and regularity were effectually preserved.

After a strict review of the streets of the city, it had been determined that the line of march should be as follows: to commence at the intersection of South and Third-streets, thence along Third-street to Callow-Hill-street; thence up Callow-hill-street to Fourth-street; thence along Fourth-street to Market-street, and thence to Union Green, in front of Bush-Hill—William Hamilton, esq. having kindly offered the spacious lawn before his house at Bush-Hill for the purposes of the day.

The street commissioners had, the evening before, gone through the line of march—and directed the pavements to be swept, the trees to be lopped, and all obstacles to be removed.

About half after nine o'clock, the grand procession began to move; of which the following is as correct a detail as could be procured.

## I.

Twelve axe-men, dressed in white frocks, with black girdles round their waists, and ornamented caps, headed by major Philip Pancake.

## II.

The first city troop of light-dragoons, commanded by captain Miles.

## III.

## INDEPENDENCE.

John Nixon, esq. on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of liberty; under the cap, a silk flag with the words, "*fourth of July, 1776*," in large gold letters.

## IV.

Four pieces of artillery, with a detachment from the train, commanded by captains Morrel and Fisher.

## V.

## FRENCH ALLIANCE.

Thomas Fitzsimons, esq. on horse-

back, carrying a flag of white silk, having three fleurs-de-lys and thirteen stars in union over the words, "*sixth of February, 1778*," in gold letters. The horse he rode belonged formerly to count Rochambeau.

#### VI.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by captain A. G. Claypoole, with the standard of the first regiment.

#### VII.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE. George Clymer, esq. on horseback, carrying a staff adorned with olive and laurel. The words, "*third of September, 1783*," in gold letters pendant from the staff.

#### VIII.

Col. John Shee, on horseback, carrying a flag, blue field, with a laurel and an olive wreath over the words—"*Washington, the friend of his country*," in silver letters; the staff adorned with olive and laurel.

#### IX.

The city troop of light dragoons, captain William Bingham, commanded by major W. Jackson.

#### X.

Richard Bache, esq. on horseback, as a herald, attended by a trumpeter, proclaiming a new era; the words "*new era*," in gold letters, pendant from the herald's staff, and the following lines:

*Peace o'er our land her olive wand  
extends, [descends;  
And white-robb'd innocence from heav'n  
The crimes and frauds of anarchy shall  
fall,  
Returning justice lifts again her scale.*

#### XI.

CONVENTION OF THE STATES. The hon. Peter Muhlenberg, esq. on horseback, with a blue flag; the words "*seventeenth of September, 1787*," in silver letters.

#### XII.

A band of music, performing a grand march, composed by mr. Alexander Reinagle for the occasion.

#### XIII.

##### THE CONSTITUTION.

The honourable chief-justice M<sup>r</sup> Kean, the hon. judge Atlee, the honourable judge Rush (in their robes of office) in a lofty, ornamental car, in the form of a large eagle, drawn by six horses, bearing the constitution, framed, and fixed on a staff, crowned with the cap

of liberty. The words, "*the people*," in gold letters, on the staff, immediately under the constitution.

The car was made by George and William Hunter; the carriage painted light blue, twenty feet long, hind wheels eight feet, and the front six feet and a half in diameter; the body, fixed on springs, was thirteen feet high, in the shape of a bald eagle; from head to tail, thirteen feet long; the breast emblazoned with thirteen silver stars, in a sky-blue field, and underneath, thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. The dexter talon embraced an olive branch, the sinister grasped thirteen arrows.

#### XIV.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by captain Heytham, with the standard of the third regiment.

#### XV.

Ten gentlemen, representing the states that have ratified the federal constitution; each bearing a flag with the name of the state he represented, in gold letters, and walking arm in arm, emblematical of the union, viz.

1. Duncan Ingraham, esquire;  
NEW-HAMPSHIRE.
2. Jonathan Williams, jun. esquire;  
MASSACHUSETTS.
3. Jared Ingersoll, esquire;  
CONNECTICUT.
4. Samuel Stockton, esquire;  
NEW-JERSEY.
5. James Wilson, esquire;  
PENNSYLVANIA.
6. Colonel Thomas Robinson,  
DELAWARE.
7. Honourable J. E. Howard, esquire;  
MARYLAND.
8. Colonel Febiger,  
VIRGINIA.
9. W. Ward Burrows, esquire;  
SOUTH-CAROLINA.
10. George Meade, esquire;  
GEORGIA.

#### XVI.

Colonel William Williams, on horseback, in armour, bearing on his left arm a shield, emblazoned with the arms of the united states.

#### XVII.

The Montgomery troop of light-horse, commanded by captain James Morris, esquire.

#### XVIII.

The consuls and representatives of foreign states in alliance with Ame-

rica, in an ornamented car, drawn by four horses.

Captain Thomas Bell, with the flag of the united states of America.

Barbe de Marbois, esquire, vice-consul of France.

J. H. C. Heineken, esquire, consul of the united Netherlands.

Charles Hellstedt, esquire, consul-general of Sweden.

Charles W. Lecke, esquire, carrying the flag of Prussia.

Thomas Barclay, esquire, carrying the flag of Morocco.

#### XIX.

The honourable Francis Hopkinson, esquire, judge of admiralty, wearing in his hat a gold anchor pendant on a green riband, preceded by the register's clerk, carrying a green bag filled with rolls of parchment, and having the word "*admiralty*" in large letters on the front of the bag.

James Read, esquire, register, wearing a silver pen in his hat.

Clement Biddle, esquire, marshal, carrying a silver oar, adorned with green ribands.

#### XX.

The wardens of the port and tonnage officer.

#### XXI.

Collector of the customs and naval-officer.

#### XXII.

Peter Baynton, esquire, as a citizen, and colonel Isaac Melchor as an Indian chief, in a carriage, smocking the calumet of peace together. The sachem magnificently dressed, according to the Indian custom; his head adorned with scarlet and white plumes; jewels of silver hanging from his nose and ears; ten strings of wampum round his neck; the broad belt of peace and brotherly love in his hand; an ornamented vest and other decorations suitable to the character.

#### XXIII.

The Berks county troop, consisting of thirty dragoons, commanded by captain Philip Strubing.

#### XXIV.

The new roof, or grand federal edifice, on a carriage drawn by ten white horses; the dome supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, raised on pedestals proper to that order; the frieze decorated with thirteen stars; ten of the columns complete, and three

left unfinished: on the pedestals of the columns were inscribed, in ornamented cyphers, the initials of the thirteen American states. On the top of the dome, a handsome cupola, surmounted by a figure of Plenty, bearing her cornucopia, and other emblems of her character. The dimensions of this building were as follow: ten feet diameter, eleven feet to the top of the cornice, the dome four feet high, the cupola five feet high, the figure of Plenty, three feet six inches; the carriage on which it was mounted, three feet high; the whole thirty-six feet in height. Round the pedestal of the edifice were these words, "*in union the fabric stands firm.*" This elegant building was begun and finished in the short space of four days, by *mr. William Williams and co.*

The grand edifice was followed by architects and house-carpenters, in number four hundred and fifty, carrying insignia of the trade, and preceded by messrs. Benjamin Loxley, Gunning Bedford, Thomas Nevel, Levi Budd, Joseph Ogilby and William Roberts, displaying designs in architecture, &c. *Mr. George Ingels* bore the house carpenters' standard—the company's arms properly emblazoned on a white field—motto, "*justice and benevolence.*" To this corps, the saw-makers and file-cutters attached themselves, headed by messrs. John Harper and William Cook, and carrying a flag, with a hand and sawmill-saw, gilt on a pink field.

On the floor of the grand edifice, were placed ten chairs, for the accommodation of ten gentlemen, viz. messrs. Hillary Baker, George Latimer, John Wharton, John Nesbitt, Samuel Morris, John Brown, Tench Francis, Joseph Anthony, John Chaloner, and Benjamin Fuller. These gentlemen sat as representatives of the citizens at large, to whom the federal constitution was committed previous to the ratification. When the grand edifice arrived safe at Union Green, these gentlemen gave up their seats to the representatives of the states, enumerated above in article XV. who entered the temple, and hung their flags on the Corinthian columns to which they respectively belonged. In the evening, the grand edifice, with the ten states now in union, was brought

back in great triumph, and with loud huzzas, to the state-house, in Chestnut-street.

## XXV.

The Pennsylvania society of Cincinnati, and militia officers.

## XXVI.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by captain Rose, with the standard of the fifth regiment.

## XXVII.

The agricultural society, headed by their president Samuel Powel, esquire. A flag borne by major Samuel Hodgdon, on a buff-coloured ground in an oval compartment. Industry represented by a ploughman, driving a plough drawn by oxen, followed at a small distance by the goddesses of Plenty, bearing a cornucopia in her left and a sickle in her right hand: in the back ground, a view of an American farm—motto, “*venerate the plough.*”

## XXVIII.

Farmers, headed by Richard Peters, Richard Willing, Samuel Meredith, Isaac Warner, George Gray, William Peltz, — Burkhardt, and Charles Willing. Two ploughs, the one drawn by four oxen, and directed by Richard Willing, esq. in a farmer's dress, mr. Charles Willing, in the character of a plough boy, driving the oxen; the other drawn by two horses, and directed by mr. — Burkhardt—followed by a sower, sowing seed, farmers, millers, &c.

## XXIX.

The manufacturing society, with the spinning and carding machines, looms, &c. Mr. Gallaudet bearing a flag, the device of which was, a bee-hive, with bees issuing from it, standing in the beams of a rising sun; the field of the flag blue, and the motto—“*in its rays we shall feel new vigour*”—written in golden characters.

Robert Hare, esquire.

Managers of the society.

Subscribers to the society.

Committee for managing the manufacturing fund.

Subscribers to the manufacturing fund.

The carriage of the manufacturers is in length thirty feet, in breadth thirteen feet, and the same height, neatly covered with white cotton of their manufacture, and was drawn by ten large bay horses; on this carriage was placed the carding machine, worked by two

persons, and carding cotton at the rate of fifty pounds weight per day; next a spinning machine of eighty spindles, worked by a woman (a native of and instructed in this city) drawing cotton suitable for fine jeans or federal rib; on the right of the stage was next placed a lace loom, a workman weaving a rich scarlet and white livery lace; on the left, a man weaving jean on a large loom, with a fly shuttle; behind the looms, was fixed the apparatus of mr. Hewson, printing muslins of an elegant chintz pattern, and mr. Lang designing and cutting prints for shawls; on the right were seated mrs. Hewson and her four daughters, penciling a piece of very neat sprigged chintz of mr. Hewson's printing; all dressed in cottons of their own manufacture; on the back part of the carriage, on a lofty staff, was displayed the calico printers' flag; in the centre, thirteen stars in a blue field, and thirteen red stripes in a white field; round the edges of the flag were printed thirty-seven different prints of various colours (one of them a very elegant bed furniture chintz of six colours) as specimens of printing done at Philadelphia.—Motto—“*May the union government protect the manufactures of America.*”

Then followed the weavers' flag, a rampant lion in a green field, holding a shuttle in his dexter paw—motto—“*may government protect us.*” behind the flag walked the weavers of the factory, accompanied by other citizens of the same trade, in number about one hundred: the cotton card makers annexed themselves to this society.

## XXX.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by captain Robinson, with the standard of the sixth regiment.

## XXXI.

The marine society.

Captain William Greenway, carrying a globe, supported by captains Heysham and Alberston, with spy-glasses in their hands.

Ten captains, five a-breast, with quadrants representing the ten states that have joined the union: viz,

John Woods,	Robert Bethel,
John Ashmead,	William Allen,
William Miller,	William Tanner,
Samuel Howel,	Leeson Simons, &
John Souder,	George Atkinson,



Members of the society, fix a-breast, with trumpets, spy-glasses, charts, and sundry other implements of their profession, wearing badges in their hats, representing a ship:—eighty-nine in number.

## XXXII.

## The Ship Union, federal



Mounting twenty guns; commanded by John Green, esq. Messrs. S. Smith, W. Belchar and — Mercer, lieutenants; four young boys in uniform as midshipmen: the crew, including officers, consisted of twenty-five men. The ship Union is thirty-three feet in length, her width and depth in due proportion. Her bottom is the barge of the ship Alliance, and the same barge which formerly belonged to the Serapis, and was taken in the memorable engagement of captain Paul Jones, of the Bon Homme Richard with the Serapis. The Union is a matter-piece of elegant workmanship, perfectly proportioned and complete throughout; decorated with emblematical carving. And what is truly astonishing, she was begun and completed in less than four days, viz. begun at eleven o'clock on Monday morning the thirtieth of June, and on the field of rendezvous on Thursday evening following, fully prepared to join in the grand procession. The workmanship and appearance of this beautiful object commanded universal admiration and applause, and did high honour to the artists of Philadelphia, who were concerned in her construction. She was mounted on a carriage made for the purpose, and drawn by ten horses. A sheet of canvas was tacked all round along the water line, and extending over a light frame, hung to the ground, so as entirely to conceal the wheels and machinery. This canvas was painted to represent the sea; so that nothing incongruous appeared to offend the eye. The ceremonies in setting sail, receiving the pilot on board, trimming her sails to the wind, according to the several courses of the line of march, throwing the lead, her arrival at Union Green, casting anchor, being hailed and welcomed with three cheers, and the captain forward-

ing his dispatches to the president of the united states, &c. &c. were all performed with the strictest maritime propriety; but neither time nor the space allotted for this account, will permit such a detail as would do justice to the conduct of captain Green and his crew, and to the architects and several workmen concerned in this beautiful feature in our grand procession. The ship was followed by the pilots of the port,

With their boat. (named "the Federal Pilots,") under the command of Isaac Reach; who sheered a-long side the ship Union at the place appointed, and put Mr. Michael Dawson on board, as pilot; then took his station with his boat in the procession, and on her arrival, attended and took the pilot off again.

Ship carpenters, Headed by messrs. Francis Grice and John Norris, with the draft of a ship on the stocks, and cases of instruments in their hands; a flag bearing a ship on the stocks, carried by Manuel Eyres, esq. supported by messrs. Harrison, Rice, Brewster, and Humphreys; followed by mast makers, caulkers and workmen, to the amount of 330, all wearing a badge in their hats, representing a ship on the stocks, and a green sprig of white oak.

### Boat builders.

A frame representing a boat builder's shop, eighteen feet long, eight wide, and thirteen high, mounted on a carriage. On the top of the frame, the ship Union's barge, elegantly finished, an ensign staff and flag, blue field, quartered with thirteen stripes, and bearing an axe and an adze crossing each other—motto, "*by these we live.*" The barge ten feet long, manned with a cockswain and six little boys as bargemen, in a beautiful uniform of white, decorated with blue ribands. On the platform underneath, seven hands building a boat thirteen feet long, which was set up and nearly completed during the procession. [It will be manifest the numbers above mentioned have reference to the 13 states of America, the 12 states represented in the late general convention, and the 10 states now united under the new constitution.] The whole machine was contrived with great skill, and drawn by four bright

Bay horses, belonging to and under the conduct of Mr. Jacob Toy, of the Northern Liberties, followed by forty boat builders, headed by mrs. Bowyer Brooks and Warwick Hale.

Sail makers.

A flag, carried by captain Joseph Rice, representing the inside view of a sail loom, with mellers and men at work; on the top thirteen stars; in the fly, five vessels.—Motto, "*may commerce flourish, and redress be rewarded.*" Followed by a number of mellers, joiners, women and apprentices.

Ship joiners.

Nicholas Young, conductor; his son carrying a cedar staff before him; Robert M'Mullen, meller workman; William M'Mullen and Samuel Ormes, carrying the company's arms on a flag, viz. a binnacle and hencoop, crooked planes and other tools of that profession, proper; thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, ten in full splendor.—Motto, "*by these we support our families.*" Followed by twenty-five of the trade, wearing cedar branches in their hats.

Rope makers and ship chandlers.

The flag carried in front by Richard Tittermary; representing a rope-yard, with ten men spinning, and three standing idle, with their hemp around their waists; emblematical of the present situation of the thirteen states: with a motto, "*may commerce flourish.*" Next in front, as leaders, were John Tittermary, sen. and George Goodwin, being the oldest belonging to the calling; followed by the other gentlemen of the profession, with a piece of rope and hemp in their hands; and the journeymen and apprentices in the rear, with hemp around their waists, and their spinning clouts in their hands—about sixty in number.

Merchants and traders.

Their standard was the flag of a merchant ship of the united states—in the union were ten illuminated stars, and three traced round in silver, but not yet illuminated—on one side of the flag a ship, the Pennsylvania, with an inscription, "*4th July. 1788.*" On the reverse of the flag a globe, over which was inscribed, in a scroll, "*par tout le monde.*" The staff, on which the flag was displayed, terminated in a silver cone, on which was a ring sus-

pending a mariner's compass. The standard was borne by Mr. Jonathan Nesbit, preceding the merchants and traders:

Thomas Willing, esq. attended by their committee, mrs. Charles Pettit, John Wilcock, John Ross, and Trench Coxe.

The body of the merchants and traders.

Next followed the clerks and apprentices of the merchants and traders, preceded by Mr. Saintonge, bearing a large ledger.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by Captain Sprout, with the standard of the fourth regiment.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

N. B. The order of the several trades, except house carpenters and those concerned in the construction and fitting out a ship, was determined by lot.

XXXIII. Cordwainers.

A carriage drawn by four horses, representing a cordwainer's shop, in which six men were actually at work; the shop hung round with shoes, boots, &c.

Mr. Alexander Rutherford, conductor.

Mr. Elisha Gordon, and Mr. Martin Beish, assistants, followed by a committee of nine, three a-breast.

Mr. James Roney, junior, standard bearer.

The standard—the cordwainers' arms on a crimson field; above, the arms CRISTIN, holding a laurel branch in his right hand, and a scroll of parchment in his left.

Three hundred cordwainers following six a-breast, each wearing a white leather apron, embellished with the company's arms, richly painted,

XXXIV. Coach painters.

With a flag, ornamented with the insignia of the art, carried by Mr.—followed by ten of the profession, carrying palettes and pencils in their hands.

XXXV. Cabinet and chair-makers.

Mr. Jonathan Gostelow, carrying the scale and dividers; Mr. Jedediah Snowden, with the rules of architecture; four of the oldest masters: Mr. James Lee, attended by three mellers bearing the standard, or cabinet makers' arms, elegantly painted and gilt on a blue field, ornamented with thirteen stars, ten of which were gilt, the other three unfinished, below the arms, two

hands united—motto—"By unity we support society." The masons, six a-breast, wearing linen aprons, and bucks' tails in their hats.

The work-shop, seventeen feet long, by nine feet eight inches wide, and fourteen feet high, on a carriage drawn by four horses—at each end of the shop ten flars—two signs, inscribed, "federal cabinet and chair-shop," one on each side. Mr. John Brown, with journeymen and apprentices at work in the shop. The shop followed by journeymen and apprentices six a-breast, all wearing linen aprons, and bucks' tails in their hats—the aprons of American manufacture—one hundred in train.

### XXXVI. Brick-makers.

Carrying a large flag of green silk, on which was represented a brick-yard, hands at work, a kiln burning—at a little distance, a federal city building—motto—

"It was found hard in Egypt.

"But this prospect makes it easy."

Ten master brick-makers, headed by Mr. David Rose, ten, and followed by one hundred workmen in frocks and trowsers, with tools, &c.

### XXXVII.

House, ship, and sign painters.

Arms, three shields argent on a field azure: crest, a hand holding a brush, proper; motto, "Virtue alone is true nobility." The flag fourteen feet long by seven; on it a mill for manufacturing colours, a glazing table, with a stone for grinding paint; flag furnished with pots, sashes tools, &c. The business on the flag, conducted by messrs. Stride, Wells, Cowen, Deveter, and McElwee. Flagborne by Mr. Faulburg, as oldest painter, supported by messrs. Flin and Fullerton: the rest of the company marching six a-breast, with gilded brushes, diamonds, gold hammers, glazing knives, &c. Sixty-eight in procession.

### XXXVIII. Porters,

Led by John Lawrence and George Green; on each side a porter, dressed with a silk sash, leading a horse and dray, the horse richly decorated with blue, white, and red ribands—on the dray, five barrels of superfine flour, the words, "Federal flour" painted on the heads of the barrels; followed by John Jacobs and forty porters—a light blue silk standard borne by Da-

vid Sparks, on which were exhibited ten stripes and thirteen stars, three of them clouded, the rest in full splendour; and a horse and dray, with four barrels on the dray, and a porter leading a mill—motto—"My industry ever to encourage it." The standard followed by a number of men, and the rear closed by Andrew Dwyer and Joseph Gresholt. The officers all dressed with silk sashes, and officers and men wearing white aprons, tied on with blue silk ribands, and carrying in their hands whips ornamented with blue, red, and white ribands.

The five barrels of federal flour were, after the procession, delivered to the overseers, for the use of the poor.

### XXXIX.

Clock and watch makers.

The company's procession headed on a silk flag—Motto, "We do all 12 things." Headed by John Wood, and followed by twenty-five members of the company.

### XI.

Fringe or laced weavers.

Mr. John Williams bore on a blue sash, crossed with a gild sash, across the chest, the words, "to which were five hundred members, and a great variety of spectators." The flag, green and white, was carried by a man with a gird of blue, to show that they were in employ; the flag and sash, to show that it was, as yet, unemployed. In the right hand was fixed a wand eighteen inches long, on which flowed a riband of ten stripes. Immediately below the cross was a paper inscribed with verses, composed by Mr. Williams on the occasion.

### XII. Bricklayers,

Headed by messrs. Nicholas Hicks, William Johnson and Jacob Grass, with their aprons on, and trowsers in their hands—a flag with the following device: the bricklayers' arms; the federal city rising out of a forest, workmen building it, and the sun illuminating it. Motto, "With buildings and rulers are the works of our hands." The flag carried by messrs. Charles Souder, William Mash and Joseph Wilds, with their aprons, and supported by messrs. John Robbins, Peter Waglom, Thomas Mitchell, John Boyd, Burton Wallace, Michael Groves, John Souder, Edward

M'Kaighen, Alexander M'Kinley ; ten mallet bracklayers, with their aprons on, and their trowels and plumb-rules in their hands—followed by fifty-five masters and journeymen, in their aprons, and carrying trowels in their hands.

#### XLII. Tailors,

Preceded by messrs. Barker, Stille, Martin and Tatem, carrying a white flag, with the company's arms in gold, supported by two camels. Motto, "*by union our strength increases*," Followed by two hundred and fifty of the trade.

#### XLIII.

Instrument makers, turners, Windfor chair and spinning-wheel makers, Conducted by captain John Cornish ; mr. John Stow bearing the standard, the turners' arms, with the addition of a spinning-wheel on one side, and a Windfor chair on the other. Motto, "*by faith we obtain*." Messrs. George Stow and Michael Fox carrying columns, representing the several branches of turning. Messrs. Anthony and Mafon, with a groupe of musical instruments, followed by sixty persons dressed in green aprons.

#### XLIV. Carvers and gilders.

The carvers and guilders exhibited an ornamental car, on a federal plan, being thirteen feet by ten on the floor, on which were erected thirteen pilasters, richly ornamented with carved work, the heads of ten gilt and labelled with the names of the several states arranged as they came into the federal union : the remaining three left partly finished ; about three feet above the floor, a level rail united to the pilasters, denoting the equality of the subjects. In the centre a column, with a twining laurel running in a spiral form to the capping, which was ten feet high, on the top of which was placed a bust of general Washington, crowned with a wreath of laurel, and dressed in the American uniform, with the thirteen stars on a collar ; the whole supported by ten tight slays, leading from the finished pilasters to the cap of the column, from whence hung three slack slays, leading to the unfinished pilasters ; over the general's bust the American standard was displayed.

In the centre of the front, the head

of Phidias, the most eminent of the ancient carvers, with emblematic figures supporting it ; inside of the front rail a large figure for the head of a ship, richly carved and painted ; the whole outside of the car decorated with the figures of the seasons, the cardinal virtues, and other devices in carved work. Before the car walked the attills of the several branches, preceded by mr. Cutbush, ship-carver, and mr. Reynolds and mr. Juzgiez, house, furniture, and coach carvers, with young attills going before, decorated with blue ribands round their necks, to which were suspended medallions, blue ground, with ten burnished gold stars, one bearing a figure of Ceres, representing Agriculture ; another, Fame, blowing her trumpet, announcing to the world the federal union ; the middle one carrying a Corinthian column complete, expressive of the domestic branches of carving. In the car was a number of artists at work, superintended by mr. Rush, ship-carver, who planned and executed the car with its principal ornaments.

#### XLV. Coopers,

Led on by mr. Daniel Dolbe—an elegant flag, bearing the coopers' arms, embellished with thirteen stars—motto—" *May commerce flourish—Love as brethren*." Supported by messrs. W. King, R. Babe and John Louch, followed by one hundred and fifty coopers in white leather aprons, and wearing badges in their hats, representing the tools of the trade.

#### XLVI. Plane-makers.

Mr. William Martin in front, bearing the standard, white field, a smoothing plane on the top ; device, a pair of spring dividers, three planes, a brace, a square, and gauge ; followed by eight plane-makers—Motto—" *Truth*."

#### XLVII.

Whip and cane manufacturers.

A machine on a carriage, a boy on it at work plaiting a whip, followed by mr. John M'Allister, and his journeymen, carrying several articles of the trade. On the top of the machine a flag, with this motto—" *Let us encourage our own manufactures*."

#### XLVIII.

Black-smiths, white-smiths, and nailers.

A machine drawn by nine horses,

representing the federal blacksmiths', whitesmiths', and nailors' manufactory, being a frame of ten by fifteen feet, and nine feet high, with a real chimney extending three feet above the roof, and furnished for use. In front of the building three master blacksmiths, messrs. Nathaniel Brown, Nicholas Hefs and William Perkins, supporting the standard, elegantly ornamented with the smiths' arms.—Motto, "*by hammer in hand, all arts do stand.*" The manufactory was in full employ during the procession.—Mr. John Mingler, and his assistant, Christian Keyser, blacksmiths, completed a set of plough-irons out of old swords, worked a sword into a sickle, turned several horse-shoes, and performed several jobs on demand. Mr. John Goodman, jun. whitesmith, finished a complete pair of plyers, a knife, and some machinery, with other work, on demand. Messrs. Andrew Felsing and Benjamin Brummel forged, finished and sold a considerable number of spikes, nails, and broad tacks. The whole was under the conduct of messrs. Godfrey Gebbler, David Henderson, George Goddard, Jacob Ester, Lewis Prah and Jacob Eckfelt, and followed by two hundred brother blacksmiths, whitesmiths and nailors.

#### XLIX.

##### Coach makers,

Preceded by mr. John Bringham, in a phaeton drawn by two horses, and bearing a draft of a coach on a white silk flag. A stage nine feet high, sixteen feet long, and eight feet wide, on a carriage drawn by four horses, representing their shop, with mr. George Way, master-workman, a body and carriage-maker, a wheelwright, a trimmer, and a harness-maker, all at work, and a painter ornamenting a body; on each side of the stage, the words, "*no tax on American carriages;*" in the centre the standard of yellow silk, emblazoned with the arms of the profession, viz. Three coaches in a blue field, the chariot of the sun appearing through the clouds—motto—"*the clouds dispell'd, we shine forth;*" the staff decorated with the implements of the trade; ten masters, each bearing a yellow silk flag, with the names of the states that have adopted the new federal constitution, in letters of gold,

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on a blue field, five walking before and five behind the stage; the whole followed by workmen in the different branches of the trade, to the number of one hundred and fifty.

##### L. Potters.

A flag, on which was neatly painted a kiln burning, and several men at work in the different branches of the business—motto—" *the potter hath power over his clay.*" A four wheeled carriage drawn by two horses, on which was a potter's wheel, and men at work; a number of cups, bowls, mugs, &c. were made during the procession; the carriage was followed by twenty potters, headed by messrs. Christian Piercy and Michael Gilbert, wearing linen aprons of American manufacture.

##### LI. Hatters.

Led by mr. Andrew Tybout.

The standard borne by mr. John Gordon, viz. on a white field a hat in hand, on each side a tassel band; the crest, a beaver.—Motto, on a crimson garter, in gold letters—" *with the industry of the beaver, we support our rights;*" followed by one hundred and twenty-four hatters.

##### LII. Wheelwrights.

A stage drawn by two horses, with five men working upon it; making a plough, and a speed for a waggon wheel. The standard a blue flag—motto—" *the united wheelwrights.*" Followed by twenty-two of the trade, headed by messrs. Conrad Rohman and Nicholas Reep.

##### LIII. Tin-plate workers,

Preceded by Joseph Finaur and Martin Riser, carrying by turns, a flag, bearing the arms of the company properly emblazoned—followed by ten workmen in green aprons.

##### LIV.

Skinners, breeches-makers, and glovers,

Headed by messrs. John Lisle and George Cooper; one carrying in his hand a beaming knife, and the other a paring knife: the standard borne by mr. Shreiner, viz. on one side a deer, and below it a glove; on the other, a golden fleece, and below a pair of breeches—motto—" *may our manufacture be equal in its consumption to its usefulness.*" Followed by fifty-eight of the trade in buckskin breeches and gloves, and wearing bucks-tails in their hats. To these mr. Joseph Rogers,

parchment and glue manufacturer, attached himself.

#### L.V. Tallow chandlers.

Mr. Richard Porter, master. Two standards: first, the company's arms, on a blue field, trimmed with white, three doves with olive branches; over the arms, an angel bearing St. John Baptist's head; on each side two blazing lamps.—Motto, "*let your light so shine.*" Second standard, a representation of a chandelier of thirteen branches, a lighted candle in each, and thirteen silver flars in a half circle. Inscription—"the flars of America, a light to the world." Motto, at the bottom of the chandelier—"united in one." The uniform, blue and white cockades, blue aprons bound with white, and a dove painted in the middle of each; a white rod surmounted by an olive branch, in each person's hand. Twenty in number.

#### L.VI. Victuallers.

A flag, with this inscription—"the death of anarchy and confusion. We feed the poor and hungry." Two axe-men preceding two stately oxen, weighing 3000lbs. Ten boys dressed in white, five on the right, and five on the left of the oxen, carrying small flags, with the names of the states that have ratified the federal constitution; two cleaver men; a band of music. Conductors—messieurs Philip Hall, George Welper, Philip Odenheimer, and Conrad Hoff, followed by eighty-six master-victuallers, all dressed in white. The oxen were killed, and the hides and tallow sold for bread, which was given with the meat to the poor.

#### L.VII.

Printers, book-binders, and stationers. These united professions had the federal printing press erected on a stage nine feet square, which was drawn by four grey horses; there were also, a frame, cases, and all other implements necessary for the business. On the stage were two pressmen and a compositor at work. Mercury, the god of intelligence, was personated by Mr. Durant, who was dressed in character, having wings affixed to his head and feet, a garland of flowers round his temples, and a caduceus in his hand. He distributed among the spectators, some thousand copies of the following ode, written for the occasion, by

the hon. F. Hopkinson, esq. and printed before and during the procession at the Federal Press.

OH for a muse of fire! to mount  
the skies,  
And to a lill'ning world proclaim—  
Behold! behold! an empire rise!  
An era new, Time as he flies,  
Hath enter'd in the book of Fame.  
On Alleghany's tow'ring head  
Echo shall stand—the tidings spread,  
And o'er the lakes, and misty floods  
around,  
An era new resound.

See! where Columbia sits alone,  
And from her star-bespangled  
throne,  
Beholds the gay procession move along,  
And hears the trumpet, and the cho-  
ral song—  
She hears her sons rejoice—  
Looks into future times, and sees  
The num'rous blessings heav'n de-  
crees,  
And with HER plaudit, joins the  
gen'ral voice.

"Tis done! 'tis done! my sons,"  
she cries,  
"In war are valiant, and in council  
wise;  
"Wisdom and valour shall my rights  
defend,  
"And o'er my vast domain those  
rights extend;  
"Science shall flourish—genius stretch  
her wing,  
"In native strains Columbian muse  
sing;  
"Wealth crown the arts, and justice  
clean her scales,  
"Commerce her pond'rous anchor  
weigh,  
"Wide spread her sails,  
"And in far distant seas her flag dis-  
play.  
"My sons for freedom fought, nor  
fought in vain;  
"But found a naked goddess was their  
gain:  
"Good government alone can shew  
the maid,  
"In robes of social happiness array'd."  
Hail to this festival! all hail the  
day!  
Columbia's standard on her roof  
display;  
And let the people's motto ever be,  
"United thus, and thus united, free."

An ode, in the German language, fitted to the purpose, and printed by Mr. Steiner, was also thrown amongst the people as the procession moved along. Ten small packages, containing the English ode and the list of toasts for the day, were made up and addressed to the ten states in union respectively; these were tied to pigeons, which at intervals rose from Mercury's cap, and flew off, with the acclamations of an admiring multitude.

Mr. William Sellers, sen. bore the standard of the united professions; arms, —azure, a chevron argent, charged with an American bald-eagle volant, and two reams of paper (corded, over blue covers) between three books closed; and in chief, perched on the point of the chevron, a dove with an olive branch; all proper. Supporters, two Fames, blowing their trumpets, clothed with sky-blue flowing robes, spangled with stars, argent. Crest, a bible displayed, proper, on a wreath azure and argent. Under the escutcheon, two pens placed saltier ways, proper. Motto—*"we protect and are supported by liberty."* After the standard, masters of the combined professions, followed by journeymen and apprentices, each carrying a scroll tied with blue silk binding, exhibiting the word "*typographer*," illuminated by ten stars in union. Fifty in the train.

#### LVIII. Saddlers.

A saddler's shop dressed with saddlery, and a variety of ready made work, elegant American plated furniture, &c. drawn by two fine horses. In the shop Mr. Stephen Barrows and a number of hands at work, one of whom (having the different parts in readiness) completed a neat saddle during the procession. The standard, carried by Messrs. Jehosaphat Polk and John Young, was of green silk, with the company's arms elegantly painted and gilt.—Motto, "*our trust is in God.*" The company was headed by Messrs. John Stephens and John Marr. Mr. William Healy, silver-plater, joined himself to this corps, carrying a federal bit, of his own workmanship.

#### LIX. Stone-cutters.

Three apprentices before with tools, and two with the orders of the operative lodge, one with the standard,

in mason's order; the rest followed with pieces of polished marble. Twenty in number.

#### LX. Bread and biscuit bakers.

A standard bearing the bread bakers' arms, properly emblazoned—motto—*"may our country never want bread."* Uniform, white shirts and full plaited aprons, quite round the waist, with a light blue sash. A stage, with a baker's oven six feet in diameter, and three hands at work as the procession went on, directed by a master baker, who distributed bread to the people as it came out of the oven. Headed by Mr. George Mayer.

Biscuit bakers' standard—a white flag with the representation of a bake-house and several hands working in the different branches of the business—motto, *"may the federal government revive our trade."* Messrs. Thomas Hopkins and Mathias Landenberger in front of twelve masters. Messrs. John Peters, senior, and William Echart, closed the rear; each master carrying a small peale. The number of bakers in procession one hundred and thirty.

#### LXI. Gunsmiths.

A stage erected upon a four wheel carriage, drawn by four horses, being in length fourteen feet, and in breadth eight feet, with a motto in large letters on each side, "*federal armoury*," with a number of hands thereon at work, employed in different branches of the trade, conducted by two senior masters, viz. John Nicholson and Joseph Perkins; Abraham Morrow bearing a standard at the head of the company, in rear of the carriage, the standard decorated with sundry devices representing the arms belonging to the trade. The standard, a large white silk flag, with cross guns in the middle, at the top of the cross guns the cap of liberty, with the letters CP. (city proof); underneath the guns, the cross pistols, with the letter V (viewed); at the end nearest the staff, a powder cask; at the opposite end, the representation of three balls. The uniform of the company, green baize aprons with green strings.

#### LXII. Copper smiths.

A car fourteen by seven feet, drawn by four horses, with three hands at work at stills and tea kettles, under

the direction of mr. Benjamin Harbeson.

A standard with the arms of the trade, and other things emblematical, surrounded with thirteen stars, borne by two maulers ; seventeen maulers of the procession following.

### LXIII.

Gold-smiths, silver-smiths and jewellers.

William Ball, etq. senior member, with an urn.

Standard bearers, messrs. Joseph Gee and John Germon, carrying a silk flag with the silver-smiths' arms on one side of it—motto—“*justitia virtutum regina.*” And on the reverse the genius of America, holding in her hand a silver urn, with the following motto: *the purity, brightness and solidity of this metal are emblematical of that liberty which we expect from the new constitution*: her head surrounded by thirteen stars, ten of them very brilliant, representing the states which have ratified; two of them less bright, representing New York and North Carolina, whose ratifications are shortly expected; one with three dark points and two light ones, an emblem of Rhode Island, and one of equal lustre with the first ten, just emerging from the horizon, near one half seen, for the rising state of Kentucky; after which followed the rest of the maulers, with their journeymen and apprentices: in all thirty-five.

### LXIV. Distillers.

On a standard of light blue silk a still, worm, tub, and other implements of the business, neatly painted: the standard borne by mr. Michael Shubert, and followed by twelve distillers.

### LXV. Tobacconists,

Headed by mr. John Riley: the standard of white silk; a tobacco plant with thirteen leaves, ten in perfection, three not finished, a hog's head of tobacco on one side of the plant, a roll of plug tobacco, bottle and bladder of snuff; over the plant on the other side are thirteen stars ten silvered, and shining bright, the other three not finished—carried by mr. Thomas Leiper:—motto—“*success to the tobacco plant.*” Each member with a green apron and blue strings, a plume of the different kinds of tobacco leaves in his hat, and different tools of his profession in his hands.

Conductors—messrs. Hamilton, Few, Stimble and Murphy. Seventy in number.

### LXVI. Brass-founders.

Mr. Daniel King, in a car drawn by four grey horses, with emblematical colours, and a furnace in blast during the whole procession. He furnished a three inch howitzer, which was mounted and fired with the artillery on Union Green; his journeymen and apprentices also neatly executed several other articles in that ingenious branch. The motto of the colours, “*in vain the earth her treasure hides.*” The whole was executed by mr. King, at his own expence.

### LXVII.

Stocking manufacturers,

Headed by mr. George Freytag; thirty in number: their colours white, with a pair of blue stockings across, a cap above, finger mitt below, encircled with a gilded heart, a gilded crown with ten horns or points; on each, a blue star; above all—Motto—“*the union of the American stocking manufacturers.*”

### LXVIII.

Tanners and curriers.

Tanners twenty five in number, led by mr. George Leib, carrying the flag with the company's arms.—Motto, “*God be with us.*”

Curriers, led by mr. George Oakley, carrying the flag with the company's arms. Motto, “*Spes nostra Deus.*” Followed by thirty-four of the trade, each carrying a currying knife, and wearing a blue apron and jean coat of our new manufactory.

### LXIX. Upholsterers,

Headed by messrs. John Mason and John Davis. In front, a cushion with its drapery, on which fluttered a dove with an olive branch in its mouth, and on its head a double scroll. Motto, “*be liberty thine.*” Followed by a cabriole sofa decorated.

### LX. Sugar refiners.

Conducted by the honourable Christopher Kucher, captain Jacob Lawerwyler, messrs. Benjamin Pennington, John Morgan, David Miercken, Adam Coruman and Henry Clause, wearing black cockades, blue sashes and white aprons, with a blue standard: Arms—or, on a staff, erect in pale, proper, a cap of liberty; azure, turned up ermine;



placed between two sugar loaves in fests, covered with blue paper; on a chief of the third, thirteen stars argent: crest, a lighted candle, in a candlestick inscribed on the foot with the word "*proof*;" proper—motto, in a scroll over the crest, "*double refined*." The whole ornamented with sugar canes; two of which are placed, faster ways, under the escutcheon, and extending up the sides thereof. Under the arms, the words "*American manufacture*." The standard was followed by thirty-six persons of the trade, with white aprons, (on which were painted sugar-loaves, marked ten) and bearing the various implements of the business.

#### LXXI. Brewers.

Ten in number, headed by Reuben Haines, with ten ears of barley in their hats, and falhes of hop-vines, carrying malt-shovels and mashing oars; one dray loaded with malt and hops, and one loaded with two hog-heads and a butt, marked, "*beer, ale, porter*," with the following inscription, "*proper drink for Americans*;" a standard carried by Luke Morris, decorated with the brewers' arms: motto, "*home-brewed is best*."

#### LXXII.

Peruke-makers and barber-surgeons, preceded by messrs. Perrie and Tautwine, full dressed. The standard, a white field with the arms of the company, and other devices suited to the occasion, viz. a pillar, the emblem of strength, with a cap of liberty, supported by twelve hands, in gules, representing the twelve concurring states that called the grand convention; a pelican and her young, in a field, azure, the arms of the barber surgeons; a goat rampant, in full coat, argent, in a field, sable, the arms of the peruke-makers; with two arms extended at top, hand in hand, the emblem of union and friendship; supporters to the arms, a land and river horse, with ornaments. Motto, "*united we stand*."

The treasurer of the company—the trustees—the company by seniority, hand in hand, six abreast, consisting of twenty-two, each wearing a white tash, with a black relief down the middle, and cockades of the same, in honour of the first and great ally of the united states.

#### LXXIII. Engravers.

Their armorial insignia (devised for the occasion) were—Or, on a chevron engrailed, gules (between a parallel ruler sable, barred and blued of the first, and two gravers faster ways, azure, handle of the third) three plates: the crest, a copper plate on a sand bag proper, inscribed underneath, in large capitals, ENGRAVERS.

#### LXXIV. Plasterers.

(No return.)

#### LXXV. Brush-makers.

A white flag, with a wild boar, and a bundle of bristles over him: the motto, "*federal brush manufactory*." The flag carried by mr. Roger Flahavan, jun.

#### LXXVI. Stay-makers.

were represented by mr. Francis Serre, with his first journeyman carrying an elegant pair of lady's stays.

#### LXXVII.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by captain Rees, with the standard of the second regiment.

#### LXXVIII.

The civil and military officers of congress in the city.

#### LXXIX.

The supreme executive council of Pennsylvania. [His excellency the president was too much indisposed to attend.]

#### LXXX.

The justices of the common pleas and the magistrates.

#### LXXXI.

Sheriff and coroner on horseback.

#### LXXXII.

Board of city wardens.

City treasurer, and secretary to the board.

Clerks of the markets, with standard, weights and measures,

Constable of the watch, with his two assistants, bearing their slaves.

Munc.

Twenty watchmen, with their flames decorated, and in their proper dress.

Twenty silent watchmen, with their slaves.

Watchmen, calling the hour ten o'clock and a glorious star light morning.

The hour and stars alluded to the ten states who have adopted the constitution.

#### LXXXIII.

The street commissioners.

## LXXXIV.

The gentlemen of the bar, headed by the honourable Edward Shippen, esq. president of the common pleas, and William Bradford, esq. attorney-general, followed by the students of law.

## LXXXV.

The clergy of the different christian denominations, with the rabbi of the Jews, walking arm in arm.

## LXXXVI.

The college of physicians, headed by their president, dr. John Redman, and followed by the students in physic.

## LXXXVII.

Students of the university, headed by the vice-provost, and of the episcopal academy, and most of the schools in the city, preceded by their respective principals, professors, masters and tutors; a small flag borne before them inscribed with these words, "*the rising generation.*"

## LXXXVIII.

The county troop of light horse, commanded by major W. Macpherson, brought up the rear of the whole.

Major Fullerton attended the right wing, and col. Menzies the left wing of the line.

Messrs. Stoneburner, Hiltzheimer and Jonathan Penrose, furnished and superintended the horses for the carriages.

This grand procession began to move from the place of rendezvous about half past nine (as was before mentioned) and the front arrived at Union Green, in front of Bush Hill, about half past twelve. The length of the line was about one mile and a half; the distance marched through about three miles. As the procession came into Fourth-street, captain David Zeigler and lieutenant John Armstrong had drawn up their company of continental troops, and saluted the procession as it passed, according to military rule.

A very large circular range of tables, covered with canvas awnings, and plentifully spread with a cold collation, had been prepared the day before by the committee of provisions. In the centre of this spacious circle the grand edifice was placed, and the ship Union moored. The flags of the consuls and other standards were planted round the edifice.

As soon as the rear of the line had arrived, James Wilson, esq. addressed the people from the federal edifice in the following oration:

*My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,*

**Y**OUR candid and generous indulgence I may well bespeak, for many reasons. I shall mention but *one*. While I express it, I feel it in all its force. My abilities are unequal—abilities far superior to mine would be unequal—to the occasion, on which I have the honor of being called to address you.

*A people, free and enlightened. ESTABLISHING and RATIFYING a system of government, which they have previously CONSIDERED, EXAMINED and APPROVED!* This is the spectacle, which we are assembled to celebrate; and it is the most dignified one that has yet appeared on our globe. Numerous and splendid have been the triumphs of conquerors. But from what causes have they originated?—Of what consequences have they been productive? They have generally begun in ambition: they have generally ended in tyranny. But nothing tyrannical can participate of dignity; and to Freedom's eye, SESOSTRIS himself appears contemptible, even when he treads on the necks of kings.

The senators of Rome, seated on their curule chairs, and surrounded with all their official lustre, were an object much more respectable; and we view, without displeasure, the admiration of those untutored savages, who considered them as many gods upon earth. But who were these senators? They were only a *part* of a society: they were vested only with *inferior* powers.

What is the object exhibited to our contemplation? A WHOLE PEOPLE exercising its *first and greatest power*—performing an act of SOVEREIGNTY, ORIGINAL, and UNLIMITED!

The scene before us is *unexampled* as well as *magnificent*. The greatest part of governments have been the deformed offspring of force and fear. With these we deign not comparison. But there have been others which have formed bold pretensions to higher regard. You have heard of SPARTA, of ATHENS and of ROME; you have heard of their admired constitutions, and of their high-prized freedom. In fancied right of these, they conceived themselves to be elevated above the rest of the human race, whom they marked with the degrading title of *Barbarians*. But did they, in all their pomp and pride of liberty, ever furnish, to the astonished world, an exhibition similar to that which we now contemplate? Were their constitutions framed by those, who were appointed for that purpose, by the people? After they were framed, were they submitted to the consideration of the people? Had the people an opportunity of expressing their sentiments concerning them? Were they to

*stand or fall* by the people's approving or rejecting vote? To all these questions, attentive and impartial history obliges us to answer in the negative. The people were either *unfit* to be trusted, or their law-givers were too *ambitious* to trust them.

The far-famed establishment of LYCURGUS was introduced by deception and fraud. Under the specious pretence of consulting the oracle concerning his laws, he prevailed on the SPARTANS to make a temporary experiment of them during his absence, and to swear that they would suffer no alteration of them till his return. Taking a disingenuous advantage of their scrupulous regard for their oaths, he prevented his return by a voluntary death, and, in this manner, endeavoured to secure a proud immortality to his system.

Even SOLON—the mild and moderating SOLON—far from considering himself as employed only to *propose* such regulations as he should think best calculated for promoting the happiness of the commonwealth, made and *promulgate* his laws with all the haughty airs of absolute power. On more occasions than one, we find him boasting, with much self-complacency, of his extreme forbearance and condescension, because he did not establish a disposition in his own favour, and because he did not reduce his equals to the humiliating condition of his slaves.

Did NUMA submit his *institutions* to the good sense and free investigation of ROME? They were received in precious communications from the goddess EGERIA, with whose presence and regard he was supremely favoured; and they were imposed on the easy faith of the citizens, as the *dictates* of an inspiration that was divine.

Such, my fellow-citizens, was the origin of the most splendid establishments that have been hitherto known; and such were the arts, to which they owed their introduction and success.

What a *flattering* contrast arises from a retrospect of the scenes which we now commemorate? Delegates were appointed to deliberate and propose. They met and performed their delegated trust. The result of their deliberations was laid before the people. It was discussed and scrutinized in the fullest, freest and severest manner—by speaking, by writing and by printing—by individuals and by public bodies—by its friends and by its enemies. What was the issue? Most favourable and most glorious to the system.—In state after state, at time after time, it was ratified—in some states unanimously—on the whole, by a large and very respectable majority.

It would be improper now to examine its qualities. A decent respect for those who have accepted it, will lead us to presume that it is worthy of their acceptance. The deliberate ratifications, which have taken place, at once recommend the system, and the people, by whom it has been ratified.

But why, methinks I hear some one say—why is so much exultation displayed in celebrating this event? We are prepared to give the reasons of our joy. We rejoice, because, under this constitution, we hope to see *just government*, and to enjoy the blessings that walk in its train.

Let us begin with PEACE—the mild and modest harbinger of felicity! How seldom does the amiable wanderer choose, for her permanent residence, the habitations of men! In their systems, the sees too many arrangements, civil and ecclesiastical, inconsistent with the calmness and benignity of her temper. In the old world, how many millions of men do we behold, unprofitable to society, burdensome to industry, the props of establishments that deserve not to be supported, the causes of distrust in the times of peace, and the instruments of destruction in the times of war? Why are they not employed in cultivating useful arts and in forwarding public improvements? Let us indulge the pleasing expectation that *soon* will be the operation of government in the UNITED STATES. Why may we not hope, that, disentangled from the intrigues and jealousies of European politics, and unmolessted with the alarm and solicitude to which these intrigues and jealousies give birth, our councils will be directed to the encouragement, and our strength will be exerted in the cultivation of all the arts of peace?

Of these, the first is AGRICULTURE. This is true in all countries: in the UNITED STATES, its truth is of peculiar importance. The *subsistence* of man, the materials of manufactures, the articles of commerce—all spring originally from the soil. On agriculture, therefore, the wealth of nations is founded. Whether we consult the observations that reason will suggest, or attend to the information that history will give, we shall, in each case, be satisfied of the influence of government, good or bad, upon the state of agriculture. In a government, whose maxims are those of oppression, property is insecure. It is given, it is taken away by caprice. Where there is no security for property, there is no encouragement for industry. Without industry, the richer the soil, the more it abounds with weeds. The evidence of history warrants the truth of these general remarks. Attend to Greece—and compare her agriculture in ancient and in modern times. THEN, smiling harvest bore testimony to the bountiful boons of liberty. Now, the very earth languishes under oppression. View the *Campagna* of Rome. How melancholy the prospect! Whichever way you turn your afflicted eyes, scenes of desolation croud before them. Waste and barrenness appear around you in all their hideous forms. What is the reason? With DOUBLE tyranny the land is cursed. Open the classic page: you trace, in chaste description, the beautiful reverie of every thing

you have seen. Whence proceeds the difference? When that description was made, the force of liberty pervaded the soil.

But is agriculture the only art, which feels the influence of government? Over MANUFACTURES and COMMERCE its power is equally prevalent. There the same causes operate—and there they produce the same effects. The *industrious village*, the *busy city*, the *crowded port*—all these are the gifts of liberty; and without a good government, liberty cannot exist.

These are advantages, but these are not all the advantages that result from a system of good government.—Agriculture, manufactures and commerce will insure to us plenty, convenience and elegance. But is there not something still wanting to finish the man? Are *internal virtues and accomplishments* less *estimable* or less *attractive* than *external arts and ornaments*? Is the operation of government less powerful upon the *former* than upon the *latter*? By no means. Upon this as upon a preceding topic, reason and history will concur in their information and advice. In a serene mind, the sciences and the virtues love to dwell. But can the mind of a man be serene, when the property, liberty, subsistence of *himself*, and of *those*, for whom he feels *more* than he feels for *himself*, depend on a tyrant's nod. If the disputed subject of oppression can, with difficulty, exert his enfeebled faculties, so far as to provide, on the incessant demands of nature, food just enough to lengthen out his wretched existence, can it be expected that, *in such a state*, he will experience those *fine and vigorous movements of the soul*, without the full and free exercise of which, *science and virtue will never flourish*? Look around you to the nations that now exist. View, in historic retrospect, the nations that have heretofore existed. The collected result will be, an entire conviction of these all-interesting truths—*where TYRANNY reigns, there is the COUNTRY of IGNORANCE and VICE—where GOOD GOVERNMENT prevails, there is the COUNTRY of SCIENCE and VIRTUE*. Under a good government, therefore, we must look for the *accomplished man*.

But shall we confine our views *even here*? While we wish to be accomplished *men and citizens*, shall we wish to be *nothing more*? While we perform our duty, and promote our happiness in *this world*, shall we bestow no regards upon the *next*? Does no connexion subsist between the *two*? From *this connexion* flows the most important of all the blessings of good government. But here let us pause—*unassisted reason* can guide us no farther—the *directs* us to that HEAVEN-DESCENDED SCIENCE, by which LIFE and IMMORTALITY have been brought to light.

May we not now say, that we have reason for our joy? But while we cherish the de-

lightful emotion, let us remember those things, which are *requisite* to give it *permanence and stability*. Shall we lie *supine*, and look in listless languor, for those blessings and enjoyments, to which *exertion* is inseparably attached? If we would be *happy*, we must be *active*. The constitution and our manners must mutually support and be supported. Even on this levity, it will not be disagreeable or incongruous to review the virtues and manners that both *justify* and *adorn* it.

FRUGALITY and TEMPERANCE first attract our attention. These simple but powerful virtues are the sole foundation, on which a good government can rest with security. They were the virtues, which nursed and educated infant ROME, and prepared her for all her greatness. But in the giddy hour of her prosperity, she spurned from her the obscure influences, by which it was procured; and, in their place, substituted *luxury and dissipation*. The consequence was such as might have been expected. She preserved, for some time, a gay and flourishing appearance; but the internal health and soundness of her constitution were gone. At last, she fell a victim to the poisonous draughts, which were administered by her perfidious favourites. The fate of Rome, both in her *rising* and in her *falling* state, will be the fate of every other nation that shall follow both parts of her example.

INDUSTRY appears next among the virtues of a good citizen. Idleness is the nurse of villains. The industrious alone constitute a nation's strength. I will not expatiate on this fruitful subject. Let one animating reflection suffice. In a *well-constituted commonwealth*, the industry of every citizen extends beyond himself. A common interest pervades the society. *Each gains from ALL, and ALL gain from EACH*. It has often been observed, that the *sciences flourish all together*: the remark applies equally to the arts.

Your patriotic feelings attest the truth of what I say, when, among the virtues necessary to merit and preserve the advantages of a good government, I number a *warm and uniform ATTACHMENT to LIBERTY, and to the CONSTITUTION*. The enemies of liberty are artful and insidious. A counterfeiter steals her dress, imitates her manner, forges her signature, assumes her name. But the real name of the deceiver is *licentiousness*. Such is her effrontery, that she will charge liberty to her face with imposture; and she will, with shameless front, insist that *herself alone* is the *genuine character*, and that *herself alone* is entitled to the respect, which the *genuine character* deserves. With the giddy and undiscerning, on whom a deeper impression is made by dauntless impudence than by modest merit, her pretensions are often successful. She receives the honours of liberty, and liberty herself is

treated as a *traitor* and an *usurper*. Generally, however, this bold impostor acts only a *secondary* part. Though she alone appear upon the stage, her motions are regulated by *dark Ambition*, who sits concealed behind the curtain, and who knows that *Despotism*, his *OTHER favourite*, can always follow the success of *Licentiousness*. Against these enemies of liberty, who act in concert, though they appear on opposite sides, the patriot citizen will keep a watchful guard.

A *good constitution* is the greatest blessing, which a society can enjoy. Need I infer, that it is the duty of every citizen to use his best and most unremitting endeavours for preserving it pure, healthful and vigorous? For the accomplishment of this great purpose, the exertions of no one citizen are unimportant. Let no one, therefore, harbour, for a moment, the mean idea, that he is and can be of no value to his country: let the contrary manly impression animate his soul. Every one can, at *many* times, perform, to the state, *useful* services; and he, who steadily pursues the road of patriotism, has the most inviting prospect of being able, at *some* times, to perform *eminent* ones. Allow me to direct your attention, in a very particular manner, to a momentous part, which, by this constitution, every citizen will frequently be called to act. All those in places of power and trust will be elected either immediately by the people, or in such a manner that their appointment will depend ultimately on such immediate election. All the *derivative* movements of government must spring from the *original* movement of the *people at large*. It to this they give a sufficient force and a just direction, all the *others* will be governed by its controlling power. To speak without a metaphor, if the people, at their elections, take care to choose none but representatives that are wise and good, their representatives will take care, in their turn, to choose or appoint none but such as are wise and good also. The remark applies to every succeeding election and appointment. Thus the characters proper for public officers will be diffused from the *immediate elections* of the people over the *remote* parts of administration. Of what *immense consequence* is it, then, that this *PRIMARY duty* should be *faithfully* and *skilfully* discharged! On the *faithful* and *skilful* discharge of it, the public happiness or unhappiness, under *this* and *every other* constitution, must, in a very great measure, depend. For, believe me, no government, *even the best*, can be *happily* administered by *ignorant* or  *vicious* men. You will forgive me, I am sure, for endeavouring to impress upon your minds, in the strongest manner, the importance of this great duty. It is the *first concoction* in politics; and if an *error* is committed *here*, it can never be *corrected* in any subsequent *process*: the certain consequence must be

*disease*. Let no one say, that he is but a *single* citizen; and that his ticket will be but *one* in the box. That one ticket may *turn* the election. In *battle*, every *soldier* should consider the *public safety* as depending on his *single arm*: at an *election*, every *citizen* should consider the *public happiness* as depending on his *single vote*.

A *PROGRESSIVE STATE* is necessary to the *happiness* and *perfection* of man. Whatever attainments are already reached, attainments still higher should be pursued. Let us, therefore, strive with noble emulation. Let us suppose we have done *nothing*, while *any thing* yet remains to be done. Let us, with fervent zeal, press forward, and make *unceasing advances* in every thing that can *SUPPORT, IMPROVE, REFINE, OR EMBELLISH* society. To enter into particulars under each of these heads, and to dilate them according to their importance, would be improper at *this* time. A few remarks on the *last* of them, will be congenial with the circumstances of this *auspicious* day.

If we give the slightest attention to *NATURE*, we shall discover, that with *utility*, *she* is curious to blend *ornament*. Can we imitate a better pattern? Public exhibitions have been the favourite amusements of some of the wisest and most accomplished nations. GREECE, in her most flourishing era, considered her *games* as *far more*, being the least respectable among her public establishments. The *fiets* of the *Grecians* convince that, on this subject, the sentiments of GREECE were fortified by those of ROME.

Public processions may be so planned and executed as to join *both* the properties of nature's rule. They may *instruct* and *improve*, while they *entertain* and *please*. They may point out the *elegance* or *usefulness* of the *sciences* and the *arts*. They may preserve the *memory*, and engrave the *importance* of great *political events*. They may represent, with peculiar felicity and force, the *operation* and *effects* of great *political truths*. The *pastures*, *and splendid decorations* around me, furnish the most *beautiful* and most *brilliant* proofs, that these remarks are *FAR FROM BEING IMAGINARY*.

The commencement of our government has been *eminently glorious*: let our progress be *equally* *excellent* be *proportionably great*. It will—it must be so. What an enrapturing prospect opens on the UNITED STATES! Placid husbandry walks in front, attended by the *docile plough*. Lowing herds adorn our valleys: bleating flocks spread over our hills: verdant meadows, enameled pastures, yellow harvests, bending orchards, rise in rapid succession from east to west. PLENTY, with her *opious horn*, sits easy smiling, and, in *conscious complacency*, enjoys and presides over the scenes. COMMERCE next advances in all her *splendour*!

and embellished forms. The rivers, and lakes, and seas, are crowded with ships. Their shores are covered with cities. The cities are filled with inhabitants. The arts, decked with elegance, yet with simplicity, appear in beautiful variety, and well-adjusted arrangement. Around them are diffused, in rich abundance, the necessaries, the decorations, and the ornaments of life. With heartfelt contentment, INDUSTRY beholds his honest labours flourishing and secure. PEACE walks serene and unalarmed over all the unmolested regions—while LIBERTY, VIRTUE, and RELIGION, go hand in hand, harmoniously, protecting, enlivening, and exalting all! HAPPY COUNTRY! MAY THY HAPPINESS BE PERPETUAL!

The several light companies were then drawn off by captain Heysham to an eminence nearly opposite, where they fired a feu-de-joie of three rounds, also three volleys, followed by three cheers, to testify their satisfaction on this joyful occasion.

After the oration, the company went to dinner.

No spirits or wines of any kind were introduced; American porter, beer and cyder were the only liquors. With these were drank the following toasts, announced by the trumpet, and answered by a discharge of artillery—a round of ten to each toast, and these were in like manner answered by a discharge from the ship Rising Sun, at her moorings.

#### T O A S T S.

1. The people of the united states.
2. Honour and immortality to the members of the late federal convention.
3. General Washington.
4. The king of France.
5. The united netherlands.
6. The foreign powers in alliance with the united states.
7. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the united states.
8. The heroes who have fallen in defence of our liberties.
9. May reason, and not the sword, hereafter decide all national disputes.
10. The whole family of mankind.

It should not be omitted, that the several trades furnished the devices, mottos, machines and decorations themselves, and at the expence of their respective companies—and that by much the greatest part of the work exhibited on that day, was completed between Monday morning and the Thursday evening following.

The military in general, horse, artillery and infantry, were completely dressed and accoutred, according to the uniforms of their respective corps, and made a most martial appearance; being distributed in various parts of the line, they gave a beautiful variety to the whole, and evinced that both soldiers and citizens united in favour of the new government.

The whole of this vast body was formed, and the entertainment of the day conducted with a regularity and decorum far beyond all reasonable expectation. The footways, the windows and roofs of the houses were crowded with spectators, exhibiting a spectacle truly magnificent and irresistibly animating. But what was more pleasing to the contemplative mind, universal love and harmony prevailed, and every countenance appeared to be the index of a heart glowing with urbanity and rational joy. This pleasing idea was much supported by a circumstance which probably never before occurred in such extent—viz. the clergy of almost every denomination united in charity and brotherly love—*may they and their flocks so walk through life!*

It is impossible to be precise in numbers on such an occasion; but averaging several opinions, there were about five thousand in the line of procession, and about seventeen thousand on Union Green. The green was entirely cleared by six o'clock in the evening, and the edifice, ship, and several machines being withdrawn, the citizens soberly retired to their respective homes. The weather was remarkably favourable for the season—cloudy without rain, and a brisk wind from the south during the whole day. At night the ship Rising Sun was handsomely illuminated in honour of this great festival.

Such is the account we have been enabled to give of this memorable exhibition—it is very probable there may be some omissions; if so, the committee can only assure their fellow citizens that no neglect or offence was intended to any individual or company whatever—the shortness of the time, and the complicated nature of the talk, they have undertaken, must be their apology.

As the system of government (now

fully ratified) has been the occasion of much present joy, so may it prove a source of future blessing to our country, and the glory of our rising empire.

*Published by order,  
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,  
Chairman of the committee  
of arrangement.*



OBSERVATIONS ON the FEDERAL PROCESSION on the FOURTH of JULY, 1788, in the city of PHILADELPHIA; in a letter from a gentleman in this city to his friend in a neighbouring state.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**H**EREWITH you will receive an account of our late procession in honour of the establishment of the Federal Government. It was drawn up by Judge Hopkinson, a gentleman to whose patriotism, ingenuity, and taste, our city is much indebted for the entertainment.

To this account I cannot help adding a few facts and remarks that occurred during the day, and which were of too minute or speculative a nature to be introduced in the general account published by order of the committee of arrangement.

The Procession gave universal pleasure. Never upon any occasion during the late war did I see such deep seated joy in every countenance. Foreigners speak of it in the highest terms, and many of them, who have seen the splendid processions of coronations in Europe, declare, that they all yield, in the effect of pleasure, to our hasty exhibition instituted in honour of our Federal Government.

The connexion of the great event of independence---the French alliance---the Peace---and name of general Washington, with the adoption of the constitution, was happily calculated to unite the most remarkable transports of the mind which were felt during the war, with the great event of the day, and to produce such a tide of joy as has seldom been felt in any age or country. Political joy is one of the strongest emotions of the human mind. Think then, my friend, from the objects of it which have been mentioned, how powerful must have been its action upon the mind on this occasion.

The first thing that struck me in viewing the procession, was, the occasion of it.

It was not to celebrate a victory obtained in blood over any part of our fellow-creatures.---No city reduced to ashes---no army conquered by capitulation---no news of slaughtered thousands brought the citizens of Philadelphia together. It was to celebrate a triumph of knowledge over

ignorance, of virtue over vice, and of liberty over slavery. It was to celebrate the birth of a free government, the objects of which were to lessen the number of widows and orphans, by preventing the effusion of human blood; to save human nature from the disfigures and desolations of war, and to establish and extend the blessings of peace throughout the continent of America.

The order of the procession was regular, and bore correspondent order in all classes of spectators. A solemn silence reigned both in the streets and at the windows of the houses. This must be ascribed to the sublimity of the sight, and the pleasure it excited in every mind; for sublime objects and intense pleasure never fail of producing silence!

Perhaps a greater number or a greater combination of passions never seized, at the same time, upon every faculty of the soul. The patriot enjoyed a complete triumph, whether the objects of his patriotism were the security of liberty, the establishment of law, the protection of manufactures, or the extension of science in his country. The benevolent man saw a precedent established for forming free governments in every part of the world. The man of humanity contemplated the end of the distresses of his fellow-citizens in the revival of commerce and agriculture. Even the selfish passions were not idle.---The ambitious man beheld, with pleasure, the honours that were to be disposed of by the new government, and the man of wealth realized once more the safety of his bonds and rents, against the inroads of paper money and tender laws. Every person felt one of these passions; many more than one, and some all of them, during the procession. No wonder then that it gave so much and such delicate pleasure. But this was not all. The emblems afforded food for the *understanding* likewise. The history of the most important events of the war, and the inscriptions and devices upon many of the flags gave occasional employment for that noble power of the mind, and added much to the pleasure of the sight. Even the *senses* partook of the entertainment, for the variety of colours displayed in the various ornaments of the machines and flags, and in the dresses of the citizens, together with an excellent band of music, at once charmed the eyes and ears of the spectators, and thereby introduced the body to partake, in a certain degree, of the feast of the mind.

The effects of the procession, upon the minds and bodies of our citizens, deserve to be noticed.---It forced open every heart, inasmuch that many people provided cooling liquors, with which they regaled their fellow citizens as they walked in the procession. It likewise invigorated the muscles of the body. The company assen-

bled at eight o'clock, and were upon foot at the place of parade, and in the procession till one. The distance they marched was three miles, and yet scarcely a person complained of fatigue, altho' there were many old and weakly people in the procession. But this sudden excitement of the vigour of the body left a corresponding debility behind it; for I scarcely met a person in the afternoon, that did not complain of fatigue, and discover a desire to retire to rest early in the evening.

It was very remarkable, that every countenance wore an air of *dignity* as well as pleasure. Every tradesman's boy in the procession seemed to consider himself as a principal in the business. Rank for a while forgot all its claims, and Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures, together with the learned and mechanical Professions, seemed to acknowledge, by their harmony and respect for each other, that they were all necessary to each other, and all useful in cultivated society. These circumstances distinguished this Procession from the processions in Europe, which are commonly instituted in honour of single persons. The military alone partake of the splendor of such exhibitions. Farmers and Tradesmen are either deemed unworthy of such connexions, or are introduced like horses or buildings, only to add to the strength or length of the procession. Such is the difference between the effects of a republican and monarchical government upon the minds of men!

I need not suggest to you how much this mixture of the mechanical and learned professions in a public exhibition is calculated to render trades of all kinds respectable in our country. Farmers and tradesmen are the pillars of national happiness and prosperity. It would seem as if heaven stamped a peculiar value upon agriculture and mechanical arts in America, by selecting WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN to be two of the principal agents in the late revolution. The titles of farmer and mechanic, therefore, can never fail of being peculiarly agreeable in the united States, while gratitude and patriotism live in American breasts. I wish the different trades in Philadelphia may avail themselves of their late sudden and accidental association, and form themselves into distinct incorporated companies. Many advantages would arise to them from such institutions, especially if part of the objects of their union should be to establish a fund for the relief of the infirm or decayed members of their companies, and of their widows and orphans.---Two and six-pence or half a dollar, thrown into a common stock, by each tradesman every month, would produce a fund sufficient for all these benevolent purposes, and would not be missed out of the ordinary profits of his labour. It is

impossible to tell how much distress might, by these means, be prevented, or relieved.

It would give me pleasure to remark upon the effect of every article that composed the procession. But this would lead me far beyond the limits I have prescribed to myself in this letter.

The triumphal car was truly sublime.--It was raised above every other object. The Constitution was carried by a great law-officer, to denote the elevation of the government, and of law and justice, above every thing else in the United States.

The sight of the ship complete in all its parts, moving upon dry land, conveyed emotions to every heart, that cannot be described. She was a ship of war. I wish the procession could have been conducted without blending the emblems of Peace and War together; but this was impossible, while armies and navies are considered as necessary appendages of the sovereignty of independent states. The United States have taught the nations of the world, that it is possible to terminate disputes by appeals to reason, instead of the sword. I do not despair of this mode of deciding national disputes becoming general, in the course of the approaching century. It will be a less change in human affairs, than has been produced by reason and religion in the course of the last two hundred years.

The *clean white dresses* of the victuallers and bakers were very happily calculated to excite such ideas of their respective arts, as could not fail of being agreeable to every spectator. The two oxen, with their decorations, made a noble figure. They were destined to the slaughter-house the next day, for the benefit of the poor; but such was the effect of an agreeable association of ideas, that a general outcry was raised, after they had passed by, against the fate that awaited them. The most trifling object derived a value from being connected with this delightful and interesting exhibition.

The large stage on which the carding and spinning machines displayed the manufactory of COTTON, was viewed with astonishment and delight by every spectator. On that stage were carried the emblems of the future wealth and independence of our country. Cotton may be cultivated in the southern, and manufactured in the eastern and middle States, in such quantities, in a few years, as to clothe every citizen of the United States. Hence will arise a bond of union to the States, more powerful than any article of the New Constitution. Cotton possesses several advantages over wool as an article of dress and commerce. It is not liable to be moth eaten, and is proper both for winter and summer garments. It may moreover be manufactured in America, at a less expence than it can be imported from any nation in Europe. From these



circumstances I cannot help hoping, that we shall soon see cotton not only the uniform of the citizens of America, but an article of exportation to foreign countries. Several respectable gentlemen exhibited a parade of these events, by appearing in complete suits of jeans manufactured by the machines that have been mentioned.

The Clergy formed a very agreeable part of the procession---They manifested, by their attendance, their sense of the connexion between religion and good government. They amounted to seventeen in number. Four and five of them marched in arm with each other, to exemplify the Union. Pains were taken to connect ministers of the most dissimilar religious principles together, thereby to shew the influence of a free government in promoting christian charity. The Rabbi of the Jews, locked in the arms of two ministers of the gospel, was a most delightful sight. There could not have been a more happy emblem contrived, of that section of the new constitution, which opens all its powers and offices alike, not only to every sect of christians, but to worthy men of every religion.

In the course of the morning, many speeches were made by different gentlemen, that arose out of the incidents of the procession. Mr. P---- who walked with the farmers, just behind a man who was sowing grain, upon passing by the lawyers, said, "we sow, gentlemen, but you reap the fruits of our labours." Upon the procession being detained for a few minutes, by an accident having happened to the carriage of the black-smiths' shop, it was said, "that this was all in order, for it was an emblem of the obstructions and difficulties the constitution had met with in its establishment, from the arts of bad, and the ignorance of weak men."

The remarks of every man partook more or less of his profession, and the constitution received nearly as many new names, as there were occupations in the procession. The instructors of youth, with a numerous collection of boys of every size and age in their train, formed a most agreeable part of the exhibition. A worthy citizen who served in several battles, during the late war, informed me, that this part of the procession affected him so much as to draw tears from his eyes.

I must not forget to mention that the weather proved uncommonly favourable to the entertainment. The sun was not to be seen till near two o'clock, at which time the procession was over. A pleasant and cooling breeze blew all day from the south, and in the evening the sky was illuminated by a beautiful Aurora Borealis. Under this head another fact is equally worthy of notice. Notwithstanding the haste with which the machines were made, and

the manner in which they were drawn through the streets, and notwithstanding the great number of women and children that were assembled on fences, scaffolds and roofs of the houses, to see the procession, no one accident happened to any body. These circumstances gave occasion for hundreds to remark, that "Heaven was on the federal side of the question."

It would be ungrateful not to observe, that there have been less equivocal signs in the course of the formation and establishment of this government, of heaven having favoured the federal side of the question. The union of twelve states in the form and of ten states in the adoption of the Constitution, in less than ten months, under the influence of local prejudices, opposite interests, popular arts, and even the threats of bold and desperate men, is a solitary event in the history of mankind. I do not believe that the Constitution was the offspring of inspiration, but I am as perfectly satisfied, that the union of the states, in its form and adoption, is as much the work of a Divine Providence, as any of the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament, were the effects of a divine power.

'Tis done! We have become a nation. America has ceased to be the only power in the world, that has derived no benefit from her declaration of independence. We are more than repaid for the distresses of the war, and the disappointments of the peace. The torpid resources of our country already discover signs of life and motion. We are no longer the scoff of our enemies. The reign of violence is over. Justice has descended from heaven to dwell in our land, and ample restitution has at last been made to human nature, by our New Constitution, for all the injuries she has sustained in the old world from arbitrary governments---false religions---and unlawful commerce.

But I return from this digression, to relate one more fact, from which I derived no small pleasure, or rather triumph, after the procession was over. It is, that out of seventeen thousand people who appeared on the green, and partook of the collation, there was scarcely one person intoxicated, nor was there a single quarrel or even dispute, heard of during the day. All was order, all was harmony and joy. These delightful fruits of the entertainment are to be ascribed wholly to no liquors being drank on the green, but BEER and CYDER. I wish this fact could be published in every language, and circulated through every part of the world, where spiritous liquors are used. I wish further, that a monument could be erected upon UNION GREEN, with the following inscription, with which I shall conclude my letter:

IN HONOUR of AMERICAN  
BEER and CYDER,

It is hereby recorded, for the information of strangers and posterity, that 17 000 people assembled on this green on the 4th of July, 1788, to celebrate the establishment of the constitution of the United States, and that they separated at an early hour, without intoxication, or a single quarrel --- They drank nothing but Beer and Cyder. Learn, reader, to prize those invaluable FEDERAL liquors, and to consider them as the companions of those virtues that can alone render our country free and respectable.

Learn likewise to despise  
SPIRITOUS LIQUORS, as

*Anti-federal*, and to consider them as the companions of all those vices, that are calculated to dishonour and enslave our country.

Since writing the above, I have been informed, that there were two or three persons intoxicated, and several quarrels on the green, but there is good reason to believe that they were all occasioned by spiritous liquors, which were clandestinely carried out, and drank by some disorderly people, contrary to the orders of the day.

I have only to beg your pardon for the length of this letter, and to assure you of the great regard with which I am your sincere friend and humble servant,

Philadelphia, 9th July. 1788.

To -----, Elizabethtown,  
New Jersey.

P. S. I had like to have forgotten to inform you of two important facts that have occurred since the procession. 1<sup>st</sup>. It

has been the happy means of uniting our citizens in the government; and 2<sup>d</sup> has made such an impression upon minds of our young people, that "federal" and "union," have now become part of the "household words" of every family in the city.

A small anecdote connected with effects of the procession, shall finish my preface.

A worthy German who carried a standard of one of the trades, when he came home, desired his wife to take care of the flag till the next time he should be led upon to carry it, "and if I die, (he) before I can have that honour again, I desire that you would place it in my coffin, and bury it with me."

*An enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death—By the author of the enquiry into the effects of public punishments upon criminals and upon society.*

"Thou shalt not kill."

IN an essay upon the effects of public punishments upon criminals and upon society, which I had the honour of reading in the society for political enquiries, convened at the house of his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esq. on the 9th of March 1787, I hinted,

in a short paragraph\*, at the injury of punishing murder by death. I shall attempt in the following essay to support that opinion, and to answer all the objections that have been urged against it.

I. Every man possesses an absolute power over his own liberty and property, but not over his own life. When he becomes a member of political society, he commits the disposal

NOTE.

\* See American Museum, Vol. 1. page 151.

his liberty, and property to his fellow citizens, but as he has no right to dispose of his life, he cannot commit the power over it to any body of men. To take away life, therefore, in any crime, is a violation of the political compact.—

II. The punishment of murder by death, is contrary to reason, and to the order and happiness of society.

1. It lessens the horror of taking away human life, and thereby tends to multiply murders.

2. It produces murder, by its influence upon people who are tired of life, and who, from a supposition that murder is a less crime than suicide, destroy a life (and often that of a near connexion) and afterwards deliver themselves up to justice, that they may escape from their misery by means of halter.

3. The punishment of murder by death, multiplies murders, from the difficulty it creates of convicting persons who are guilty of it. Humanity, revolting at the idea of the severity and certainty of a capital punishment, often steps in, and collects such evidence in favour of a murderer, as screens him from justice altogether, or palliates his crime into manslaughter. If the punishment of murder consisted in long confinement, and hard labour, it would be proportioned to the measure of our feelings of justice, and every member of society would be a watchman or a magistrate, to apprehend a destroyer of human life, and to bring him to punishment.

4. The punishment of murder by death, checks the operations of universal justice, by preventing the punishment of every species of murder. Quick doctors—frauds of various kinds—and a licentious press, often destroy life, and sometimes with malice of the most propense nature. If murder was punished by confinement and hard labour, the authors of the numerous murders that have been mentioned, would be dragged forth, and punished according to their deserts. How much order and happiness would arise to society from such a change in human affairs! But who will attempt to define these species of murder, or to prosecute offenders of this stamp, if death is to be the punishment of the crime after it is admitted,

and proved to be wilful murder?—only alter the punishment of murder, and these crimes will soon assume their proper names, and probably soon become as rare as murder from common acts of violence.

5. The punishment of murder by death, has been proved to be contrary to the order and happiness of society by the experiments of some of the wisest legislators in Europe. The empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the duke of Tuscany, have nearly extirpated murder from their dominions, by converting its punishment into the means of benefiting society, and reforming the criminals who perpetrate it.—

III. The punishment of murder by death, is contrary to divine revelation. A religion which commands us to forgive and even to do good to our enemies, can never authorise the punishment of murder by death. “Vengeance is mine,” said the Lord; “I will repay.” It is to no purpose to say here, that this vengeance is taken out of the hands of an individual, and directed against the criminal by the hand of government. It is equally an usurpation of the prerogative of heaven, whether it be inflicted by a single person or by a whole community.

Here I expect to meet with an appeal from the letter and spirit of the gospel, to the law of Moses, which declares, that “he that killeth a man shall surely be put to death.” Forgive, indignant heaven! the ignorance and cruelty of man, which by the misapplication of this text of scripture, has so long and so often stained the religion of Jesus Christ with folly and revenge.

The following considerations, I hope, will prove that no argument can be deduced from this law, to justify the punishment of murder by death. On the contrary, that several arguments against it, may be derived from a just and rational explanation of that part of the levitical institutions.

1. There are many things in scripture *above*, but nothing *contrary* to reason. Now, the punishment of murder by death, is contrary to reason. It cannot therefore be agreeable to the will of God.

2. The order and happiness of society cannot fail of being agreeable to

the will of God. But the punishment of murder by death, destroys the order and happiness of society. It must therefore be contrary to the will of God.

3. Many of the laws given by Moses, were accommodated to the ignorance, wickedness, and "hardness of heart" of the Jews. Hence their divine legislator expressly says, "I gave them statutes that were *not good*, and judgments whereby *they should not live*." Of this, the law which respects divorces, and the law of retaliation, which required "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," are remarkable instances.

But we are told, that the punishment of murder by death, is founded not only on the law of Moses, but upon a positive precept given to Noah and his posterity, that "whoso sheddeth a man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." In order to shew that this text does not militate against my proposition, I shall beg leave to transcribe a page from an essay on crimes and punishments, published by the reverend Mr. Turner, in the 2d volume of the Manchester memoirs. "I hope," says this ingenious author, "that I shall not offend any one, by taking the liberty to put my own sense upon this celebrated passage, and to enquire, why it should be deemed a precept at all. To me, I confess, it appears to contain nothing more than a declaration of what will generally happen; and in this view, to stand exactly upon the same ground with such passages as the following: "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity." "He that taketh up the sword, shall perish by the sword\*." —The form of expression is exactly the same in each of these texts: why, then, may they not all be interpreted in the same manner, and considered not as commands, but as denunciations? and if so, the magistrate will be no more bound by the text in Genesis to punish murder with death, than he will by the text in the Revelations, to sell every Guinea captain to our West-India planters; and yet, however just and proper such a proceeding might be, I suppose no one

will assert that the magistrate is bound to it by that, or any other text in the scriptures, or that that alone would be admitted as a sufficient reason for so extraordinary a measure."

4. If the Mosaic law with respect to murder, is obligatory upon Christians, it follows that it is equally obligatory upon them to punish adultery, blasphemy, and all the other capital crimes that are mentioned in the levitical law, by death. Nor is this all: it justifies the extirpation of the Indians, and the enslaving of the Africans; for the command to the Jews to destroy the Canaanites, and to make slaves of their heathen neighbours, is as positive as the command which declares, "that he that killeth a man, shall surely be put to death."

5. Every part of the levitical law, is full of types of the Messiah. May not the punishment of death, inflicted by it, be intended to represent the demerit and consequences of sin, as the cities of refuge were the offices of the Messiah?

6. The imperfection and severity of these laws were probably intended farther—to illustrate the perfection and mildness of the gospel dispensation. It is in this manner that God has manifested himself in many of his acts. He created darkness first, to illustrate by comparison the beauty of light; and he permits sin, misery, and death in the moral world, that he may hereafter display more illustriously, the transcendent glories of righteousness, happiness, and immortal life. This opinion is favoured by St. Paul, who says, "the law made nothing perfect," and that "it was a shadow of good things to come."

How delightful to discover such an exact harmony between the dictates of reason, the order and happiness of society, and the precepts of the gospel! There is a perfect unity in truth. Upon all subjects—in all ages—and in all countries—truths of every kind agree with each other.

It has been said, that the common sense of all nations, and particularly of savages, is in favour of punishing murder by death.

The common sense of all nations is in favour of the commerce and slavery of their fellow-creatures. But this does not take away from their

NOTE.

\* Rev. xv. 10.

immorality. The practice of the Indians in punishing murder by death, can prove nothing in its favour, since it is well known that revenge in its utmost extent, is the universal and darling passion of all savage nations. Perhaps the practice, among them, originated in necessity, and idleness; for a people who have no settled place of residence, and who use no labour, could restrain murder effectually in no other way.

It has been said, that the horrors of a guilty conscience proclaim the justice and necessity of death, as a punishment for murder. I draw an argument of another nature from this fact. Are the horrors of conscience the punishment that God inflicts upon murder? why, then, should we shorten or destroy them by death, especially as we are taught to direct the most atrocious murderers to expect pardon in the future world? no; let us not counteract the government of God in the human breast: let the murderer live—but let it be to suffer the reproaches of a guilty conscience: let him live, to make compensation to society for the injury he has done it, by robbing it of a citizen: let him live, to maintain the family of the man whom he has murdered: let him live, that the punishment of his crime may become universal: and lastly, let him live—that murder may be extirpated from the list of human crimes!

Let us examine the conduct of the moral Ruler of the world towards the first murderer: see Cain returning from his field, with his hands reeking with the blood of his brother! Do the heavens gather blackness, and does a flash of lightning blast him to the earth? no. Does his father Adam, the natural legislator and judge of the world, inflict upon him the punishment of death?—no; the infinitely wise God becomes his judge and executioner. He expels him from the society of which he was a member. He fixes in his conscience a never-dying worm. He subjects him to the necessity of labour; and to secure a duration of his punishment, proportioned to his crime, he puts a mark or prohibition upon him, to prevent his being put to death, by weak and angry men; declaring, at the same time, that whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance

shall be taken on him seven-fold."

Judges, attornies, witnesses, juries and sheriffs, whose office it is to punish murder by death, I beseech you to pause, and listen to the voice of reason and religion, before you convict or execute another fellow-creature for murder!

But I despair of making such an impression upon the present citizens of the united states, as shall abolish the absurd and unchristian practice. From the connexion of this essay with the valuable documents of the late revolution, it will probably descend to posterity. To you, therefore, the unborn generations of the next century, I consecrate this humble tribute to justice. You will enjoy in point of knowledge, the meridian of a day, of which we only perceive the twilight. You will often review with equal contempt and horror, the indolence, ignorance and cruelty of your ancestors. The grossest crimes shall not exclude the perpetrators of them from your pity. You will *fully* comprehend the extent of the discoveries and precepts of the gospel, and you will be actuated, I hope, by its gentle and forgiving spirit. You will see many modern opinions in religion and government turned upside downwards, and many new connexions established between cause and effect. From the importance and destiny of every human soul, you will acquire new ideas of the dignity of human nature, and of the infinite value of every act of benevolence that has for its object, the bodies, the souls, and the lives of your fellow-creatures. You will love the whole human race, for you will perceive that you have a common Father, and you will learn to imitate him by converting those punishments to which their folly or wickedness have exposed them, into the means of their reformation and happiness.



*An account of the DISEASES peculiar to the negroes in the West-Indies, and which are produced by their slavery. By Benjamin Rush, M. D.*

1. **THE LOCKED JAW**, or, as it is called among the planters, the *jaw-fall*, is a very common disease among the children of slaves, and carries off so many of them as evidently

to affect their population. After many enquiries into the causes of it, I am perfectly satisfied that it arises from the heat and smoke of the cabins, in which the children are born, and from their being exposed afterwards to the cool air.

2. The HIPOCONDRIASIS, or, as it is called in the French West-Indies, the "*mal d'estomac*," is a very common disease among the slaves. It occurs soon after their importation, and often proves fatal, with a train of painful and distressing symptoms which are ignorantly ascribed to the effects of slow poison taken by themselves, or given to them by others. This disease, with all its terrible consequences, is occasioned wholly by grief, and therefore stands justly charged upon slavery.

3. CHILD-BEARING, among the slaves in the West-Indies, is attended with peculiar danger and immortality. This is occasioned entirely by the women having their bodies injured by carrying burdens beyond their strength when they are young, and in some instances, by the figure of the pelvis being distorted by those kicks to which they are so often exposed in early life, from sudden gusts of passion in their masters. I received this information from Dr. Taylor of the island of St. Kitts, who assured me at the same time, that the white women of the island in general, had very short and safe labours, compared with the women in European countries.

4. All the numerous chronic diseases which arise from a *scant* or an *excess* of vegetable diet, are common among the slaves in the West-Indies. This evil I have been well informed, cannot be remedied, while slavery remains upon its present footing; for very accurate calculations have made it evident, that the whole profit of a sugar estate, as it is *now* conducted, is saved from the *necessary* food and clothing of the slaves.

5. Under all these diseases, and the many other complicated evils which the slaves endure, we are told by their masters, they are the happiest people in the world, because they are "*merry*." The singing and dancing, to which the negroes in the West-Indies are so much addicted, are the effects of mirth, and not of happiness.

Mirth, and a heavy heart. I believe often meet together; and hence the propriety of Solomon's observation, that "in the midst of laughter, the heart is sad." In the last war but two between Great-Britain and France, a British transport was accidentally set on fire: the neighbouring transports in vain attempted to relieve her; some of the crew saved themselves by the long boat, while a few of them perished in the ocean in attempting to swim to the ship that lay within sight of them. The remaining part of the crew for a while filled the air with their cries for help and mercy. Suddenly there was a cessation of these cries, and nothing was heard on board the vessel but a merry tune on a violin, to which the crew danced with uncommon spirit for half an hour, when the catastrophe ended, and the ship and crew disappeared for ever. This curious fact was communicated to me by the son of an old lieutenant of a British ship of war, who was an eye-witness of the melancholy scene, and who often mentioned to his children, and in company, the dying mirth of the crew, as one of the most singular and wonderful things he had ever seen or heard of in the course of his life. From the facts that have been mentioned, instead of considering the songs and dances of the negroes in the West-Indies as marks of their happiness, I have long considered them as physical symptoms of MELANCHOLY or MADNESS, and therefore as certain proofs of their misery.

I have taken no notice of the leprosy nor yaws in this account of the diseases of the negroes, inasmuch as they are both common in Africa, and therefore do not stand chargeable upon slavery.

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#### Exemplum partus difficillimi.\*

MAIÆ vigesimo nono, A. D. 1788, uxor W. W. circiter triginta annos nata, sed nuper nupta, novem menses prægnans, utero laboravit. Obstetrix et foeminæ per to

NOTA.

\* Cur hæc dissertatio Latine tantum publicetur, rationes omni lectori docto satis patebunt.

tani noctem, ei, quantum potuerint, auxiliari tentabant. Sub gallicinio, epilepsiâ horribili correpta est, morbo spasmodico, cujus accessus subitâ interceptione sensuum omnium, variorum musculorum agitatione violentissimâ, et dyspnœâ terrificâ notabatur. Paroxyfmi frequentissimi (quam nunquam antea epileptica fuit) agitatio omnia membrorum validissima, respiratio frequens, turbata, et sterterosa fuerant. Cursores ad me mittebantur. Inveni semimortuam. Graviolentia, ut sp. sal. ammoniaci, plumas combustas, etc. ad nares et tempora applicavi, et fasciis abdomen ligavi, ut quantum potui fœtum ad suum locum deprimerem. Volatilia et anodyna in dentes imposui, sed non potuit deglutire: vel potius sensuum perditione, maximam partem expuebat. Inveni, ut solet, paroxyfmos epilepticos puerperio obstantes et renitentes, adeo ut in lecto non posse partum edere; ergo, non sine magnâ vi mariti et foeminarum à lecto excitavimus. Parturienti opem ferebamus: et infans fœmina vivens nata est: quam obstetrici tradidi.

Manum diu in utero tenebam: sed placentam ubique adhaerentem, imò utero concretam, non potui separare. Tunc injectionem feci, i. e. flatu oris injeci, per tubam longam (quam quotidie porto argenteam ad hos usus, tribus juncturis cochleam torquendo compactam; quâ uteros sæpe lavo, propriis remediis, contra fluores rubros et albos, et gangrenas, etc.): injectiones factæ sunt ex allumine in aceto, vel decoctione corticis quercinæ: has uterum contrahentes, et hæmorrhagiam sistentes, per multos annos placentam separare, et uterum sanare, adeo ut mulieres in dimidio temporis convalescere proculdubio expertus sum: quam praxin, ut in omnibus utilissimam et tutissimam, medicis commendatam esse volo. Hæc injectione potui partem tantum separare, cautissimè, unguibus non admotis. Sed injeci iterum, et ferè totam separavi.

Interim tamen alter paroxyfmos horrendior eam arripuit, quo non po-

tui placentam ulteriùs investigare, sed totam extractam esse speravi. In lecto eam reposuimus, capite erecto, ligantes abdomen, quantum pro rerum necessitate potuimus. At tunc, propter morbi furorem, ex clamore, mugitu, truculentia oculorum, dentium stridore, oris spumâ, pugnorum constrictione, et vehementi totius corporis contractione, (diu durantibus) fluor uterinus necessariò multum increvit. Iterum injiciebam pulv. alumin. cum decoct. quercin.: sed nec hoc impetum potuit refricare: ergo coactus sum gossipium, seu linamentum, decoctione madidum, et pulv. alluminoso involutum, applicare; quo totam vaginam infarciebam: hoc tandem hæmorrhagiam compresit.

Attamen epileptici paroxyfmi ad numerum duodecim, et ad vesperam, protrahabantur, nec leviores videbantur, quamvis antiquique quasi mortuam reliquit. Deglutitione, ut dixi, impeditâ, quatuor pillulas opiatas in liquido dissolvebam, quæ, gradatim, per cochleare minusculum, inter dentes infundebantur. Vesperæ iterum revisebam, anxius causam investigare, siue alter ictus, siue quid aliud in utero remanserit. Nihil inveni præter paucillum membrane tenuissimæ, forsitan amnionis, quod cautissimè removi, et citissimè styptica super lintecula iterum infarciebam. Nunc *mixturam antihystericam* paravi, cujus cochl. maj. ꝑ. omni triborio dandum erat. Ex eo tempore convalescere cepit; nec placentæ convulsiones eam distraxerunt. Sed itasus et ratio non redibant usque ad diem proximum, cum via salutis potuerint ei persuadere infantulam esse suam, tanta fuerat ferriario sensuum et antæcorum oblitio. Die

hora.

\* *Mistura antihysterica*: R. Opii gr. iij. canch. gr. vj. pulv. fenek. gr. xxxvj. Symp. q. s. in. s. a. s. bel. —Hic bolus gradatim tenendus est in paucillo s. v. s. a. et in thez. fuliginis lbj. optimè miscendus. —Dosis 2 gut. 60. ad 36. pro re natâ.

proximo, farcimenta extraxi, hæmorrhagiâ non amplius redeunti. Miftura antihysterica continuebatur : et potus ejus fuit thea ex cort. alni, cum menthâ, etc.—cibus, ex lavibus nutrimentis et cibariis liquidis. Partes tumidas et dolentes aquâ calidâ cum lacte et sp. vin. fomentare nutritici mandavi. Convalescentem ad pietatem et gratitudinem erga Deum opt. et max. qui eam ex ipsis mortis atræ faucibus planè eripuit, adhortabar.

P. S. Aliûs parturientis maximè convulsæ reminiscor, quæ jacebat ut mortua, sola relicta pro cadavere ; quando vocatus, fœtum inveni vivum : ergo abdomen fortiter circumligavi, et pauxillum imposui merc. flav. emet. in nasibus : et mirum dictu ! cum sternutationibus revixit, peperit, et filiam suam enutrivit. Multos alios partus difficillimos enumerare queam : sed hi sufficiant. “ Si quid novisti rectius istis, “ Candidus imperti ; si non, his utere “ mecum.”

Lewes, Junii 6, 1788. M. W.



*Medical virtues of the common stinging nettle.*

**I**T has long been my sentiment, that the most common gifts of Providence are the most useful, salutary and worthy of estimation. To prove that this opinion has not been ill founded, I will, at present, apply it to only one instance, of which I can speak with great confidence.

The common stinging nettle, apparently as useless and troublesome a plant as any that has been stigmatized with the name of weed, is one of the most efficacious medicines we have in the vegetable kingdom : in the form of a strong decoction, or infusion, taken in the quantity of a pint in a day, it is a most valuable strengthener of general or partial relaxation. In that of a weak decoction or infusion, it proves an admirable alterative and deobstruct, in impurities of the blood, and in obstructions of the vessels. And in that of expressed juices, taken by spoonfuls, as the exigency of the case requires, it is the most powerful

styptic in internal bleedings known. Externally applied, as a fomentation or pultice, it amazingly discusses inflammation, and resolves swellings. In the common sore throat, thus applied, and internally, as a gargle, great dependence may safely be put in this common plant. I have been witness to its great efficacy therein in many instances. P. F.



*Political squibs.*

*Protest of the minority of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, who objected to calling a convention for the purpose of ratifying the federal constitution.*

*Diffident.*

1st. **B**ECAUSE, by the diminution of the power of the state of Pennsylvania, we shall have *fewer offices*, and *smaller salaries* to bestow upon our friends.

2d. Because, like the declaration of independence, the measure, if a right one, is *premature*.

3d. Because the new federal constitution puts an end to all future emissions of *paper money*, and to *tender laws*, to both of which many of us owe our fortunes, and all of us our prospects of extrication from debt and exemption from jail, or the benefit of the bankrupt law.

4th. Because, by the new constitution of the united states, we shall be compelled to *pay our taxes*—whereas we now pay nothing towards the support of government, and yet are handsomely supported out of the state treasury.

5th. Because the new constitution, before it was sent on to congress, was not submitted to the consideration of the antifederal junto in Philadelphia, to each individual whereof America is under greater obligations than to general Washington.

6th. Because, by the sixth section of the first article of the constitution of the united states, it is made impossible for persons in power to *create offices for themselves*, or to *appoint themselves* to offices. This we conceive to be an evident departure from the *free and excellent* constitution of Pennsylvania, by which it is lawful for assemblymen and counsellors to



appoint themselves, or their sons to all, or to any of the offices of the state.

7th. Because a disaffected member of the federal convention, from Virginia, in a closet conversation with \_\_\_\_\_, disapproved of the federal government: and we hold it to be our duty rather to follow his advice, than the inclinations of our constituents.

8th. Because, from the power claimed by the new constitution, congress will have a right to suppress all "domestic insurrections" in particular states, by which means we shall be deprived of the *only means* of opposing the laws of this state, especially laws for collecting taxes.

Philadelphia, September 29, 1787.



*Receipt for an antifederal essay.*

**W**ELL-BORN, nine times—  
Aristocracy, eighteen times—  
Liberty of the press, thirteen times repeated—  
Liberty of conscience once,  
—Negro slavery, once mentioned—  
Trial by jury, seven times—  
Great men, six times repeated—  
Mr. Wilson, forty times—and lastly, George Mason's right hand in a cutting-box, nineteen times—put them all together, and dish them up at pleasure. These words will bear boiling, roasting, or frying—and, what is remarkable of them, they will bear being served, after being once used, a dozen times to the same table and palate.



*Political creed of every federalist.*

**I** BELIEVE in the infallibility, all-sufficient wisdom, and infinite goodness of the late convention; or, in other words, I believe that some men are of so perfect a nature, that it is absolutely impossible for them to commit error, or design villainy.

I believe that the great body of the people are incapable of judging in their nearest concerns, and that, therefore, they ought to be guided by the opinions of their superiors.

I believe that it is totally unnecessary to secure the rights of mankind in the formation of a constitution.

I believe that aristocracy is the best form of government.

I believe that the people of America are cowards, and unable to defend themselves, and that, consequently, standing armies are absolutely necessary.

I believe that the trial by jury, and the freedom of the press, ought to be exploded from every wise government.

I believe that the new constitution will not affect the state constitutions, yet that the state officers will oppose it, because it will abridge their power.

I believe that the new constitution will prove the bulwark of liberty—the balm of misery—the essence of justice—and the astonishment of all mankind. In short, I believe that it is the best form of government which has ever been offered to the world.

I believe, that to speak, write, read, think, or hear any thing against the proposed government, is damnable heresy, execrable rebellion, and high treason against the sovereign majesty of the convention—And lastly, I believe that every person, who differs from me in belief, is an infernal villain. AMEN.



*An act of the commonwealth of Virginia, for the punishment of persons guilty of stealing or selling free persons as slaves, passed January 8, 1788.*

**W**HEREAS several evil-disposed persons have seduced or stolen the children of black and mulatto free persons, and have actually disposed of the persons so seduced or stolen, as slaves, and punishments adequate to such crimes, not being by law provided for such offenders—be it enacted, that any person who shall hereafter be guilty of stealing or selling any free person for a slave, knowing the said person so sold to be free, and thereof shall be lawfully convicted, the person so convicted shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy.



*An act of the state of New-York, for the prevention and punishment of extortion. Passed the 7th of February, 1783.*

**B**E it enacted by the people of the state of New-York, represented in senate and assembly, and it is here-

by enacted by the authority of the same, that no judge, justice, sheriff, or other officer whatsoever, ministerial or judicial, shall receive or take any fee or reward to do his office, but such as is or shall be allowed by the laws of this state; and if any doth, he shall restore to the party grieved double damages. And further, that if any judge, justice, sheriff, or other officer aforesaid, hath received or taken, or shall receive or take, by colour of his office, any fee or reward whatsoever, not allowed by the laws of this state, for doing his office, and be thereof convicted either at the suit of the party grieved, in any court of record, or at the suit of the people of this state in the supreme court, or before justices of the said del very, or before justices assigned to hear and determine, in any court of general sessions of the peace, he shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, according to the discretion of the court, in which such conviction shall be had.



*An act passed by the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. March, 1788, to prevent the slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from said commonwealth.*

**W**HEREAS by the African trade, for slaves, the lives and liberties of many innocent persons have been from time to time, sacrificed to the lust of gain:

And whereas some persons residing in this commonwealth, may be so regardless of the rights of human kind, as to be concerned in that unrighteous commerce:

Be it therefore enacted by the senate and house of representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no citizen of this commonwealth, or other person residing within the same, shall for himself, or any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, supercargo, owner or hirer, in whole or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or their vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the inhabitants of any state or kingdom, in

that part of the world called Africa, as slaves, or as servants for term of years; and that every citizen, inhabitant, or resident as aforesaid, who shall directly or indirectly, receive on board his or their vessel, with intent to import or transport, or cause to be imported or transported, any of the said inhabitants of Africa, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and be thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds, for every person by him or them so received on board, with intent to be imported or transported; and the sum of two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out with intent to, and that actually shall be employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt, in any court within this commonwealth, proper to try the same: the one moiety thereof to the use of this commonwealth, and the other moiety to the person who shall prosecute for and recover the same.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all insurance which shall be made within this state, on any vessel fitted out with intention as aforesaid, and having on board slaves in order to be transported from Africa as aforesaid, or upon any slaves so shipped on board of any vessel for transportation, shall be void, and of no effect; and this act may be given in evidence, under the general issue, in any suit or action commenced for the recovery of insurance so made.

And whereas divers peaceable inhabitants of this commonwealth, or residents therein, have been privately carried off by force, or decoyed away under various pretences, by evil minded persons, and with a probable intention of being sold as slaves without the same; and although sufficient provision is made for public justice, in such case, by the common law, and an act entitled "an act establishing the right to, and the form of the writ *de homine replegiando*," yet no provision is, made for bringing actions for damages, by the friends or families of any inhabitants who may be so carried off, or decoyed away, during his or her lifetime:

Be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when any inhabitant or resident of this common-

wealth, shall be so carried off or destroyed away, it shall be lawful for any friends of such injured inhabitant or resident, to bring forward and prosecute to final judgment and execution, before any court of law proper to try the same, any action for damages against any person concerned in destroying or carrying off such inhabitant or resident, in the name of such inhabitant or resident, and in the same manner, and to the same effect, as if thereunto fully authorized by letter of attorney from such inhabitant or resident for that purpose. Provided nevertheless, such friend, prosecuting as aforesaid, shall first give to the judge of probate for the county wherein such injured party last dwelt, good and sufficient bond with sureties, to the satisfaction of such judge of probate, conditioned that such prosecutor shall pay the monies that he may recover in damages as aforesaid to the said injured party, on his or her return to this commonwealth, if that shall happen by the time when such execution is satisfied, and if not, shall apply such monies to the use and maintenance of the wife, children, or family of the injured party, in proportion, at such periods, and in such way and manner as the said judge shall decree, best for the interest of such wife, children, or family in the absence of such injured party :

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that in case the defendant, who shall be prosecuted as is provided in and by this act, shall be acquitted by the court before whom the trial may be, the said court shall not only render up judgment for legal costs, but for such reasonable damages as the said defendant hath sustained by such prosecution : provided also that this act do not extend to vessels which have already sailed, their owners, factors, or commanders, for and during their present voyage, or to any insurance that shall have been made, previous to the passing of the same.


*Resolves of congress.*

May 19, 1788.

THE secretary at war having presented to congress, " that there are in the arsenals of the united states two brass cannon, which con-

stituted *one moiety* of the field artillery with which the late war was commenced on the part of America, and which were constantly in service throughout the war—that the said cannon are the property of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that the governor thereof hath requested that they be returned : " Thereupon,

Resolved, that the secretary at war cause a suitable inscription to be placed on the said cannon, and that he deliver the same to the order of his excellency the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

May 22, 1788.

THE committee, consisting of mr. Dane, mr. Williamson, mr. Irvine, mr. Hamilton, and mr. Brown, to whom was referred a motion of mr. Dane, relative to public and unsettled accounts, having reported,

That, on carefully examining the subject referred to them, they find that during the late war, and especially in the early periods of it, many millions of dollars were advanced by the united states to sundry persons, of the expenditures whereof proper accounts have not been rendered ; and though the persons who have been entrusted with public monies, have been frequently called upon to settle their accounts by the acts and officers of congress, yet in many cases they have not produced or exhibited to the proper officers any documents or vouchers on which regular settlements can be made : that several accounts of very considerable extent have been taken up, and so far passed on, that balances appear to be stated generally, and in some cases payments made, though it does not appear that the proper statements were made of the articles which composed those accounts, or that the regular vouchers were produced to support the charges in them. Accounts thus imperfectly stated and unsupported, the committee conceive are justly liable to revision ; and particularly so, as it does not appear that the parties have at any time considered them as being finally settled : that from a general view of this subject, the committee are induced to think and believe, that the united states have already suffered very great inconveniences, by inexcusable negligence and unautho-

rified delays, in persons entrusted with public monies, in not rendering and settling their accounts; and that it has become highly expedient that decisive measures be speedily adopted for closing all the unsettled accounts of the late war; and therefore the committee are of opinion, that the board of treasury be directed, to cause suits to be commenced, in behalf of the united states, against all persons who stand charged with public monies, or other property; and that they cause the same to be commenced within three months from this date, against all those persons who have been already specially required to settle their accounts by the proper officers, and who shall not within that time, adopt and pursue measures effectual, in the opinion of the said board, for settling the same; and within five month from this date, against all other persons so charged, and who shall not, within that time, adopt and pursue like measures; and, that when any material questions shall arise concerning any doubtful or partial settlements of accounts which may have been made, or concerning the operation of any particular suits, the said board be directed to state to congress, particularly, the circumstances of the case, with their opinion thereon.

Resolved, that congress agree to the said report.

*July 3, 1788.*

**W**HEREAS, application has been lately made to congress by the legislature of Virginia and the district of Kentucky, for the admission of the said district into the federal union, as a separate member thereof, on the terms contained in the acts of the said legislature, and in the resolutions of the said district relative to the premises:—and whereas congress, having fully considered the subject, did, on the 3d day of June last, resolve that it is expedient that the said district be erected into a sovereign and independent state, and a separate member of the federal union; and appointed a committee to report an act accordingly, which committee on the second instant was discharged, it appearing that nine states had adopted the constitution of the united states, lately submitted to conventions

of the people:—and whereas a new confederacy is formed among the ratifying states, and there is reason to believe that the state of Virginia, including the said district, did, on the 25th of June last, become a member of the said confederacy:—and whereas an act of congress, in the present state of the government of the country, severing a part of the said state from the other parts thereof, and admitting it into the confederacy, formed by the articles of confederation and perpetual union, as an independent member thereof, may be attended with many inconveniencies, while it can have no effect to make the said district a separate member of the federal union, formed by the adoption of the said constitution, and therefore it must be manifestly improper for congress assembled under the said articles of confederation, to adopt any other measures, relative to the premises, than those which express their sense, that the said district ought to be an independent member of the union as soon as circumstances shall permit proper measures to be adopted for that purpose:—

*Resolved*, That a copy of the proceedings of congress, relative to the independency of the district of Kentucky, be transmitted to the legislature of Virginia, and also to Samuel M<sup>r</sup> Dowel, esq. late president of the said convention\*, and that the said legislature and inhabitants of the district aforesaid, be informed that as the constitution of the united states is now ratified, congress think it unadvisable to adopt any further measures for admitting the district of Kentucky into the federal union, as an independent member thereof, under the articles of confederation, and perpetual union; but that congress, thinking it expedient that the said district be made a separate state and member of the union as soon after proceedings shall commence under the said constitution, as circumstances shall permit, recommend it to the said legislature, and to the inhabitants of the said district, so to alter their acts and resolutions, re-

NOTE.

\* *This appears erroneous; probably it ought to be, "late president of the convention of said district." C.*

tative to the premises, as to render them conformable to the provisions made in the said constitution, to the end that no impediment may be in the way of the speedy accomplishment of this important business.



*Address of the justices of Westmoreland, in Virginia, to the governor and council of that province.*

*Westmoreland, Sept. 24. 1765.*

**T**HE very great impropriety of acting in an office, which at once requires the discharge of duties, utterly inconsistent with each other, makes it indispensibly necessary to give your honours this timely information—that, after the first day of November next, we, the underwritten magistrates of Westmoreland, find ourselves compelled, by the strongest motives of honour and virtue, to decline acting in that capacity; because from that period, the act for establishing stamps in America commences: which act will impose on us a necessity, in consequence of the judicial oath we take, of acting in conformity with its directions, and, by so doing, to become instrumental in the destruction of our country's most essential rights and liberties.

*Signed by the justices.*



*Petition to the British house of commons, agreed to by the first American congress, October 23, 1765.*  
To the honourable the knights, citizens, and burgeses of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled:

**T**HE petition of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the colonies of the Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, , , New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, upon Delaware, Maryland,

*Most humbly sheweth,*

**T**HAT the several late acts of parliament, imposing divers duties and taxes on the colonies, and laying the trade and commerce thereof under very burdensome restrictions, but above all the act for granting, and applying certain stamp duties, &c. in America,

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have filled them with the deepest concern and surprize; and they humbly conceive the execution of them will be attended with consequences very injurious to the commercial interest of Great Britain, and her colonies, and must terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter.

Your petitioners therefore most ardently implore the attention of the honourable house, to the united and dutiful representation of their circumstances, and to their earnest supplications for relief, from those regulations which have already involved this continent in anxiety, confusion, and distress.

We most sincerely recognize our allegiance to the crown, and acknowledge all due subordination to the parliament of Great Britain, and shall always retain the most grateful sense of their assistance and protection. It is from and under the English constitution, we derive all our civil and religious rights and liberties: we glory in being subjects of the best of kings, and having been born under the most perfect form of government; but it is with most ineffectable and humiliating sorrow, that we find ourselves, of late, deprived of the right of granting our own property for his majesty's service, to which our lives and fortunes are entirely devoted, and to which, on his royal requisitions, we have ever been ready to contribute to the utmost of our abilities.

We have also the misfortune to find, that all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the stamp act, and in divers late acts of trade extending to the plantations, are, at the election of the informer, recoverable in any court of admiralty in America. This, as the newly erected court of admiralty has a general jurisdiction over all British America, renders his majesty's subjects in these colonies, liable to be carried, at an immense expence, from one end of the continent to the other.

It gives us also great pain to see a manifest distinction made therein, between the subjects of our mother-country, and those in the colonies, in that the like penalties and forfeitures recoverable there only in his majesty's court of record, are made cognizable here by a court of admiralty: by these means we seem to be, in effect, un-

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happily deprived of two privileges essential to freedom, and which all Englishmen have ever considered as their best birthrights, that of being free from all taxes but such as they have consented to in person, or by their representatives, and of trial by their peers.

Your petitioners further shew, that the remote situation, and other circumstances of the colonies, render it impracticable that they should be represented, but in their respective subordinate legislatures; and they humbly conceive, that the parliament, adhering strictly to the principles of the constitution, have never hitherto taxed any but those who were actually therein represented; for this reason, we humbly apprehend, they never have taxed Ireland, or any other of the subjects without the realm.

But were it ever so clear, that the colonies might in law be reasonably deemed to be represented in the honourable house of commons, yet we conceive, that very good reasons, from inconvenience, from the principles of true policy, and from the spirit of the British constitution, may be adduced to shew, that it would be for the real interest of Great Britain, as well as her colonies, that the late regulations should be rescinded, and the several acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on the colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty here beyond their ancient limits, should be repealed.

We shall not attempt a minute detail of all the reasons which the wisdom of the honourable house may suggest, on this occasion, but would humbly submit the following particulars to their consideration:

That money is already become very scarce in these colonies, and is still decreasing by the necessary exportation of specie from the continent, for the discharge of our debts to British merchants.

That an immensely heavy debt is yet due from the colonies for British manufactures, and that they are still heavily burdened with taxes to discharge the arrearages due for aids granted by them in the late war.

That the balance of trade will ever be much against the colonies, and in favour of Great-Britain, whilst we

consume her manufactures, the demand for which must ever increase in proportion to the number of inhabitants settled here, with the means of purchasing them. We therefore humbly conceive it to be the interest of Great Britain, to increase, rather than diminish, those means, as the profits of all the trade of the colonies ultimately centre there to pay for her manufactures, as we are not allowed to purchase elsewhere; and by the consumption of which, at the advanced prices the British taxes oblige the makers and venders to set on them, we eventually contribute very largely to the revenue of the crown.

That from the nature of American business, the multiplicity of suits and papers used in matters of small value in a country where freeholds are so minutely divided, and property so frequently transferred, a stamp duty must ever be very burdensome and unequal.

That it is extremely improbable that the honourable house of commons should, at all times, be thoroughly acquainted with our condition, and all facts requisite to a just and equal taxation of the colonies.

It is also humbly submitted, whether there be not a material distinction in reason and sound policy, at least between the necessary exercise of parliamentary jurisdiction in general acts for the amendment of the common law, and the regulation of trade and commerce through the whole empire and the exercise of that jurisdiction by imposing taxes on the colonies.

That the several subordinate provincial legislatures have been moulded into forms, as nearly resembling those of their mother-country, as by his majesty's royal predecessors was thought convenient; and their legislatures seem to have been wisely and graciously established, that the subjects in the colonies might, under the due administration thereof, enjoy the happy fruit of the British government, which in their present circumstances they cannot be so fully and clearly availed of any other way: under these forms of government we and our ancestors have been born or settled, and have had our lives, liberties and properties protected. The people here, as everywhere else, retain a great fondness for

their old customs and usages, and we trust that his majesty's service, and the interest of the nation, so far from being obstructed, have been vastly promoted by the provincial legislatures.

That we esteem our connexions with, and dependence on Great Britain, as one of our greatest blessings, and apprehend the latter will appear to be sufficiently secure, when it is considered, that the inhabitants in the colonies have the most unbounded affection for his majesty's person, family and government, as well as for the mother-country, and that their subordination to the parliament, is universally acknowledged.

We, therefore, most humbly entreat, that the honourable house would be pleased to hear our counsel in support of this petition, and take our distressed and deplorable case into their serious consideration, and that the acts and clauses of acts, so grievously restraining our trade and commerce, imposing duties and taxes on our property, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, may be repealed; or that the honourable house would otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

*And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.*

*Resolutions of the freemen of the county of Essex, New Jersey, October 25, 1765.*

**I.** THAT they have at all times heretofore, and ever would bear true allegiance to his majesty king George the third, and his royal predecessors; and wished to be governed agreeable to the laws of the land, and the British constitution, to which they ever had, and ever would most cheerfully submit.

**II.** That the stamp-act, prepared for the British colonies in America, in their opinion, is unconstitutional: and should the same take place, agreeable to the tenor of it, would be a manifest destruction and overthrow of their long-enjoyed, boasted, and invaluable liberties and privileges.

**III.** That they will, by all lawful ways and means, endeavour to preserve and transmit to posterity, their liberty

and property in as full and ample a manner as they received the same from their ancestors.

**IV.** That they will discountenance and discourage, by all lawful measures, the execution and effect of said stamp-act.

**V.** That they will detest, abhor, and hold in the utmost contempt, all and every person or persons, who shall meanly accept of any employment or office, relating to the said stamp-act, or shall take any shelter or advantage from the same—and all and every stamp-pimp, informer, and encourager of the execution of the said act; and that they will have no communication with any such persons, nor speak to them on any occasion, unless it be to inform them of their villainies.



*Resolutions entered into by the merchants of New York, trading to Great Britain, October 31, 1765.*

**I.** THAT in all orders they send to Great Britain, for goods of any nature, kind, or quality whatsoever, they will direct their correspondents not to ship them, unless the stamp act be repealed. It is, nevertheless, agreed, that all such merchants as are owners of, and have vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, shall be at liberty to bring back in them, on their own account, crates and casks of earthen ware, grindstones, pipes, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their vessels with.

**II.** It is further unanimously agreed, that all orders already sent home, shall be countermanded by the very first conveyance, and the goods thereby ordered not to be sent, unless upon the condition mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

**III.** It is further unanimously agreed, that no merchant will vend any goods sent on commission from Great Britain, that shall be shipped from thence after the first day of January next, unless upon the condition mentioned in the first resolution.

**IV.** It is further unanimously agreed, that the foregoing resolutions shall be binding, until the same shall be abrogated, at a general meeting, to be held for that purpose.

*Agreements and resolutions entered into, by the merchants and traders of Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1765.*

THE merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, taking into their consideration the melancholy state of the North-American commerce in general, and the distressed situation of the province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree,

That the many difficulties they now labour under as a trading people, are owing to the restrictions, prohibitions, and ill-advised regulations, made in the several acts of the parliament of Great Britain, lately passed, to regulate the colonies; which have limited the exportation of some part of our country produce, increased the cost and expence of many articles of our importation, and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with specie enough even to pay the duties imposed on us, much leis to serve as a medium of our trade.

That this province is heavily in debt to Great-Britain for the manufactures, and other importations, from thence, which the produce of our lands has been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best markets was allowed of, and such trades open as supplied us with cash, and other articles of immediate remittance to Great Britain.

That the late unconstitutional law, the stamp-act, if carried into execution in this province, will further tend to prevent our making those remittances to Great Britain, for payment of old debts, or purchase of more goods, which the faith subsisting between the individuals trading with each other requires; and therefore in justice to ourselves, to the traders of Great Britain, who usually give us credit, and to the consumers of British manufactures in this province, the subscribers hereto, have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following resolutions and agreements, in hopes that their example will stimulate the good people of this province to be frugal in their use and consumption of all manufactures, excepting those of America, and lawful goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the necessities of our country are such as to

require it; and in hopes that their brethren, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own interest so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that motive, if no other should take place.

I. It is unanimously resolved and agreed, that in all orders, any of the subscribers to this paper may send to Great Britain for goods, they shall and will direct their correspondents not to ship them until the stamp-act is repealed.

II. That all those among the subscribers, that have already sent orders to Great Britain for goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same, until the stamp-act is repealed: except such merchants as are owners of vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, who are at liberty to bring back in them, on their own account, coals, casks of earthen ware, grindstones, pipes, iron pots, empty bottles, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their vessels with; but no dry goods of any kind; except such kinds of dye-stuffs and utensils necessary for carrying on manufactures, [as] may be ordered by any person.

III. That none of the subscribers hereto shall or will vend any goods or merchandizes whatever, that shall be shipped them on commission from Great Britain, after the first of January next, unless the stamp-act be repealed.

IV. That these resolves and agreements shall be binding on all and each of us the subscribers, who do hereby, each and every person for himself, upon his word of honour agree, that he will strictly and firmly adhere to and abide by every article, from this time until the first of May next, when a meeting of the subscribers shall be called, to consider whether a further continuance of this obligation be then necessary.

V. It is agreed, that if goods of any kind do arrive from Great Britain, at such time, and under such circumstances, as to render any signer of these agreements suspected of having broken his promise, the committee now appointed shall enquire into the premises, and if such suspected person refuses, or cannot give them



satisfaction, the subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent measures to discountenance and prevent the sale of such goods, until they are released from this agreement by mutual and general consent.



*Agreement of the retailers of the city of Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1765.*

**WE**, the retailers of the city of Philadelphia, at a general meeting, taking into consideration the melancholy state of the North American commerce in general, and the distressed situation of this province in particular, occasioned by the late unconstitutional law, the stamp-act, if carried into execution, do hereby voluntarily and unanimously promise and oblige all and each of us, upon our word of honour, not to buy any goods, wares, or merchandizes, of any vendue-master, or other person or persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain, after the first day of January next, unless that unconstitutional law, the stamp-act, shall be repealed: except such goods and merchandizes as shall be approved and allowed of by the committee of merchants, nominated and appointed for that purpose, and all lawful goods coming directly from Ireland, and manufactured there.

The above to be binding on us till the first day of May next, at which time we purpose another general meeting, to consider whether the further continuance of this obligation be necessary.



*Resolutions of the freemen of Talbot county, Maryland, Nov. 25, 1765.*

**T**HE freemen of Talbot county, assembled at the court-house of said county, do, in the most solemn manner, declare to the world,

I. That they bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty king George the third.

II. That they are most affectionately and zealously attached to his person and family; and are fully determined, to the utmost of their power, to maintain and support his crown

and dignity, and the succession as by law established; and do, with the greatest cheerfulness, submit to his government, according to the known and just principles of the British constitution: and do unanimously resolve,

I. That under the royal charter, granted to this province, they and their ancestors have long enjoyed, and they think themselves still entitled to enjoy, all the rights of British subjects.

II. That they consider the trial by jury, and the privilege of being taxed only with their own consent, given by their legal representatives in assembly, as the principal foundation, the main source of all their liberties.

III. That by the act of parliament lately passed, for raising stamp-duties in America, should it take place, both these invaluable privileges, enjoyed in their full extent by their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, would be torn from them: and that therefore the same is, in their opinion, unconstitutional, invasive of their just rights, and tending to excite disaffection in the breast of every American subject.

IV. That they will, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, endeavour, by all lawful ways and means, to preserve and transmit to their posterity, their rights and liberties, in as full and ample a manner, as they received the same from their ancestors; and will not, by any act of theirs, countenance or encourage the execution or effect of the said stamp-act.

V. That they will detest, abhor, and hold in the utmost contempt, all and every person or persons, who shall meanly accept of any employment or office relating to the stamp-act, or shall take any shelter or advantage under the same—and all and every stamp-pimp, informer, or favourer of the said act; and that they will have no communication with any such persons, except it be to upbraid them with their baseness.

And in testimony of this their fixed and unalterable resolution, they have this day erected a gibbet, twenty feet high, before the court-house door, and hung in chains thereon the effigy of a stamp-informer, there to remain in terram, till the stamp-act shall be repealed.

*The captive liberated : a fragment.*  
*Inscribed to ———.*

“IT was the gracious intent on of nature, to have made thee happy in the enjoyment of freedom and the society of kindred beings : cruel accident has controuled this dispensation ; at once depriving thee of liberty and social bliss. Be mine the heart-felt happiness, by an humble agency, to fulfil the order of Providence—restoring thee to all the entertainments of fellowship and freedom.”

Sweet as forgiveness to the doomed and desponding victim, seemed the words of this well-known, angel voice to my soul : they were the accents of mercy, breathed in tenderness and love—and addressed by the amiable \* \* \* \*, to a feathered sougher, her little captive.

“Yes, impatient flutterer, continued the lovely moralist, charming as is thy song which salutes the morning, and calls me from forgetfulness—grateful as is the expression of thy hovering wings whilst I offer thee food, yet more pleasing will be the reflection to have given thee freedom, and more grateful the joy to have restored thee to the wish of friendship, or the fond expectation of more anxious love.”

Go, pretty warbler, wing thy happy flight,

To scenes of social joy, and fond delight—

Where friendship's song shall hail thy wish'd return,

And love's pure flame with highest radiance burn.

Should surly winter, in an angry mood,

Refuse thee shelter, or deny thee food,

Return, sweet robin—here my fostering care

Shall find thee shelter, and thy food prepare.

June 24, 1788.

*Anecdotes:*

GENERAL MORGAN, with eight hundred men, of whom one half were militia, completely beat, at the battle of the Cowpens, colonel Tarleton, who attacked him with one thousand regular troops.—Two hundred dragoons of that colonel, were put to flight, and briskly pursued by sixty Americans, under colonel Washington. Some months

afterwards, Tarleton being in the house of a farmer, spoke with much vanity of himself, and lightly of colonel Washington, saying “he wished much to know his face.” “It is a pity then,” replied a girl in the house, “that col. Tarleton did not take the pains to turn his head at Cowpens.”

ONE Indian happened to kill another. The brother of the deceased called upon the murderer, and seeing a woman and children in his hut, asked whose they were? The murderer declared them to be his family. The other then said, though his brother's blood called for revenge, yet as the children were young, and not able to provide for their mother and themselves, he would remain deaf to these calls for a while ; and so left them. Belonging to the same tribe, they continued to live sociably together until the eldest son of the murderer killed a deer in hunting. So soon as the brother of the deceased was informed of this, he again called on the murderer, and told him, that his brother's blood called so loud, that it must be obeyed, especially as his son, having killed a deer, could support the family. The murderer said, he was ready to die, and thanked the other for so long a delay : on which the wife and children broke into tears. The murderer reproved them for their weakness, and particularly his son—saying to him, did you shed tears when you killed the deer? and if you saw him die with dry eyes, why do you weep for me, who am willing to suffer what the custom of our nation renders necessary? With an undaunted countenance he then called on the brother of the deceased, to strike ; and died without a groan!

•••••

*Memoranda.*

The new constitution of the united states,	} 12 states,
was made and proposed by	
Ratified in Pennsylvania by delegates from	} 12 counties
Proclaimed at Philadelphia at	
on the	12 o'clock
of the	12th day,
in the	12th month
of American independence.	12th year

*The raising : a song for federal mechanics.**By the hon. Francis Hopkinson, esq.*

COME muster, my lads, your mechanical tools,  
 Your saws and your axes, your hammers and rules :  
 Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,  
 And plenty of pins of American pine ;  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 A government firm, and our citizens free.

Come, up with the plates, lay them firm on the wall,  
 Like the people at large, they're the ground-work of all ;  
 Examine them well, and see that they're sound ;  
 Let no rotten part in our building be found ;  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 Our government firm, and our citizens free.

Now hand up the girders, lay each in its place,  
 Between them the joists must divide all the space ;  
 Like assembly-men, these should lie level along,  
 Like girders, our senate prove loyal and strong :  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 A government firm, over citizens free.

The rafters now frame—your king-posts and braces,  
 And drive your pins home, to keep all in their places ;  
 Let wisdom and strength in the fabric combine,  
 And your pins be all made of American pine ;  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 A government firm, over citizens free.

Our king-posts are judges—how upright they stand,  
 Supporting the braces, the laws of the land !  
 The laws of the land, which divide right from wrong,  
 And strengthen the weak, by weak'ning the strong ;  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 Laws equal and just, for a people that's free.

Up ! up with the rafters—each frame is a state !  
 How nobly they rise ! their span, too, how great !  
 From the north to the south, o'er the whole they extend,  
 And rest on the walls, while the walls they defend !  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 Combined in strength, yet as citizens free.

Now enter the purlins, and drive your pins through,  
 And see that your joints are drawn home, and all true ;  
 The purlins will bind all the rafters together,  
 The strength of the whole shall defy wind and weather :  
 For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be—  
 United as states, but as citizens free.

Come, raise up the turret—our glory and pride—  
 In the centre it stands, o'er the whole to preside ;  
 The sons of Columbia shall view with delight  
 It's pillars, and arches, and towering height :  
 Our roof is now rais'd, and our song still shall be—  
 A federal head, o'er a people still free.

Huzza ! my brave boys, our work is complete,  
 The world shall admire Columbia's fair seat ;  
 It's strength against tempests and time shall be proof,  
 And thousands shall come to dwell under our Roof.  
 Whilst we drain the deep bowl, our toast still shall be—  
 Our government firm, and our citizens free.

*Federal song, sung at the grand procession at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.*

*To the tune—"He comes, he comes."*

**I**T comes! it comes! high raise the song!  
The bright procession moves along;  
From pole to pole resound the NINE,\*  
And distant worlds the chorus join.

In vain did Britain forge the chain,  
While countless squadrons hid the plain,  
Hantonia, foremost of the NINE,  
Defy'd their force, and took Burgoyne.

*To the tune—"Smile, smile, Britannia."*

When peace resum'd her seat,  
And freedom seem'd secure,  
Our patriot sages met,  
That freedom to insure  
Then ev'ry eye on us was turn'd,  
And ev'ry breast indignant burn'd.

That haughty race (they said)  
All government despise;  
Skill'd in the martial trade,  
More valiant far than wise.  
Though Pallas leads them to the field,  
Her aid in council is withheld.

False charge! (the Goddess cry'd)  
I made each hardy son,  
Who in war's purple tide  
First laid the corner stone,  
His utmost energy employ  
To bring the top stone forth with joy.

*To the first tune—"He comes," &c.*

'Tis done! the glorious fabric's rear'd!  
Still be New-Hampshire's sons rever'd,  
Who fix'd its base in blood and scars,  
And stretch'd its turrets to the stars!

*To the tune—"When Britons first," &c.*

See each industrious art moves on  
To ask protection, praise and fame;  
The ploughman by his tools is known,  
And Vulcan, Neptune, join their claim;  
Allow them all—and wisely prove  
Nought can exist long without love.

Love binds in peace the universe;  
By love societies combine;  
Love prompts the poet's rapt'rous verse,  
And makes these humble lays divine:  
Then shout for union, heav'n-born dame!  
And crown the goblet to her name.

*To the first tune—"He comes," &c.*

May Hampshire's sons in peace and war,  
Supremely great! both laurels wear,  
From ev'ry rival bear the prize,  
'Till the last blaze involves the skies!

NOTE.

\* The nine states which had then ratified the federal constitution.

## AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For AUGUST, 1788.

*Letters on marriage. Ascribed to the  
reverend John Witherspoone.*

[Continued from page 25.]

## LETTER II.

1. **I**T is by far the safest and most promising way to marry with a person nearly equal in rank, and perhaps in age; but if there is to be a difference, the risk is much greater, when a man marries below his rank, than when a woman descends from hers.

The first part of this maxim has been in substance advanced by many writers, and therefore little will need to be said upon it. I must, however, explain its meaning, which is not always clearly comprehended. By equality in rank, must be understood, equality not in fortune, but in education, taste, and habits of life. I do not call it inequality, when a gentleman of estate marries a lady who has been from the beginning brought up in the same class of society with himself, and is in every respect as elegant in her sentiments and manners, but by some incidents, that perhaps have lately happened, is unequal to him in point of fortune. I know that from the corrupt and selfish views, which prevail so generally in the world, a marriage of this kind is often considered as unequal, and an act of great condescension on the part of the man; but the sentiment is illiberal and unjust. In the same manner, when a lady marries a gentleman of character and capacity, and in every respect suitable to her, but that his estate is not equal to what she might expect, I do not call it unequal. It is true, parents too frequently prefer circumstances to character, and the female friends of a lady at her own disposal, may say, in such a case, that she has made a poor bargain. But taking it still for granted that the fortune only is unequal, I affirm there is nothing in this circumstance that forbodes future dissention, but rather the contrary. An act of ge-

nerosity never produced a fretful disposition in the person who did it, nor is it reasonable to suppose it will often have that effect on the one who receives it.

The importance, therefore, of equality, arises singly from this circumstance—that there is a greater probability, that the taste, employments, amusements, and general carriage of two persons so intimately joined, and so frequently together, will be mutually agreeable. The occasion or motive of first entering into the marriage contract, is not of so much consequence to the felicity of the parties, as what they find after they are fairly engaged, and cannot return back. When I visit a new country, my judgment of it may be influenced a little, but neither much nor long, by flattering hopes or hideous apprehensions, entertained before actual trial. It has been often said that dissentions between married people, generally take their rise from very inconsiderable circumstances; to which I will add, that this is most commonly the case among persons of some station, sense and breeding. This may seem odd, but the difficulty is easily solved. Persons of this character have a delicacy on the subject of so close an union, and expect a sweetness and compliance in matters that would not be minded by the vulgar; so that the smallness of the circumstance appears in their eye an aggravation of the offence. I have known a gentleman of rank and his lady part for life, by a difference arising from a thing said at supper, that was not so much as observed to be an impropriety by three-fourths of the company.

This, then, is what I apprehend occasions the importance of equality in rank. Without this equality, they do not understand one another sufficiently for continual intercourse.—Many causes of difference will arise, not only sudden and unexpected, but impossible to be foreseen, and there-

fore not provided against. I must also observe, that an explication or expostulation, in the cases here in view, is more tedious and difficult than any other—perhaps more dangerous and uncertain in the issue. How shall the one attempt to convince the other of an incongruity of behaviour, in what all their former ideas have taught them to believe as innocent or decent, sometimes even laudable? The attempt is often considered as an insult on their former station, and instead of producing concord, lays the foundation of continual solicitude, or increasing aversion. A man may be guilty of speaking very unadvisedly through intemperate rage, or may perhaps come home flustered with liquor, and his wife, if prudent, may find a season for mentioning them, when the admonition will be received with calmness, and followed by reformation; but if she discovers her displeasure at rusticity of carriage, or meanness of sentiment, I think there is little hope that it will have any effect that is good. The habit cannot be mended; yet he may have sagacity enough to see that the wife of his bosom has despised him in her heart.

I am going to put a case. Suppose that the late ———, who acquired so vast an estate, had married a lady of the first rank, education and taste, and that she had learned a few anecdotes of his public speeches—that he spoke of *this* here report of *that* there committee—or of a man's being *drowned* on the coast of the *island* of Pennsylvania. Now, I desire to know how she could help pouting, and being a little out of humour, especially if he came home full of inward satisfaction, and was honestly of opinion that he spoke *equally as well* as any other in the house? That things may be fairly balanced, I will put another case. Suppose a gentleman of rank, literature, and taste, has married a tradesman's daughter for the sake of fortune, or from desire, which he calls love, kindled by an accidental glance of a fresh-coloured young woman: suppose her never to have had the opportunity of being in what the world calls good company, and in consequence to be wholly ignorant of the modes that prevail there: suppose, at the same

time, that her understanding has never been enlarged by reading or conversation. In such a case, how soon must passion be fated, and what innumerable causes of shame and mortification must every day produce? am not certain whether the difficulty will be greater, if she continues the manners of her former, or attempt to put on those of her present station. If any man thinks he can easily preserve the esteem and affection due to a wife in such circumstances, he will probably be mistaken; and no less so if he expects to communicate refinement by a few lessons, or prevent misbehaviour by fretfulness, or peevish and satirical remarks.

But let me come now to the latter part of the maxim, which I do not remember to have ever met with in any author—that there is a much greater risk when a man marries below his rank, than when a woman marries below hers. As to the matter of fact, it depends entirely upon the justness and accuracy of my observations, of which every reader must be left to judge for himself. I must, however, take notice, that when I speak of a woman marrying below her station I have no view at all to include what there have been some examples of—a gentleman's daughter running away with her father's footman, or a lady of quality with a player. This is, in every instance, an act of pure lasciviousness, and is, without any exception I ever heard of, followed by immediate shame and future beggary.—It has not, however, any more connexion with marriage, than the transactions of a brothel, or the memoir of a kept mistress. The truth is, closets in general are things of an eccentric nature: and when I hear of one, I seldom make any farther enquiry after the felicity of the parties. But when marriages are contracted with any degree of deliberation, I think there be a difference in point of rank. I think it is much better the advantage should be on the woman's side than on the man's: that is to say marriages of the first kind are usually more happy than the other.

Supposing, therefore, the fact to be now stated, what remains for me is, to investigate a little the causes of it, and point out those circumstance

a human tempers and characters, or in the state of society, which give us reason to expect that it will, in most cases, turn out so. Whenever any effect is general, in the moral as well as natural world, there must be some permanent cause or causes, sufficient to account for it. Shall we assign as one reason for it, that there is, taking them complexly, more of real virtue and commanding principle in the female sex than in the male, which makes them, upon the whole, act a better part in the married relation?

I will not undertake to prove this opinion to be true, and far less will I attempt to refute or shew it to be false. Many authors of great penetration have affirmed it; and doubtless taking virtue to be the same thing with sound faith and good morals, much may be said in its favour. But there does not appear to me so great a superiority in this respect, as fully to account for the effect in question. Besides, the advantages which men have on point of knowledge, from the usual course of education, may perhaps balance the superiority of women, in point of virtue; for none surely can deny, that matrimonial discord may arise from ignorance and folly as well as vice. Allowing, therefore, as much influence to this cause, as every one from his experience and observation may think its due, I beg leave to suggest some other things which certainly do co-operate with it, and augment its force.

1. It is much easier in most cases for a man to improve or rise after marriage to a more elegant taste in life than a woman. I do not attribute this in the least to superior natural talents, but to the more frequent opportunities he has of seeing the world, and conversing with persons of different ranks. There is no instance in which the sphere of business and conversation is not more extensive to the husband than the wife; and therefore if a man is married to one of taste superior to his own, he may draw gradually nearer to her, though he descends very little. I think I can recollect more instances than one of a man in business married at first to his equal, and, on a second marriage, to one of higher breeding, when not only the house and family, but the man him-

self, was speedily in a very different style. I can also recollect instances in which married persons rose together to an opulent estate from almost nothing, and the man improved considerably in politeness, or fitness for public life, but the woman not at all. The old gossips and the old conversation continued to the very last. It is not even without example, that a plain woman, raised by the success of her husband, becomes impatient of the society forced upon her, takes refuge in the kitchen, and spends most of her agreeable hours with her servants, from whom, indeed, she differs nothing but in name. A certain person in a trading city in Great Britain, from being merely a mechanic, turned dealer, and in a course of years acquired an immense fortune. He had a strong desire that his family should make a figure, and spared no expence in purchasing velvets, silks, laces, &c. but at last he found that it was lost labour, and said very truly, that all the money in Great Britain would not make his wife and his daughters *ladies*.

2. When a woman marries below her rank, I think it is, generally speaking, upon better motives, than when a man marries below his, and therefore no wonder that it should be attended with greater comfort. I find it asserted in several papers of the *Spectator*, and I think it must be admitted by every impartial observer, that women are not half so much governed, in their love attachments, by beauty, or outward form, as men. A man of a very mean figure, if he has any talents, joined to a tolerable power of speech, will often make himself acceptable to a very lovely woman. It is also generally thought that a woman rates a man pretty much according to the esteem he is held in by his own sex: if this is the case, it is to be presumed that when a man succeeds in his addresses to a lady of higher breeding than his own, he is not altogether void of merit, and therefore will not in the issue disgrace her choice. This will be confirmed by reflecting that many such marriages must be with persons of the learned professions, and it is past a doubt that literature refines as well as enlarges the mind, and generally renders a man capable of appearing with tolera-

ble dignity, whatever have been the place or circumstances of his birth. It is easy to see that the reverse of all this must happen upon the other supposition: when a man marries below his rank, the very best motive to which it can be attributed, is an admiration of her beauty. Good sense, and other more valuable qualities are not easily seen under the disguise of low-breeding, and when they are seen, have seldom justice done them. Now as beauty is much more fading than life, and fades sooner in a husband's eyes than any other, in a little time nothing will remain but what tends to create uneasiness and disgust.

3. The possession of the graces or taste and elegance of manners, is a much more important part of a female than a male character. Nature has given a much greater degree of beauty and sweetness to the outward form of women, than of men, and has by that means pointed out wherein their several excellencies should consist. From this, in conjunction with the former observation, it is manifest, that the man who finds in his wife a remarkable defect in point of politeness, or the art of pleasing, will be much more disappointed than the woman who finds a like defect in her husband. Many do not form any expectation of refinement in their husbands, even before marriage: not a few, if I am not much mistaken, are rather pleased than otherwise, to think that any one who enters the house, perceives the difference between the order and elegance of the wife, and the plainness, not to say the awkwardness, of the husband. I have observed this, even down to the lowest rank. A tradesman or country farmer's wife will sometimes abuse and scold her husband for want of order or cleanliness, and there is no mark of inward malice or ill humour in that scolding, because she is sensible it is her proper province to be accurate in that matter. I think also, that the husband in such cases is often gratified instead of being offended, because it pleases him to think that he has a wife who does just what she ought to do. But take the thing the other way, and there is no rank of life, from the prince to the peasant, in which the husband can take pleasure in a wife more awkward or more slovenly than himself.

To sum up the whole, if some conformity or similarity of manners is of the utmost consequence to matrimonial comfort—if taste and elegance are of more consequence to the wife than the husband, according to their station—and, if it is more difficult for her to acquire it after marriage, if she does not possess it before—I humbly conceive I have fully supported my proposition, that there is a much greater risk in a man's marrying below his station, than a woman's descending from hers.

I am, sir, yours, &c

EPAMINONDA

[To be continued.]



*A series of letters on education.*

*(Continued from page 27.)*

#### LETTER II.

IF I mistake not, my last letter was concluded by some remarks on the means of trying servants to be careful of the safety of children, and ready to discover early and honestly any accidents that might happen to befall them. I must make some farther remarks upon servants. It is a subject of great importance, and inseparably connected with what I have undertaken. You will find it extremely difficult to educate children properly, if the servants of the family do not concur in it; and impossible, if they are inclined to hinder it. In such a case, the orders issued, or method laid down will be neglected, where that is possible and safe: where neglect is unsafe, they will be unsuccessfully or improperly executed, and many times in the hearing of the children, they will be either laughed at, or complained of and disapproved. The certain consequence of this is, that children will insensibly come to look upon the directions and cautions of the parents, as unnecessary or unreasonable restraints. It is a known and very common way for servants to insinuate themselves into the affections of children, by granting them such indulgences as would be refused them by their parents, as well as concealing the faults which ought to be punished by their parents, and they are often very successful in training them up to a most dangerous fidelity in keeping the secret.



Such is the evil to be feared, which ought to have been more largely described : let us now come to the remedy. The foundation, to be sure, is to be very nice and careful in the choice of servants. This is commonly thought to be an extremely difficult matter, and we read frequently in public papers the heaviest complaints of bad servants. I am, however, one of those who think the fault is at least as often in the masters. Good servants may certainly be had, and do generally incline of themselves to be in good families, and when they find that they are so, do often continue very long in the same, without desiring to remove. You ought, therefore, to be exceedingly scrupulous, and not without an evident necessity, to hire any servant but who seems to be sober and pious. Indeed, I flatter myself, that a pious family is such, as none but one who is either a saint or a hypocrite will be supposed to continue in. If any symptoms of the last character appears, you need not be told what you ought to do.

The next thing, after the choice of servants, is to make conscience of doing your duty to them, by example, instruction, admonition, and prayer. Your fidelity to them will naturally produce in them fidelity to you and yours, and that upon the very best principles. It will excite in them a deep sense of gratitude, and at the same time fill them with sentiments of the highest and most unfeigned esteem. I could tell you of instances (you will however probably recollect some yourself) of servants who from their living comfortably, and receiving benefits in pious families, have preserved such a regard and attachment to their masters, as have been little short of idolatry. I shall just mention one—a worthy woman in this place, formerly servant to one of my predecessors, and married many years since to a thriving tradesman, continues to have such an undiminished regard to her master's memory, that she cannot speak of him without delight : keeps by her to this hour the newspaper which gives an account of his death and character, and, I believe, would not exchange it for a bill or bond, to a very considerable sum.

But the third and finishing direc-

tion with regard to servants, is to convince them, in a cool and dispassionate manner, of the reasonableness of your method of proceeding, that as it is dictated by conscience, it is conducted with prudence. Thence it is easy to represent to them that it is their duty, instead of hindering its success by opposition or negligence, to co-operate with it to the utmost of their power. It is not below any man to reason in some cases with his servants. There is a way of speaking to them on such subjects, by which you will lose nothing of your dignity, but even corroborate your authority. While you manifest your firm resolution, never to depart from your right and title to command ; you may, notwithstanding, at proper seasons, and by way of condescension, give such general reasons for your conduct, as to shew that you are not acting by mere caprice or humour. Nay, even while you sometimes insist, that your command of itself shall be a law, and that you will not suffer it to be disputed, nor be obliged to give a reason for it, you may easily shew them that this also is reasonable. They may be told that you have the greatest interest in the welfare of your children, the best opportunity of being apprised as to the means of prosecuting it, and that there may be many reasons for your orders which it is unnecessary or improper for them to know.

Do not think that all this is excessive refinement, chimerical or impossible. Servants are reasonable creatures, and are best governed by a mixture of authority and reason. They are generally delighted to find themselves treated as reasonable, and will sometimes discover a pride in shewing that they understand, as well as find a pleasure in entering into your views. When they find, as they will every day by experience, the success and benefit of a proper method of education, it will give them a high opinion of, and confidence in, your judgment ; they will frequently consult you in their own affairs, as well as implicitly follow your directions in the management of yours. After all, the very highest instance of true greatness of mind, and the best support of your authority, when you see necessary to interpose it, is not to be opinionative

or obstinate, but willing to acknowledge or remit a real mistake, if it is discreetly pointed out, even by those in the lowest stations. The application of these reflections will occur in several of the following branches of this subject.

The next thing I shall mention as necessary, in order to the education of children, is, to establish, as soon as possible, an entire and absolute authority over them. This is a part of the subject which requires to be treated with great judgment and delicacy. I wish I may be able to do so. Opinions, like modes and fashions, change continually upon every point; neither is it easy to keep the just middle, without verging to one or other of the extremes. On this in particular, we have gone, in this nation in general, from one extreme to the very utmost limits of the other. In the former age, both public and private, learned and religious education was carried on by mere dint of authority. This, to be sure, was a savage and barbarous method, and was in many instances terrible and disgusting to the youth. Now, on the other hand, not only severity, but authority, is often decried; persuasion, and every soft and gentle method is recommended, in such terms as plainly lead to a relaxation. I hope you will be convinced that the middle way is best, when you find that it is recommended by the Spirit of God in his word, Prov. xiii. 24. xix. 18. xxii. 15. You will also find a caution against excess in this matter, Col. ii. 21.

I have said above, that you should "establish as soon as possible an entire and absolute authority." I would have it early, that it may be absolute, and absolute that it may not be severe. If parents are too long in beginning to exert their authority, they will find the task very difficult. Children, habituated to indulgence for a few of their first years, are exceedingly impatient of restraint, and if they happen to be of stiff or obstinate tempers, can hardly be brought to an entire, at least to a quiet and placid submission: whereas, if they are taken in time, there is hardly any temper but may be made to yield, and by early habit, the subjection becomes quite easy to themselves.

The authority ought also to be absolute, that it may not be severe. The more complete and uniform a parent's authority is, the offences will be more rare, punishment will be less needed, and the more gentle kinds of correction will be abundantly sufficient. We see every where about us examples of this. A parent that has once obtained, and knows how to preserve authority, will do more by a look of displeasure, than another by the most passionate words or even blows. It holds universally in families and schools, and even the greater bodies of men, the army and navy, that those who keep the strictest discipline, give the fewest strokes. I have frequently remarked, that parents, even of the softest tempers, and who are famed for the greatest indulgence to their children, do, notwithstanding, correct them more frequently, and even more severely, though to very little purpose, than those who keep up their authority. The reason is plain. Children, by foolish indulgence, become often so froward and petulant in their tempers, that they provoke their easy parents past all endurance: so that they are obliged, if not to strike, at least to scold them, in a manner as little to their own credit as their children's profit.

There is not a more disgusting sight than the impotent rage of a parent who has no authority. Among the lower ranks of people, who are under no restraint from decency, you may sometimes see a father or mother running out into the street after a child who is fled from them, with looks of fury and words of execration: and they are often stupid enough to imagine that neighbours or passengers will approve them in this conduct, though in fact it fills every beholder with horror. There is a degree of the same fault to be seen in persons of better rank, though expressing itself somewhat differently. Ill words and altercations will often fall out between parents and children before company, a sure sign that there is a defect of government at home or in private. The parent, stung with shame at the misbehaviour or indiscretion of the child, desires to persuade the observers that it is not his fault, and thereby effectually

convince every person of reflection that it is.

I would therefore recommend to every parent to begin the establishment of authority much more early than is commonly supposed to be possible; that is to say, from about the age of eight or nine months. You will perhaps smile at this: but I do assure you from experience, that by setting about it with prudence, deliberation, and attention, it may be in a manner completed by the age of twelve or fourteen months. Do not imagine I mean to bid you use the rod at that age; on the contrary, I mean to prevent the use of it in a great measure, and to point out a way by which children of sweet and easy tempers may be brought to such a habit of compliance, as never to need correction at all; and whatever their temper may be, so much less of this is sufficient, than upon any other supposition. This is one of my favourite schemes; let me try to explain and recommend it.

Habits in general may be very early formed in children. An association of ideas is, as it were, the parent of habit. If then, you can accustom your children to perceive that your will must always prevail over theirs, when they are opposed, the thing is done, and they will submit to it without difficulty or regret. To bring this about, as soon as they begin to shew their inclination by desire or aversion, let simple instances be chosen now and then (not too frequently) to contradict them. For example, if a child shews a desire to have any thing in his hand that he sees, or has any thing in his hand with which he is delighted, let the parent take it from him, and when he does so, let no consideration whatever make him restore it at that time. Then at a considerable interval, perhaps a whole day is little enough, especially at first, let the same thing be repeated. In the mean time, it must be carefully observed, that no attempt should be made to contradict the child in the intervals. Not the least appearance of opposition, if possible, should be found between the will of the parent and that of the child, except in those chosen cases, when the parent must always prevail.

I think it necessary that those at-

tempts should always be made and repeated at proper intervals by the same person. It is also better it should be by the father than the mother or any female attendant, because they will be necessarily obliged in many cases to do things displeasing to the child, as in dressing, washing, &c. which spoil the operation: neither is it necessary that they should interpose, for when once a full authority is established in one person, it can easily be communicated to others, as far as is proper. Remember, however, that mother or nurse should never presume to condole with the child, or shew any signs of displeasure at his being crossed; but, on the contrary, give every mark of approbation, and of their own submission, to the same person.

This experiment frequently repeated, will in a little time so perfectly habituate the child to yield to the parent whenever he interposes, that he will make no opposition. I can assure you from experience, having literally practised this method myself, that I never had a child of twelve months old, but who would suffer me to take any thing from him or her, without the least mark of anger or dissatisfaction; while they would not suffer any other to do so, without the bitterest complaints. You will easily perceive how this is to be extended gradually and universally, from one thing to another, from contradicting to commanding them. But this, and several other remarks upon establishing and preserving authority, must be referred to another letter.

(To be continued.)



*Atticus.—No. I.*

*Strictures on various follies and vices.*

MAN is defined to be a reasonable creature, and much eloquence was formerly used by the philosophers, to prove that he had something in him superior to the brute creation, something that was capable of comparing the past with the present, of distinguishing between good and evil, both physically and morally speaking, and of forming conclusions, from the appearances of things and their consequences, supposed or real. In this age, it does not appear necessary to take much pains to prove these

truths; we generally acquiesce in them. There may, indeed, be here and there an instance of a person, who, from the pride of singularity or some other foolish motive, may dispute against self-evident propositions. But notwithstanding our general allowance that by the kindness of our gracious Creator we are thus blessed, if we look among our acquaintance, we shall frequently find, most men, at sometimes, speak and act contrary to reason, even such as, by the general tenor of their conduct, demonstrate their acquaintance with such a principle. If we look into ourselves, and, with sufficient impartiality, examine into the nature of our own behaviour, we may find the cause of those deviations, and possibly see so many of them in our own thoughts and deportment, as to become means of enabling us to put the most favourable construction on the mistakes and failings of others. It is without doubt to me, that most people are led into wrong steps, from the appearance of attaining, or doing some good, and that none but such as are disordered in their senses, choose any thing wicked, or wrong, merely because it is so. Thus a youth who sets out in the world, sensible, from dear experience, of the want of those advantages in his education, and those comforts of life which wealth may produce, rushes eagerly into a pursuit after riches; and if in the prosecution of his aim, he forgets to employ his reason upon the proper use of wealth, he obtains it without ever applying it to those means for the education of his children, which he regretted the want of in himself, or for those necessities and conveniences of life, which he intended to have when he first sought the means of plenty; and thus, instead of the true enjoyment of it, is so bent on increasing it, that his family and himself possess the very curse which the poets feign of Tantalus, of having good things very near, and not being able to touch them. It might possibly help to cure this sort of folly, if the person disordered with it, could reflect and observe upon the use which the heirs of such people commonly make of their heaps. They must know little of mankind, if they cannot see instances which prove Pope's position verified:

"Who sees pale Mammon pir  
amidst his store,

"Sees but a backward steward fo  
the poor :

"This year a reservoir, to kee  
and spare ;

"The next, a fountain, spoutin  
thro' his heir."

Among many instances of this for which have happened in my time, one deserves mention. A man and his wife, who by great industry, and pinching themselves and family, had amassed some thousands, lived so miserably amidst their plenty, that the became a proverb among their acquaintance, for denying themselves proper conveniences, and almost necessities, of life. Their only son married a servant girl, and took such extravagant courses, that if he had lived a few years, he would probably have been reduced to beggary; he however, died soon enough to leave a considerable fortune to his wife who bestowed it, by marriage, upon a bean. So that, in a very short space, great part of the wealth, which the old people had with anxiety collected, and with penury saved, became the property of one who had been an entire stranger to them.

Even that monstrous vice of drunkenness is commonly first entered in through such mistaken views of advantage, among those who are called the genteel sort. An absurd fal position has obtained, that a few extraordinary glasses serve for a stipend, and help to the constitution. By this, and the desire of becoming fit company for such as they think high life, many young people have been urged to swallow the false bait, and every experiment adding fuel to the appetite, it has seemed necessary to try a repetition, until the custom conquers the reason, and the unhappy patient becomes lost to every great and good sentiment, lost to every rational purpose of society, and to the just relish of all the domestic and social endearments of life.

By means not very different, such as the enticements of company, with perhaps some cholicky complaints, which they have been injudiciously prescribed to, and the fear of being ridiculed for sober and frugal conduct, many of the lower class are

ft drawn in to love spiritous li-  
 tors, until their passions get immo-  
 erately inflamed, and their reason  
 inded or extinguished, and then to-  
 l ruin ensues to themselves and o-  
 ters, who are so unhappy as to be  
 pendent on them. There are more  
 nverts to reason and virtue from all  
 her vicious habits, than from this of  
 temperate drinking; one great cause  
 which, I take to be, the difficulty  
 the patient's keeping cool, long  
 ough, to hear the calm result of a fair  
 d impartial enquiry into what is gain-  
 or lost by such courses; otherwise,  
 seems hard to account for the stupid  
 ontinuanee therein of many, whose  
 nderstandings are not otherwise in-  
 rior to the sober part of mankind.

To trace, in like manner, the sour-  
 s from whence the ambitious, the  
 roud, the unjust, and every other  
 rt of vicious people derive the first  
 eds of their misconduct, would, I  
 lieve, confirm the validity of the  
 ertion, that mankind are, in a ge-  
 eral way, betrayed thereunto by false  
 otions of attaining good to them-  
 lves, or doing it to others. But for  
 is I have not at present leisure: it  
 ay, however, be the subject of some  
 ture essays; my thoughts now turn  
 some of the illeffects, which often  
 ow from the same principle, in re-  
 ect to human affairs, and which are  
 ounted rather follies than vices.  
 Many men, otherwise rational, who  
 ive prudent wives, and one or more  
 ung children, from the apprehen-  
 ons that their wives may marry a-  
 in, do, in their wills, give what  
 ortions they leave to their posterity,  
 ite out of the power of the wife;  
 which means, the children lose  
 e proper subjection to a parent, and  
 owing their fortunes are secured,  
 pendent of her, are apt to treat  
 er advice with less regard than be-  
 omes them. Thus, they are exposed  
 unsuitable company, who from the  
 pes of picking from them, endea-  
 ur to associate and become familiar,  
 hich they often effect to the great  
 ejudice of such heir. I would not  
 iver be understood to be an ad-  
 cate for leaving a man's substance  
 olly at the discretion of a wife:  
 his may be a deviation from reason  
 the other extreme, and necessary to  
 guarded against; because the temp-

taion is thereby made strong for for-  
 tune-hunters, whom women, other-  
 wise rational, are not always wise  
 enough to withstand. The medium  
 here, I take to be the proper conclu-  
 sion. To leave the children solely or  
 chiefly in the power of the mother,  
 (provided she is a discreet woman)  
 while she continues unmarried, and  
 then, that she should have the assis-  
 tance of a few well-chosen friends,  
 to form their manners, and generally  
 to direct their education. But were  
 the two cases incompatible, of having  
 the children, in respect to fortune, de-  
 pendent on the mother, and the for-  
 tunes, too, well secured, which, I be-  
 lieve, it very seldom is, I should pre-  
 fer the former, for a very plain rea-  
 son, because I think their principles  
 and manners much more to be re-  
 garded, than estates for them; with  
 the first, prudently directed, they may  
 be rendered capable of acquiring  
 wealth, and at the same time, know  
 the proper use of it; without, they  
 can neither keep or gain riches to  
 any valuable purpose. Among the  
 many mistakes which I have seen on  
 this head, I will mention one, by  
 way of caution. A wealthy man, in  
 the time of sickness, made his will;  
 he left his wife, (whom every body  
 allowed to be a prudent good woman)  
 a very scanty maintenance, that he  
 might secure the bulk of his estate to  
 his children, who were then all young,  
 and it was to be paid to them at their  
 respective ages, without any controul  
 or direction of the mother. What  
 was left to support her, was chiefly  
 an interest which was to descend to  
 the eldest child, a daughter. She mar-  
 ried an extravagant young fellow, who  
 soon scattered all her substance, and  
 the mother had to bear both the pain  
 and reflection of flight, which her  
 husband's want of confidence occa-  
 sioned, and the grief that as soon as she  
 died, that estate must immediately pass  
 into the hands of the creditors of  
 her imprudent son-in-law, and her  
 daughter be reduced to want, unless  
 supported by others. This, if the  
 husband had prudently trusted the wife,  
 might have been so far prevented, as  
 that she might have secured a main-  
 tenance for life to the unhappy daugh-  
 ter, and something for her children  
 to begin the world with.

## No. II.

*“ He that writes,  
 “ Or makes a feast, more certainly  
 invites  
 “ His judges than his friends.”*

SIR R. HOWARD.

I Was once accidentally at a fair in a country town, not far from hence, and giving full scope to my speculative turn, I met with entertainment from many things which others overlook, and had a share also of the pleasures which naturally occur to every one's view, on the consorting of so many different kinds of people together. It is true, that like all other human things, this pleasure was chequered and sometimes interrupted by various accidents and squabbles, such as breaking of earthen ware, by horses and carriages running over it, quarrelling for the best stalls, and breaking limbs and necks of the riders at the horse-race, which is absurdly permitted at the same time with, and much interrupts the proper business. The great quantities of the manufactures of our mother country exposed to view at those times, shew, in part, the prodigious utility these young countries are of to Great-Britain, and afford, at the same time, the pleasure to observe, that our common people, by their industry, can afford to purchase many superfluities, as well as the necessaries of life. But I own I was much pleased with the spirit and intrepidity of many of our young beaux, who at the expence of their coppers, shewed their hearty regard for our own manufactures, by treating themselves and their sweethearts with the various sorts of cakes, tarts, and custards, on the stalls occupied by some ancient females. I do not assert that this proceeded altogether from a desire of promoting trade at home, but I will venture to guess there was as much public spirit, at the bottom of it, as commonly gives rise to much noise and altercation among people in higher life.

One thing excited my curiosity; many young people were frequently travelling about, male and female, hand in hand, and very often loud peals of laughter proclaimed that they were very merry; but as the sight of a stranger drawing near, threw a damp

upon their mirth, I could not satisfy myself, whether the wit used on those occasions, was very bright, or whether (which I rather think was the case) they were mutually determined to be pleased with each other, and combined to make every common occurrence contribute thereto. This leads me to consider, that if people, families, neighbourhoods and communities, would unite in endeavouring always to oblige and please one another, there would be much less ill-nature, with all its foolish train of consequences, to be found among mankind; and if this be practicable, what pity that it is not tried and practised every where!

The various modes of dress, used by people of all ages, and from many different parts of the country, afford many a grotesque figure. Few fashions which the folly of the great has for many years past invented, but which were now to be seen assembled; for it seems it is the custom among the lower class of people, when they are about marrying, to strain to the utmost to be merry on that joyous occasion, and to have the pink of the reigning mode, and soon after to take to the common garb, and keep their first clothes for fairs and other extraordinary times; by this means, they have now and then an opportunity of shewing, that they were once gay and in taste: besides this,

Our dress still varying, nor to form  
 confin'd,

Shifts like the sands, the sport of  
 ev'ry wind.

These humble imitators of the wealthy, do in a course of years, in some one article at least, find the fashion meet them again. Thus, the various cocks of the hat, the short waist and long skirts of the coat, and *et contra*, with a thousand nameless alterations in the mode of the fair sex frequently revolve into what has been within memory before.

The cheapness of rum, and every body, at those times, being at liberty to sell it in any quantity, I observe to be very pernicious; for the seller being artful, and using many provocatives, particularly fiddlers, &c. the silly unthinking youth were very apt to be enticed to taste the bewitching poison, and many probably to love it.

or ever after, while the old veterans could be drunk several times a day, unless, (which was sometimes the case) they lost all their money in the first elirium. I cannot but think the legislatures of these colonies are too careless, about preventing the destruction occasioned by the use of this liquid fire, and with this hint may rouse some public-spirited lovers of the human race, to contrive proper ways and means to check or prevent from growing a plague.

ATTICUS.

*Philadelphia, March 9, 1767.*

*(To be continued.)*



The VISITANT.—No. I.

INTRODUCTION.

*Know then thyself. Pope.*

THE motto, which I have prefixed to this paper, contains a precept of the greatest importance. Our appetites, which is the final end of our existence, and the mark at which we aim, though sometimes injudiciously, in all our conduct, cannot be obtained without being acquainted with those sentiments and affections, which are to enjoy that happiness. Before we can learn whether any particular passion can be gratified with any particular object, we must compare the passion with the object; and before we can compare them, we must know them; for it is impossible to discover the relation between two things, while we are ignorant of the things themselves.

An inattention to this principle produces many of the inconsistent and unsatisfactory pursuits, in which we see mankind continually engaged. Without considering the passion that influences them, and without examining the propriety of what they pursue as the means of gratifying it, they run inconsiderately from project to project, until at length they are bewildered in the maze of their own absurdities; and, upon recollection, are at a loss to find out the principle, from which they have acted, or the end which they have had in view. Those who know themselves, follow a very opposite course of action. Before they permit any affection to have a general influence upon their conduct, they

deliberate whether it is proper to indulge it. If they determine that it ought to be indulged, they next consider the object which is adapted to gratify it, the means of obtaining that object, and the probability of being furnished with those means. By using these precautions, they know their aims: they know, and are satisfied, when they have fulfilled them.

As the advantages resulting from the study of human nature are great; so is the study itself agreeable and interesting. Knowledge is delightful to the mind; and every new idea brings along with it a new pleasure: the pleasure is increased if the idea is important as well as new: every thing becomes important in proportion as it is connected with us; nothing has a stricter connexion with us than reflections on human nature. The study of human nature must therefore be interesting and agreeable.

The study of the different sciences is only the study of man in different views. Logic considers us as men of sense; ethics, as men of virtue; criticism, as men of taste; jurisprudence, as members of society. Mathematics and natural philosophy have not indeed such an intimate relation to us; but they derive all their value either from improving our judgments, from enlarging our conceptions, or from ministering to our convenience.

Two methods, totally different, and neither sufficient, have been followed in studying human nature. One is from books; the other is from men. Both should be joined. He who observes only the first method, may perhaps be able to form a regular system; his general principles may be just: his application of them may be plausible; and his inferences may be drawn according to the strictest rules of reasoning. But, after all, the observation of the poet will be verified in his learned labours:

“They may be reason, but they are not man.” When he comes to examine his work, he will find, that, though the outlines may be justly taken, and some of the most obvious proportions accurately marked—yet many of the finer features are omitted, some aggravated, others distorted; the air and graces of the original lost; and that the picture, however regular and exact it appeared, when viewed by

itself, bears, when compared with what it was intended to represent, only the same dull and mortifying resemblance which a skeleton has to a human body. There is a fineness and a variety in our frame, that mocks the formal regularity of a systematic thinker. He who gains his knowledge of men, only from being much in company, or *seeing the world*, as it is called, will not commit so many mistakes as the other; but for a very obvious reason—because he will confine himself wholly to what he sees and hears. He will remember facts, and tell stories; but he will deduce no consequences, nor make any observations on them. A few general remarks, perhaps, he may have, which he will apply indiscriminately on every occasion: and if they happen sometimes to be justly applied, chance, and not his ingenuity, should have the merit of them.

If we would study human nature with success, we must join the two methods above-mentioned. We must have experience, in order to correct our reasoning; and we must employ reasoning in order to profit by our experience. The latter taking advantage of every incident, will use it as a test of some refined deduction; the former taking advantage of every incident likewise, will convert it into a subject of solid reflection.

Though the knowledge of books is necessary as well as that of men, yet I must own that I receive greater satisfaction from the latter, than the former. Formed for society, and fond of it, I experience, from my observations on the usual occurrences of life, not only the intellectual delight of having the number of my ideas increased, but the moral one of participating in the joys and distresses of those I converse with. When I hear a sentiment that can proceed only from a laudable principle in the person that utters it, my mind is transported with a pleasure superior to that, which can arise from the investigation of the most sublime truths, which the understanding alone is fitted to relish. In tracing the connexion that subsists between the conduct and the sentiments of a good man, my mind is satisfied with its reflections, and my heart rejoices in the discovery of virtue. Sometimes, indeed, unfavourable appear-

ances obtrude themselves upon me (I never search after them)—but in such cases I exert my ingenuity in putting favourable constructions on what I see, and in finding out excuses for it: and if, after all, I am *unable* to reconcile it to virtue, I solace myself with the merit of being *willin* to do so.

These reasons will explain the propriety of my assuming the character of a *VISITANT*, and of living in such manner as to render that character applicable to me. I propose to communicate to the public my observations on the common incidents of life, in a loose unconnected manner, as my humour shall prompt me, or as the subjects themselves shall direct. I hope they may be of use to convince the learned pedant that familiar occurrences are worth attending to; and the shallow coxcomb that they are worth observing.

My readers will judge of my remarks. If they are thought sensible or entertaining, I expect they will be received with applause; if they are thought to have the opposite qualities, I shall be obliged to the first person that will give me a friendly admonition to discontinue them.

Before I conclude, it will not be improper to obviate some disagreeable impressions, which the gravity, perhaps severity, of this prefatory discourse may have a tendency to make. Though my reflections are sometimes abstracted, my disposition is easy. I am inclined to view every thing in the most agreeable light; and to create to myself imaginary pleasures, rather than imaginary uneasinesses. I conform myself to the temper of my company, as far as rules, which I deem more sacred than those of complaisance, will permit. With the cheerful, I am gay; with the serious, I am grave; with the witty, I am smiling. I talk of state affairs with the politician; of commerce with the merchant; of trilles with the coquette; of divinity with the parson. When I am passive, I murmur not at the pleasures of others; and when I am frolicsome, I do not think them bound to join with me in my impertinence. I am happiest in small companies; and the I think are best, when they are composed of near an equal number of be-



sexes. The conversation has then an agreeable mixture of sense and delicacy. Nothing offends me so much as *double entendres*, especially when ladies are present. I believe they really feel all the confusion that appears in their faces, and therefore cannot forbear looking upon those who occasion it as inhumanly sporting themselves at the expence of others. One particular more in my disposition I must mention, because it is a particular, on which I greatly value myself—I prefer the conversation of a fine woman to that of a philosopher. C.

Philadelphia, February 1, 1768.



## No. II.

### Remarks on conversation.

MY readers will discover by my first paper, that the chief end of these speculations, is to examine, in a moral view, the sentiments and manners of the world, so far as they fall within the sphere of my knowledge. The character of a *Visitant* affords frequent opportunities of doing this; since it obliges me to appear in most places of general concourse, and to engage in such companies as may lead me to an acquaintance with men and things.

In the character I have assumed, I expect to receive the best materials for my periodical papers; this makes me desire that conversation would always turn upon agreeable and important subjects. Every subject is agreeable and important, in proportion as it is connected with human nature, and has an influence upon the happiness of ourselves or others. From such a conversation, I receive a double advantage; it enriches me with the sentiments of other men; and by raising in my mind a series of useful reflections, calls forth new ones of my own.

By thus associating with men of different tempers and dispositions, I am instructed in the science of human nature; and I find, that the knowledge we receive in this manner, is more agreeable and more certain, than what is acquired from books; it is more agreeable, because we indulge at the same time our natural love of social intercourse; it is more certain, be-

cause our sentiments arise from what we see, and therefore the speculations to which they lead, are built on sure principles.

But the general acquaintance which I have formed, frequently engages me with a set of men, whose society is neither entertaining nor instructive; I mean those who are strangers to serious reflection, and seem to have proposed no determinate end by which they regulate their actions; they are men of pleasure; and being accustomed to a dissipated turn, may be said to act without thinking. How unsatisfied is the mind in such a loose and unnatural frame? It cannot be long entertained with any particular object; and therefore will be continually fluctuating and changing its pursuits, without engaging seriously in any. From this class of men we can expect no rational entertainment, nor any just sentiments upon important subjects. They are by no means favourable to my design of enquiring into the principles of human conduct; and that for a very obvious reason; for if their actions are traced to the source, you will find that so far from proceeding from any settled principle, they are rather to be ascribed to the absolute want of it. I study therefore to avoid these impertinent triflers, as often as it may be done consistent with the rules of good-breeding. This indeed is very difficult, because they are usually found in the most frequent places, and politest companies. In short, their leisure is a public grievance; and I cannot but think, that the uneasiness which they occasion to those who are otherwise disposed, is an insupportable tax paid to their impertinence. But though I despair of receiving any considerable assistance from men of this stamp, yet I may sometimes take the liberty to introduce them on the stage; for in general conversation they bear so considerable a part, that my reflections upon the sentiments and manners of the company, will in some measure depend on these insignificant characters.

There are many other impediments to my improvement in the character of a *Visitant*; and they all proceed from an inattention to this important maxim—that every one should do what lies in his power to please his

company. Agreeable to this rule, I would have nothing advanced, but what may appear to be of general importance; because nothing else can afford general pleasure; No regard should be paid to the particular circumstances of any one; the lawyer, the merchant, and the politician, should each lay aside what distinguishes him from the rest, and appear in no other character, than as a man of sense.

It is a very common offence against the maxim I have laid down, for a man to make himself the subject of his discourse. How tiresome is it, when any single person undertakes to entertain others with matters that concern none but himself, and with which no one else can be affected?—In proportion as he talks of his own affairs, he prefers himself to the rest of the company, which is a palpable affront.

Nor are they less deserving of our censure, who engross the whole conversation to themselves, without allowing others a reasonable share in it. These also affront the rest of the company, because they seem to suppose themselves more sensible and entertaining, and worthier to be attended to than any other man present. It is still more unfortunate when the person offending is possessed of a loud voice and voluble pronunciation; for then his impetuosity will not be restrained, though any one present should attempt to interrupt him. But however disagreeable such a behaviour may be to many, for my own part I can make myself very easy; being naturally of a slow speech, I resign my share of the discourse, and amuse myself with the reflections that arise in my mind upon what I observe. This power of abstracting myself from the company, I esteem a considerable advantage, because I thereby receive improvement from what displeases many, and make other men's faults serviceable to my enquiries into human nature. However, I never use this privilege, but in the circumstances already mentioned, and when the conversation offends against the laws of morality. In the former case, I am obliged to hold my tongue; in the latter, religion bids me be silent. Oaths and imprecations I think entirely inconsistent with good sense or politeness, and though some think them ve-

ry necessary expletives in discourse, I must confess that with me they spoil the whole.

Nor am I less offended at another fault in conversation, no less criminal than those I have taken notice of; I mean, diverting ourselves at the expence of others. How many hours are thrown away in exercising the ill-natured talent of evil-speaking, which might be spent in sensible and profitable entertainment? And what have we in the room of it? Why, nothing but a scene of mangled characters, a disagreeable spectacle at best, unless where envy or ill-nature reconciles it to the mind. When the conversation runs in this channel, I never fail to observe the different motives which influence the several persons present—but without relying upon the truth of what they advance, for those who are actuated by an uncharitable principle, seldom fail to aggravate a bad action, if not entirely misrepresent a good one.

These are some of the principal obstacles to my improvement in the character of a *Visitant*; and the most effectual method to banish them from company, will be to cultivate good humour and politeness; let a man be pleased himself, and he will of course be pleased with others: let a man be desirous of entertaining others, and he will avoid every thing that may be disagreeable to them. L,

*Philadelphia, Feb. 8, 1768.*



### No. III.

*Remarks on the fair sex—on female conversation and accomplishments,*

THE character of a *Visitant* obliges me to frequent the company of the fair sex, and I must acknowledge, that I receive great improvement, as well as pleasure, from their society. I have taken much pains to remark the foibles and many excellencies of the sex; and that the reader may pay a due deference to my idea of the female character, I must assure him, that I have frequent opportunities of making my observations. I have acquired a general acquaintance among the ladies; and the veneration I always discover for them, encourages my fair companions to express their sentiments the more freely.

I declared in my first paper, that I preferred the company of a fine woman to that of a philosopher—and reason justifies the choice. The reflections of the philosopher are deduced in a chain of abstract reasoning, from principles which he has acquired either by reading or observation; hence the connexion between his principles and his conclusions (upon which the truth of the latter depends) is generally slight and uncertain—and frequently erroneous. But the sentiments of a sensible woman, arise in an easy and natural way from matters of common observation, without the intervention of many intermediate ideas—hence your fair companion will entertain you with more plain, agreeable and just reflections than the profound philosopher.

But I must inform my fair reader, that I *admire* the beauties of her person, though I am *enslaved* by the virtues of her mind. I have moreover a good taste in dress; for I have been frequently consulted on that head by some ladies who esteem my judgment. However, I think dress has no excellence in itself, and is no farther to be valued than as it sets off the person; for which reason I prefer simplicity to finery, because simplicity in dress seems to adorn the lady, whereas finery engages the attention to itself.

There are three principal qualities which render female conversation agreeable; they are wit, sense, and delicacy. Wit pleases; good sense is more engaging than wit; but delicacy has stronger attractions than either. Upon the delicacy of affection that characterizes the female mind, are founded some of the most amiable virtues of which our souls are susceptible. Now as human nature is the object of my speculations, I embrace every opportunity of viewing it in the most agreeable light. Wit displeases whenever it comes into competition with delicacy; and a fine understanding is no recommendation to a lady, when it exposes the want of some virtue more essential to the female mind; for this reason, I can never think a satirical woman an amiable character, since we are apt to conceive, that the vein of satire can flow from no other source than that of ill-nature.

I have an high idea of the female character, and despise those injurious

aspersions that are intended to undervalue it. How often is it pretended that women have little minds, that they are naturally vain, and disposed to be pleased with trifles! Nor is this alleged by those only whose opinion can have little weight; it is a maxim generally received; and the female education is in a great measure formed on this principle—that the cultivation of the mind is of less importance than the external accomplishments of person and behaviour. While these are the standard of female merit, no wonder if they are taught to use all their efforts to excel in what will make them appear to advantage in the world. But what effect must the education I am speaking of, produce? Certainly a very bad one. The mind accustomed to apply to trifling objects, in a short time becomes vain and trifling itself. Nothing then pleases but what gratifies its vanity; and men are naturally led to ascribe to a lady such foibles as her education is calculated to encourage—foibles which do not belong to the female mind, but owe their rise and growth to an improper education.

Every sensible woman must discover that the fashionable idea of an accomplished lady, is a satire upon the sex; and that it is her interest to confute, by her behaviour, the charges generally alleged against them in consequence of it. This I confess is no easy matter, without incurring the censure of singularity. The appellations of sentimental, learned, and bookish, considering the ideas frequently annexed to these terms, must be very grating to her delicacy. Yet when good sense, improved by reading, is united with the amiable virtues of modesty and submission, with a desire of being, rather than appearing to be, wiser than others, I cannot but think that it must engage universal respect, and that even those who have never aimed at the acquisition of mental endowments, would be forced to admire such a character—a character that exposes their own, without assuming the privilege of doing so. But there are two sorts of men whose admiration is not worth courting; they are the fop and the debauchee—The life of the debauchee makes him undervalue a virtuous woman; and the re-

spects of the sex can be no compliment to her understanding.

There is another class of men to whom my regard for the fair sex makes me a declared enemy; I mean those who take a pleasure in representing their actions in the most unfavourable light. How difficult is it for a lady to conduct herself free from the censures of the ungenerous and ill-natured? There is no part of her behaviour but what is liable to misconstruction. Good-nature is branded with the name of forwardness, and reserve with that of affectation. If she behaves with an innocent freedom to one of our sex—no doubt she has a design upon him; if she resents any impropriety in his behaviour—she is immediately noted as a coquette. Is she offended at the indecent language in which some men's impudence allows them—she seems as if she would fain be thought more delicate than her neighbours; if she neglects shewing a proper resentment for it—this omission is construed into a criminal approbation. Every lady that has an handsome face is supposed to overvalue herself, and to expect universal adoration; every one that is not handsome is presumed of course to hate all that are so. Any thing inadvertently said to the disadvantage of another, is immediately resolved into envy; and a lady is generally supposed to think herself disparaged by the praises bestowed on the perfections of others.

Such are the insinuations of an unmanly spirit to stain the most amiable characters; and in these circumstances, it becomes every man of honour and virtue to stand forth an advocate for the ladies. A generous mind will take a pleasure in defending the weaker party, which is the least able to make resistance, and therefore more liable to be attacked.

Having given sufficient intimations of my favourable dispositions towards the fair sex, it will be proper to declare why I think myself qualified to assume the character of their public monitor. As my acquaintance is general, so I have spared no pains to observe their different sentiments and dispositions, and always endeavour to engage their minds upon such subjects as may give me an opportunity of observing them. My diligent applicati-

on to those things that employ their attention, has made me more learned upon subjects that lie within the province of a lady, than the generality of my sex. This makes me a competent judge in matters that lie beyond the reach of other men's capacities. It opens to my mind a source of pleasure to which they are strangers; so I frequently discover a surprising taste and ingenuity exerted in discoursing on the mode of a cap, or in determining the proper position of a flower on a gauze apron. I have been induced to peruse such books as are thought to be adapted to the female taste, and I always examine in conversation with my fair companion, what has been most striking to her in her reading the observations she has made upon it, and her manner of applying them for I think these are generally descriptive of her real character. When the judgment I form of a lady is to her advantage, I am pleased with my opinion, and never alter it without very good reasons; when it is unfavourable, I am willing to believe myself mistaken, and carefully attend to every circumstance that may serve to correct my judgment.

I flatter myself that the sentiment I have advanced, have given my fair readers a favourable opinion of me, and that in consequence of it, I may presume to request their attention to what I shall present them in the course of my publications.

No sooner, ladies, had I embraced this method of offering my sentiment to the public, than it occurred to me that the fair sex were entitled to a principal share of my regard. Numerous and pleasing were the subjects to which the reflection led me; animated by the prospect, I resolved to dedicate a considerable part of my labours to your immediate service—flattering myself with the hope of laying an offering at your feet, not altogether unworthy of your notice.

Though I am ever attentive to female virtues, I am not blind to female foibles; I shall endeavour to mention the former without deserving the charge of partiality, and take notice of the latter, free from an air of severity. Though I generally judge upon the charitable side, in whatever regard the fair part of our species, I always

void those arts of flattery which many of our sex have employed to insinuate themselves into your good graces; these I utterly disclaim; not only because flattery is in itself contemptible, but because I do not observe, however others may pretend to the contrary, that it meets in general with the expected success. But at the same time that I confess myself destitute of the boasted merits of a modern coxcomb, I flatter myself these papers will convince you that I deservedly assume the character of a humble servant of the ladies. *Philadelphia, Feb. 15. 1768.*

(To be continued.)



*Comparison between certain French and American customs.*

*Nantz, March 20, 1781.*

All civilized countries we find some customs dictated by reason, and worthy of imitation: but unhappily, at the same time, we find others that have crept into society, and exist only from habitual hereditary principles, which are quite the reverse. As our infant country is now happily extricated from the British yoke, and we are left at liberty to adopt, unprejudiced, a system of manners consistent with reason, and the beautiful harmony and unreserved ease, that ought to actuate every circle, I sincerely wish that we may abolish many disgusting, embarrassing, destructive English customs, and adopt those which will tend to the preservation of health, and to our convenience and ease. People that have always existed within the limits of their native country, seldom discover any impropriety or imperfection in the prevailing customs of that country; but the sentimental traveller, who passes through other kingdoms, and makes partial, liberal reflections, discovers once the absurdities of his countrymen, as well as of the countries he traverses. It is now many months since I arrived in this eastern part of the world; ever since my arrival, it has been my uniform study to observe what points (in my opinion) we ought to abolish customs already established, and where to adopt those of other countries, so as to leave a complete system. Therefore, I beg leave to drop a few hints on the subject:

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and as I have but one motive, consequently I have but one claim.

It may probably be thought more difficult than experience will prove it to be, to renounce any usage we have been accustomed to, however ridiculous and inconsistent common sense may proclaim it.

We have ever been taught to believe, that politeness is disagreeably embarrassing in France, yet I am firmly persuaded, that there is no country under heaven where a foreigner is so perfectly at his ease, and where genuine politeness so generally exists as in France. The ridiculous custom of drinking people's healths at table formerly prevailed here, but it is now no more; a simple salute to the lady of the house suffices, instead of calling out across the table to know the name of Mr. and Mrs. such-a-one, that you may have the pleasure of drinking their healths. In large circles in America, it is next to impossible for a man to swallow his dinner with any degree of satisfaction, while he is attacked in the same moment on every side and obliged by custom to return so many thanks. In France, every man eats his dinner quietly, drinks when and what he pleases; after the table is cleared, if he is disposed to drink—*a la bonne heure*—he is at liberty; but not the least compulsion.

How many promising youths are nipped in the bud, merely from attempting to sustain the alluring character of a hearty fellow! The qualities, which constitute this important character, must in their consequences end with a worn-out constitution, that cannot resist the slightest attacks of sickness; in short, to complete this character, a man must become a beast. In France we seldom see any one disguised with liquor, except porters. The young gentlemen in the two countries are in this respect diametrically opposite; which is the more eligible, may be decided without many philosophical reasonings.

In America, we all drink out of one vessel; exclusive of the risk of contracting a venereal taint, grease, tobacco, &c. may float in the liquor, and the next person that drinks, swallow it; but in France, every man has his glass, and risks no one's lips but his own.

In America, we take a formal leave of large circles; as many persons as quit the room, so often are the company disturbed; but in France, when any one is disposed to go, he takes his hat and cane, and walks softly away, without saying a word; consequently the company are not disturbed.

Having said thus much upon these points, I am persuaded that ten minutes' reflection will convince every American of the absurdity of these old stile customs, and that they will consequently be banished from every part of the united states; but if the practice of drinking healths cannot be banished, then nominate a president for every table, to stand up, and repeat—"I thank you, sir," "I thank you, madam," while the rest are quietly eating their dinners.

*A sentimental traveller.*



*Observations on defamation.*

SOME prize a reputation as much as they prize life, and some there are who value a good name much more than existence itself. The last mentioned class is composed of those whose views are not confined to things which are but of momentary date; and of such as possess minds that dignify the human race. These think "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour rather than silver and gold."

To attempt to injure the reputation of him who holds reputation dearer than life, is a transgression which the greatest repentance can scarcely atone for; it is a crime which cannot admit of even the colouring of justification upon any principles whatever, except we have indubitable proofs of the guilt of the person who is the object on whom we inflict condemnation and reproach.

Defamation assumes various forms, in its different tours through the universe; for it visits every clime, however distant; no spot inhabited by Adam's posterity is a stranger to its wanderings. Defamation sometimes sallies forth like an open enemy, and attacks the victim of its vengeance in the face of day; and at other times, it shrouds itself in the midnight mask, and, assassin like, deals its blows in the dark. When a man is attacked in

the former manner, he is better able to make his defence, as his foe attacks him openly as such; in the latter case, he stands no chance at all, and defamation makes sport of his character.

Backbiting is the most dangerous as well as the most effectual way to blacken another's reputation. The most villainous garb which is worn by the defamer, is the garb of insinuation. The wretch, who peeps out his head from the croud, and cries, "I know something, which if told would prove a detriment to such a man," and then sneaks back to his lurking hole again, is the most despicable character in society; the croud quickly catches the seed which he issues forth, and every one is busy in their conjectures concerning the person thus vilely attacked; and as the greater part of mankind are too apt to judge unfavourably, the accused is thought to be a thousand times more guilty than he really is, and often judged culpable, when entirely innocent. Behold the countenance of the defaming insinuator—you may read in his features the conclusions he practices; the demon of misanthropy is enthroned in his eyes, and his breast swells his breast, raging for utterance.

Defamation is often found under the roof of envy. The envious man cannot bear the splendor of merit; conscious of his own diminutiveness, he looks up with anguish to the greatness which shines in the conduct of another; he sets his invention to work in order to find out some failing in the actions of the man who excites his envy; some failings he may doubtless find; for "what man is there that saith and transgresseth not?" having found a foible, he mounts the stage of defamation, and blows the trumpet of scandal through the city. "What is cruel, and anger is outrageous; it is who is able to stand before envy?"

The double-tongued defamer serves to be ranked with the outcasts of the universe, the offscourings of human nature. He who begins with insinuations, and speaks plausibly of the person he intends in the end to condemn, does it with a view to exalt the object a little at first, in order that his fall may be the greater. Such miserable wretches generally incur contempt, and are despised by every honest heart; they seldom have penetration enough

cast a veil over their own ignorance, while they pretend to expose the failings of another, but are often weak in their intellects, and so unguarded in their expressions, that they give sufficient occasion for the hearer to doubt not only their own purity, but also to doubt the veracity of what they relate.

I happened once to fall in company with a person of the above description; he began by setting forth in a very conspicuous manner the virtue and amiableness of a certain character; after a long list of eulogiums, he added, and he is a character I much esteem and revere—but—But what? cries a person who was present, and had been attentively listening to the encomiums which had been so lavishly bestowed—but he has failings, continued Mr. Double Tongue. Lord bless me! exclaimed the other, without doubt he has failings; and pray, continued he, can you find a man who is descended from the posterity of Adam who is free from imperfections?—But, says the other, his failings are of a capital nature—He then proceeded to give an account of them, and related transactions of so black a kind, in which the character he had seen but just before praising was concerned, that we all for a moment stood astonished, and blushed for the depravity of our fellow creatures. After Mr. Double Tongue had finished his relation, the person who interrupted him just before, again addressed him. Pray, says he, and is this the character whom in the beginning of your story you informed us that you much esteemed and revered? Double Tongue collected himself, a blush of confusion overspread his features, while the sneer of contempt went round the room; he instantly started from his chair, turned round, and looking at his watch, exclaimed, devil take me! I promised to call at ———'s at four o'clock, and it is now half past five; the time has stolen away quite imperceptibly; gentlemen, I must beg to be excused. Having said this, he took his hat, bowed, and precipitately left the room—Thus do these insignificant triflers of reputation expose their ignorance, folly, and rascality.

It is a common observation, and I believe it has truth for its basis, that

they who are most deserving of censure themselves, are generally the most forward to censure the faults of others, and are most lavish in their epithets of abuse. If reason had any influence, we might suppose, that those who had experienced the frowns of fortune themselves, would be disposed to commiserate the misfortunes of others, instead of censuring and abusing them: but so it is, that we often find the fortunate more inclined to pity the faulty, than those who have been faulty themselves.

Reputation is dear, and we ought to be careful of another's good name. We should judge charitably of our neighbour's conduct, and say but little of any one, when we cannot speak to his advantage. "He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life; but he that openeth wide his lips, shall have destruction."

## JUVENIS.



*Observations on the evil consequences attending the excessive use of spiritous liquors.*

**S**PIRITOUS liquors have been lately proved to be ruinous to the bodies, souls, and estates of the citizens of America. But there is a fact lately come to light, which proves that they are equally ruinous to our country.

It appears from pretty accurate calculations, that in the course of the years 1785, 1786, and 1787, *twelve millions of dollars* have been expended by the united states, in purchasing West-India spiritous liquors. How much more has been spent in home distilled spirits, I cannot pretend to determine; probably near one half that sum.

What profit have the united states derived from the expenditure of this immense treasure? None at all: on the contrary, it has entailed diseases, idleness, poverty, and debt upon them.

The experience of many farmers has already proved, that spiritous liquors are altogether unnecessary for reapers and other labourers\*. They

### NOTE.

\* A reputable farmer, of Biberry, in Philadelphia county, who declared he would give 6d. a day to his reap-

enjoy more health and better spirits upon beer, cyder, and melasses and water.

Should the united states proceed in consuming such immense quantities of spirits, the following consequences cannot fail of taking place :

11. The whole country must soon be exposed to public vendue, bought by British agents, and owned by British merchants ; for besides the money that is spent in spiritous liquors, they become a kind of *decoy*. They allure people to stores, and tempt them to buy many articles of British manufacture, for which they have no occasion, hence arises an increase of our debt to Britain, and a check to the manufactures of our country.

12. The human body will degenerate so much in size, strength, figure and beauty, from the use of spiritous liquors, that travellers who visit our country, will be at a loss to determine what species of animals we belong to. We shall become a kind of link, between men and monkeys.

HORTENSIVS.

*Germantown, July 17, 1788.*



*Caution against rum !*

A Tradesman in this city complained two years ago to an iron merchant, that he could not pay his rent. The merchant asked him how much rum he used in his family in a day. Upon his answering this question, the merchant immediately shewed him that his rum in a year came to more money than his house-rent. The calculation so shocked the tradesman, that he determined from that day to buy and drink no more spirits of any kind. In the course of the ensuing year, he paid his rent, and bought a suit of clothes out of the savings of his temperance. He is now in a thriving way, respected and trusted by all who know him.

NOTE.

persons in lieu of rum or whiskey, engaged for many hands by the owner, that they cut down his whole crop of wheat which consisted of 36 acres, in one day last week. They drank nothing but home made beer and cyder, passed the day in harmony, and all went home perfectly satisfied with themselves and their employer.

*Philadelphia, July 24, 1788.*

*Various uses to which might be applied the money saved by declining the consumption of spiritous liquor*

AFTER reading the preceding account of the sum of money saved by a tradesman who left off drinking rum, I was led to calculate the sum consumed by a man, who drinks a pint of that liquid fire a day, in ten years, choose the term of *ten years*, because very few rum drinkers ever live longer than that number of years. It appears from the *retail* price, at which he buys his liquor, that he spends near ten pounds a year in this article alone. In ten years, this amounts to near a hundred pounds. Now if we add to this sum the interest on this money every year, and the time lost in *seeing for or fetching and drinking the liquor*—and after drinking it, the time lost in *sleeping or quarrelling*, the whole loss will amount to at least a hundred pounds. An immense sum for a tradesman to lose out of the profits of his labour !

Let us suppose this sum to be saved, and examine how many different ways it might be laid out, so as to add to the happiness of a tradesman's family, and the prosperity of his country.

1st. It would buy a small farm in the country, or a dwelling-house in the city, and make him an independent freeholder.

2d. It would buy half a dozen milch cows—a pair of oxen—a riding chair, in which, with one horse, the tradesman might regale part of his family once a week, with a ride in the country, if he lived in town ; or with a ride to church, if he lived in the country ; besides these articles, it would purchase many of the necessary implements of husbandry, and many useful articles of household furniture.

3d. It would enable him to keep glass of sound old wine, or good porter, in his house, to be used in sickness, or to treat his friends with when they came to visit him.

4th. It would enable him to purchase and pay for a small collection of books also for a newspaper—a magazine—or a museum, with which he might improve himself, and entertain his family.

5th. It would enable him to portion off one of his daughters handiwork.



or to give his son a liberal education.  
6th. It would enable him to pay off all his just debts : and now and then to contribute his mite towards public and charitable institutions ; besides which, he might give his wife two or three new gowns every year.

*A friend to family happiness.*



*Recommendation to establish free schools.*

OF all the establishments to promote the happiness of society, and add to the dignity and reputation of the commonwealth, none appears to me more eligible than that of free schools.

I was much delighted with the proposal for that purpose lately published in the papers ; and I sincerely wish the worthy citizens of Philadelphia may join in a work so pleasing both to God and man.

All classes among us, I am persuaded, will unite in a plan for the education of poor children ; I would therefore humbly propose that the citizens be notified, and a meeting held ; so that, if necessary, a committee may be appointed from the different churches, to lay before them, at a future meeting, a plan for carrying into effect the intentions of the late very benevolent writer on this subject.

“Blest is the man, whose bowels move,

And melt with pity to the poor :

Whose soul, by sympathizing love,  
Feels what his fellow saints endure.

His soul shall live secure on earth,  
With secret blessings on his head,

When drought, and pestilence,  
and dearth,

Around him multiply their dead.”

A L A D Y.

*Philadelphia, April 14, 1787.*



*Thoughts on the establishment of an economical association.*

OBSEVING the present to be a time for establishing many and various societies, I acknowledge myself to be one of the many who view their institution with great pleasure and satisfaction—as tending to excite and raise in mankind those sentiments of benevolence towards their fellow-citizens, which so highly exalt and

dignify human nature. Another of the kind, however novel, seems to be much wanted. I have, therefore, been long secretly wishing, that an association of the rich and affluent amongst us, for the purpose of exemplifying, in their dress, conduct, and whole domestic œconomy, a true specimen of that virtue and those manners and habits, so absolutely necessary for the support and establishment of a republic, might soon be seriously thought on and entered into. Equality, in a qualified sense, is the basis of such a form of government. Reformation ever must begin at the head. Shakespear, I think, saith :

—“Take physic, Pomp ;

Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,

That thou may’st shake the superflux to them,

And shew the heav’ns more just.”

We also know what an amazing and powerful influence such example ever has had, and always will have, on the middle classes of the people. It effects a wonderful and sudden change. Extravagance, dissipation and luxury, of every species, fly and hide their devoted heads—industry and frugality succeed, and supply their place. It becomes fashionable to despise the whole train of needless superfluities, imported from Europe in such abundance, to our almost utter impoverishment. Dress discards all its cumbrous fripperies, and regulates itself by modest decency ; and the good of our country becomes our ruling object. O desirable, O happy change !

Hearken hereto, ye citizens, placed in eminent stations, what is termed high-life. With-hold not your powerful aid. Set the noble, godlike example, it will immortalize your names ! and haste to enjoy the supreme happiness of saving a state. For however we may flatter ourselves, nothing can be more sure and certain, than that the very form of a republican government cannot long exist, after its true spirit, the virtuous regard and attachment to our country, is evaporated. There can be no substitute for it, and dissolution is the inevitable consequence. All our commotions, disorders and derangements originate from that cause, and that solely.

As the wisdom of the continent is

now, as it were, concentrated in the present convention, met to deliberate on the best mode of consolidating our federal government, I feel a ray of hope, that this important subject, in which the welfare of all the states, as distinct republics, is involved, may likewise be drawn into consideration, and deservedly discussed amongst them. And, if afterwards judged necessary, the united states may be pathetically addressed by them thereon.

*A well-meaning plain citizen.*  
Philadelphia, July 6, 1787.

—◆◆◆◆◆  
The old bachelor.—No. VII.

*His Will.*

**I** W. N. of D. in the county of S. bachelor, being found both in body and mind, but apprehensive I shall shortly quit this vain and forlorn estate of celibacy; which I hope to exchange for a more comfortable and happy one, through the aid and indulgence of a kind and virtuous help-mate; do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following:

*Imprimis.*—I give and bequeath, to my good friend, mr. W. M. all my manor of *Long-Delay*: consisting and being made up of the several farms and messuages, called, or known, by the names of *Doubts, Fears, Bassfulness, Irresolution, Uncertainty, Fickleness, Obstinacy, &c. &c. &c.* being, for the most part, waste and barren ground, and much overgrown with briars, thorns, and thistles; but capable, by proper management, of great cultivation and improvement.

*Item.*—I give and bequeath unto my good friend, mr. J. A. my dwelling-house and courtlage; called by the name of *Vain-Hopes*: situate, lying, and being, in *High-street*, in the town of *Castle-building*, in the county of *Imagination*: rising to the height of seven stories; having a fair garden and a prospect *before* it, and a large number of windows in the front; but without any out-let *behind*; nor having any kitchens, cellars, or other conveniences, of a social nature, belonging to it: to have, and to hold, the said dwelling-house, until the day of his marriage, if he shall think proper to keep it so long.

*Item.* I give and bequeath to my good friend, mr. W. R. all my wood-

land, called and known by the name of *Ambiguity*: which is well planted with *pun-trees, conundrums, quirks, and quibbles*; together with several impenetrable *brakes* and *thickets*, of dark, unintelligible *incomprehensibilities*.

And lastly, I give and bequeath all the rest of my bachelor's goods and effects, consisting of a large treasure of *whims, fancies, megrims, freaks, reveries, schemes, projects, and designs, &c.* to my aforesaid good friend, mr. J. A. whom I constitute and appoint sole executor of this my last will and testament—only desiring and requesting of him, that he would put a fancy, or two, into the heads of such old bachelors of his acquaintance, as he shall think proper: as also, that he writes, and pronounces, an epithalamium on this happy occasion; in order, that this my departure, into the blessed regions of matrimony, may be decently celebrated.

And as I apprehend I shall have no more occasion for the legacies above disposed of—so it is my true intent and meaning, that my said legatees should not consider them as favours and obligations, conferred on them; as it is also my farther sincere will and desire, that they do not hoard them up, or continue to make a long and unprofitable use of them; but that they should endeavour to put them off as soon as possible; to the end, that they may be the better fitted, and disposed, to follow me, into that happy state into which I am now about to enter.

Executed at my mansion of *Vain-Hopes* aforesaid, this twentieth day of March, A. D. 1765.

W. N. (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above-written testator, in the presence of us,

Marmaduke Matrimony,  
William Wedlock,  
Fanny Forwardly.

(To be continued.)

—◆◆◆◆◆

*Various anomalies in the English language.*

**I**T is now upwards of seven years since I left Germany, the place of my nativity, and settled in this country. My chief attention, since that time, has been to acquire a competent

Knowledge of the English language. That difficulty, which every one must experience in learning a new language, of pronouncing those articulate sounds, which are not found in his native tongue, and to which, of consequence, his organs of speech have not been accustomed, I have, in a great measure, overcome. Though even yet, especially when a little off my guard, I will sometimes confound the English sounds of *th*, *j*, and *v*, with some German sound, to which they have a resemblance. As for the common blunder, of confounding the sounds of *b* and *p*, *d*, and *t*, for which my countrymen are so justly ridiculed, I think it altogether inexcusable, and the effect of mere inattention. On the subject of pronunciation, I have met with great assistance from *Sheridan's rhetorical grammar*, though still, in many instances, I can find no rules to direct my pronunciation, either in *Sheridan* or any other author.

But the difficulty that I have chiefly in view at this time, and in which I would earnestly request assistance from such as may be acquainted with the subject, regards *rules* for the *spelling* of words; particularly in the following cases:

1. I observe that in English, as well as in other languages, a class of nouns, signifying the *agents*, is formed from verbs. Of these, in English, some are formed by the termination *er*, and some by the termination *or*; as, lover, runner, sleeper; actor, aggressor, possessor, &c.

2. I observe that most of the consonants are sometimes written *single*, and sometimes *double*; as, linen, operation, acute, widow—sinner, opportunity, accurate, sudden, &c.

3. Abstract nouns are formed from other parts of speech, some—by the termination *ance*, and some by the termination *ence*; as, ignorance, allowance, variance—insolence, impudence, licence, &c.

4. The same kind of nouns is also formed by the termination *ty*, sometimes preceded by the vowel *i*, sometimes by the vowel *e*, and sometimes without any vowel immediately preceding; as, purity, sincerity, partiality—piety, nicety, anxiety, surety—frailty, royalty, &c.

5. A large class of adjectives is formed by the termination *ble*, sometimes preceded by the vowel *a*, and sometimes by the vowel *i*; as, miserable, liable, amiable—sensible, reducible, fallible, &c.

If the above diversities in spelling, which indeed comprehend the chief difficulties that occur on the subject of orthography, were reduced to certain rules, it would very much facilitate, both to foreigners and natives, the acquisition of this necessary accomplishment, *correct spelling*.

G E R M A N U S.

Philadelphia, July 27, 1787.



*Inscription for a monument agreed to be erected by congress, to perpetuate the memory of the assistance given by the king of France to the united states.*

*Post Deum  
diligenda et servanda est libertas,  
maximis empti laboribus,  
humanique sanguinis flumine  
irrigata;  
per imminentia belli pericula,  
juvante  
optimo Galliarum principe, rege  
LUDOVICO XVI.  
Hanc statuam principi augustissimo  
consecravit,  
et aeternam pretiosamque beneficij  
memoriam  
grata reipublicae veneratio  
ultimis tradidit nepotibus.*

IN ENGLISH.

“Liberty is, after God, what we ought to love, and preserve with most care. Purchased with the heaviest toils, and cemented with floods of human blood, spilt amidst the horrors of war, we have attained it by the assistance of the best of princes, Louis XVI. king of France. To that august sovereign, the grateful veneration of the republic hath erected this statue, to perpetuate the memory of his beneficence, and handed it down to the latest posterity.”



*Requisites for the preservation of good government.*

FOUR things are essentially necessary to spread and preserve good government in every country. 1. The regular administration of the *ordinances of religion*. 2. The regular, punct-

tual and free diffusion of knowledge by means of *newspapers*. The insurrections in Massachusetts Bay, were occasioned, in part, by the infamous *stamp act* of that commonwealth, which checked the circulation of newspapers, and thereby left the people exposed to the uncontradicted falsehoods of seditious demagogues.

3. *Good roads*. These, by increasing and facilitating the trade and intercourse of distant parts of a country with its capital, tend to spread knowledge, and thus promote easy and quiet government. 4. *A sameness of language*. The Highlanders in Scotland have been easily governed ever since good roads were opened into their country, and English schools introduced among them. Many of them, once disaffected to the British government, by sharing in its power and offices, have become its brightest ornaments and support.

N U M A.



#### *Of American recruits.*

WE have been long accustomed to consider standing armies as receptacles and nurseries of the vilest characters, productive of scenes of the most cruel severity, and regulated by a system of discipline degrading to human nature. If these conceptions are in any measure justified by facts, it must gratify the benevolent mind to observe, that America is altering the method, or rather the want of method, in obtaining military recruits. At all times during the late war, our army contained a great proportion of respectable citizens: at present, a great caution is observed in the enlistment of federal troops: an advertisement in the Hartford papers, for recruits for the Ohio service, after mentioning several inducements to enlistment, has the following *Nota Bene*:—"None, but such as are of *good characters*, and come *well recommended*, need apply."



*An error pointed out in the culture of maize, or Indian corn.—Addressed to and published by the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture, June 6, 1785.*

MAIZE is a general crop, from New-England to Georgia. I

will point out what I think a common error in its cultivation.

The fields for that crop are laid out at 5 1-2 and 6 feet each way. The tillage goes on regularly from north to south, and then from east to west. Suppose a field of forty acres cultivated in this way, which takes twenty days to give it one ploughing; the second ploughing is also finished in the same time. It is plain that one corner of your field will receive both ploughings in two days: and that one other corner will remain above thirty eight days between the first and second ploughings. By ploughing your fields only one way, you apply a remedy; and that may be done either at the old distances, or at the distances of seven feet by four or five—ten by 2 1-2—eleven by 2 3-4—and twelve by three feet, which will allow sufficient room for hoeing, and give the same number of hills.

If wheat succeeds maize, there is an evident gain in the arable, by one half the number of furrows being thrown out: and if your field lies level, or low, the wheat lands may be raised in proportion, with much more ease and effect, by the lands being broad, than if they were narrow.



*On the culture of potatoes, addressed to, and published by the same Society as the preceding piece.*

IN 1784, I planted Irish potatoes, of various sorts, early in April. The early season was good, and they pushed forward, till the advanced heat of summer, with a considerable drought, checked the haulm. After this, on a refreshing rain, they evidently took a second growth. When the bulbs of the large purple kind were of the size of a walnut, I planted some of them, immediately as they were taken out of the ground, in another bed. These, in the fall, were very far superior to the first crop; they were mealy, and of a fine flavour. Those of the first growth were watry, or waxy, or of an earthy taste. Some twenty years since, an old neighbour frequently repeated to me, that the best time to plant potatoes, in Maryland, was in June. The incident above mentioned, and the recollection

of these hints, together, determine me, in the ensuing season, to plant in June, July, and August.

A farmer of some note in the upper part of Maryland, informed me that his best potatoes were from what were planted after harvest. Immediately after harvest, he ploughed in his wheat stubble, and planted potatoes. This must have been in July. A farmer of Philadelphia county agrees that those potatoes will be better for table use, but not in so great abundance, as the produce of what are planted in the spring.

Another operation I hint, without pretending to have experienced it.—For early potatoes, plant in November or December; cover with straw and trash, enough to oppose frost. Let some of them grow through the straw; let other parts be cleared of the straw, and the ground dressed in the spring. Observe the difference, and weigh the effects. A farmer of Philadelphia county planted potatoes near the end of last October, and covered with straw. His success is considerable; the potatoes produced being, early in May, very fine for the table, and of good size.



*Observations on cheese making.*

[IN the course of the late war, a family was induced to attempt to make cheeses, in a part of America but little experienced in that business. The farm was a good one, abounded in milk, and being distant from market, it was thought no better use could be made of the milk, than turning it into cheese for sale. Many were the attempts for two or three years, with the best instructions that could be picked up. But the cheeses were scarcely eatable, one in ten.

Having just now met with an English publication of the last year, by a dealer in cheese for thirty years there, particularly treating of cheese-making, which satisfies me wherein the above family had failed; I give you some intimations from it, together with a hint or two of my own, being persuaded these particulars are not generally attended to, and that it will be of material use to young operators, although some experienced ones may not want the instruction. The whole process

of making cheese is not meant to be here given; but only the particulars, which some cheese-makers are unformed of, or are inattentive to.

Reducing the milk to a proper warmth—preparing the rennet—putting it into the milk in due proportion—standing of the milk till it becomes firm curd—breaking or gathering it after it is come—regarding, especially, the time of the operation of the rennet—fixing or setting the curd after it is come—all require a minute exactness.

The principal error in cheese-making is owing to these operations being too hastily performed, without giving time for the several effects to take place. If a due regard is paid to the making good curd, you will easily make good cheese. You cannot make good goods of bad materials. Some people will add a second portion of rennet, to forward the flow coming of the curd. But this is wrong, as its nature is to dissolve the curd already partly formed, where more rennet is added. It is a nicety to have the milk neither too warm nor too cool: Milk-warm, as it is commonly understood, not warm as immediately from the cow, is the best state. To know this heat accurately at all times, nothing is so effectual as the use of a thermometer; which may be had cheap. If cool to the hand is to determine, it is generally uncertain; because, what in cold weather seems to the touch to be milk-warm, may only be fifty degrees of actual warmth:—in warm weather, the touch may declare it only milk-warm, when in fact it is at one hundred degrees of actual heat. In the former case, the natural warmth of the surface of the hand is reduced perhaps to forty or fifty degrees, by the cold air—in the latter, it may be at ninety degrees. If a thermometer is not used, the next best way is to first hold your hand, whilst you count thirty, deliberately, in water immediately from the well—then apply it instantly to the milk. Water in wells (not shallow) may be reckoned at all times, winter and summer, at about forty five degrees of warmth (or coolness.) The surface of the hand, held as above in well water, when it shall be applied to the milk, may be at fifty. Then the milk, feeling full milk-warm, may be at sixty to seventy, which will

prove to be a proper temperature for receiving the rennet that is to act upon the milk; and, at these degrees, yeast, it is found, is properly applied to malt-wort, for working it. Both milk and wort should have those mixtures respectively applied to them in their temperate state—too much warmth in the masses, when the ferments are applied, exceedingly injures the cheese and the beer.

If the milk is found too warm, reduce it by fair spring or well water, (a quart, or two, or three, or more.) Experience shews this water does not hurt.

When your warmth is suitable, before the rennet is applied, put a handful or two of salt, to twenty or thirty gallons of milk;—it forwards and perfects the curd. If the milk is rather cold, add warmed milk, (but do not let it be boiled.) But the great essential for having a firm curd (and in proportion as it is firm, it is perfect) is not to disturb the curd too soon, when it is only in slip curd; that is, slippery, soft, and imperfect. If it is broken or disturbed before it is firm, it never can be afterwards improved, nor can make good cheese. It ought not to remain at rest less than two hours after the rennet is applied. Slip-curd will not sink well in the whey—those parts of tolerable good curd that swim, will never mix with the good curd; but being slip-curd, are apt to dissolve, leave holes, and decay the cheese.

When the curd has stood, and is firm, gash it four five times to the bottom (but do not break it yet) which will admit the whey to rise, and the curd to sink the better, and it may be gently pressed to the bottom with a sifter. The whey is then ladled off; then let the curd, being also first well pressed down with the hand, stand a quarter of an hour to settle, drain, and be solid, before it is broken into the vat. All pieces of slip-curd floating, are to be taken away with the whey. The greener the colour of the whey, the better the curd. In general, observe the main concerns of the proper warmth of the milk,—goodness of the rennet—time enough in the tub, for perfecting the curd—the keeping the cheese warm, when quite new and tender, and cool afterwards.

*Advantage of carrots in fattening oxen, &c.*

**N**OTHING can exceed the root for fattening oxen\*; but they should have some sweet hay to eat with it, and they will thrive much better on it, if they are stalled. It nourishes them much, and soon makes them fit for the butcher. Some oxen will not take kindly to eating the raw at first. For these they should for a time be parboiled, but they must every day be less and less boiled, till they come to eat them quite raw, which in a little time the nicest will do. I also find carrots excellent for increasing the milk of cows, where there is a scarcity of grass, and the milk has no bad taste. The butter is higher coloured, but is not worse quality than when the cows feed on the sweet meadow grass. I have fed a few sheep on carrots, and they can do on well; but whether they are more profitable, when applied to this use than turnips, I cannot yet determine. It were to be wished, a fair experiment were made in this matter. Many farmers sow turnips instead of fallowing their land for wheat; and this is good husbandry: but if the soil is proper for carrots, it would be much more profitable to sow these, because they impoverish the surface of the soil less, extracting the chief part of the nourishment from a great depth; and as they require that the land should be deeper ploughed, of course it will be better in tilth.

Hogs are very fond of carrots, and they make them thrive apace; but they should always be given to the hogs boiled, as they will with great difficulty be induced to eat a sufficient quantity of them raw. It will be proper, however, to give them, before they are killed, either a few bushels of barley meal, or some grey peas boiled, which will complete their fattening.

NOTE.

\* Some assert, that one acre of carrots, properly planted, will fatten a greater number of sheep, or bullock than three acres of turnips, and that the flesh of these animals will be firmer and better tasted. Mr. Miller says he has known carrots cultivated for feeding deer in parks, which have proved of excellent use in hard winters.

ening to admiration. Peas make the it firmer. Carrots alone would, it is ue, fill them up with flashy fat and esth; but they would not spend so well, neither would they be so proper to pickle for pork, or to be made into acon.

I keep no hounds; but I have three race of pointers, and six couple of cock ogs, which I have for a whole year ogether kept on no other food than oiled carrots, some flet or skimmed ilk, or barley-meal being mixed with e liquor they were boiled in. When ey have had plenty of horse-flesh, ey were remarkably subject to the range; and if, for want of it, they ere obliged to eat barley meal alone, ough they got flesh, the barley was f so hot a quality, that their coats ould be quite rough, and stand an nd on their hides. Since I fed them ith carrots, they are always in good rder, high wind, and constant health.

Many gentlemen might save very onsiderably by putting this in prac- ce. I find the use of carrots saves e three parts in four of the quantity f barley-meal I formerly used. As o the flet, or skimmed milk, if it can- ot be got cheap, it may be omitted ithout any bad consequences.

There is not a better, or more eartening food for hunters†, than arrots, if given them with discretion. As to common plough and cart-horses, ey may eat them indiscriminately; nd this root will be found a very heap food for them, as they need ave no corn, and much less hay than ey would otherwise eat.

I have a couple of hunters, which value as being very good horses; nd these I feed in the season with ery little else besides carrots, well- eaned from the dirt that naturally ang about them, and loaves made of e mixed meal of barley and oats, ometimes with a small mixture of oarse, but good wheat meal; and if ey require to be loosened in their odies, I now and then give them ome bran. As to hay, they eat at this eason but little of it; of oats, none at ll; yet they go through their work o admiration.

#### NOTE.

† Horses are extremely fond of arrots.

I have all my life heard it said, that carrots were exceeding good to make horses long-winded; and some jockies will, I have been informed, feed a broken-winded horse some little time with carrots before they sell him, when he may be very well passed off for a horse that is only a little thick-winded.

A horse dealer in my neighbour-hood, when he buys a poor half-starved beall, if he has youth on his side, always fats him up with carrots before he takes him to market; and this practice he finds answers very well, as the horse is sooner got into flesh with carrots than any other food; and they are besides wholesome, breeding in him no foul humours.

All the danger seems to be to the purchaser, who, if he imprudently puts the horse to too hard work, is in a manner sure to break either his wind or his heart; for as the horse was very suddenly got into flesh, his strength is not proportioned to his bulk, till he has been kept some time on dry meal.

That a horse thus fed should not be immediately fit for any hard labour, must not be used as an argument against carrots being a proper food for horses. It must be considered, that this man takes a half-starved horse, and gives him at once his fill of a nourishing food; in fact, too nourishing, as it fills him with flesh faster than he can have time to gather strength. It must also be considered, that during the time of his being fed on this root, he is not permitted to take any exercise.



#### On shearing lambs.

THE following fact is recommended to the attention of farmers: a few weeks since were shorn in the town of Stratham, state of New-Hampshire, from nine lambs, twelve pounds of wool—a good part of which would make yarn fit for almost any use. Did this practice become general, it would, while it relieved the animal from a cumbrous load, be to the owner a valuable saving. In the state of New-Hampshire, there are, on an average, one thousand lambs to each town: these lambs, if shorn, would yield, at the above rate, about fourteen hundred pounds of wool; that wool might make two thousand

eight hundred yards of cloth, which would be worth nine hundred dollars.

*Philadelphia, Aug. 18, 1788.*



*Directions for making pot-ash and pearl-ash from common ashes.*

*For pot-ash.*

**P**ROCURÉ twenty-four lye-casks made of pine or cedar, each to hold about twelve bushels; or cisterns or troughs, sufficient to contain the like quantity. Set your casks, &c. in two rows, with a division between, to go through, and a trough under each row to receive the lye. Let your casks be filled with ashes, and extract the lye in the same manner that is practised in making soap. Get two metal kettles, each to contain about eighty gallons, their bottoms thick, and the shape should be much wider at top than bottom, as they will boil off the faster. Set your kettles convenient to your casks, on a furnace, as close as you can, with a hole under them about two feet wide, and their bottoms about eighteen inches from the ground, and a chimney at the other end of about eight or ten inches square, run up a little higher than the top of the kettles. Fill your kettles from the lye drawn off from one row of your casks, and keep boiling and filling them with lye from a tub set conveniently, with a small hole opposite to each kettle to supply your boiling. Continue this method for two days and two nights; the third day stop supplying your kettles with lye, and continue to boil down your lye; by this time you will have salt or alkali settling to the bottom, which you may stir with an iron ladle that will hold about two quarts, with a socket to hold a wooden ladle, and a scraper somewhat like a chizzele, about three inches broad on the edge and steeld, with a handle like the ladle. By this you can scrape off the salts from the bottom of your kettle, which will stick to it. As you boil down, you must take care not to let it boil over, which to prevent, slack your fire, and with your ladle stir your lye, in the same manner as a pot is prevented from boiling over. When you find your lye get thick (if you intend to make pearl-ash) boil it off to a hard consistence by a slow fire

till quite dry, then take it out, and put it in barrel until you bake it. If you will make pot-ash, you must prepare dry wood that will flame greatly, and make as strong a fire as possible, and continue it so until it melts the salt that a slow fire would harden. When melted, take it out with your ladle into a cooler prepared for that purpose, that will hold about a barrel, and when cold turn it upside down, and it will fall out, then put it in hick casks for shipping.

*Pearl-ash.*

If you intend to make pearl-ash make an oven in the following manner, viz. make a bottom about eight feet broad and ten feet long, three feet and an half high, with a hole arched over two feet square from the bottom; turn an arch as over a bake oven, let the hole or flue come up behind as a chimney to convey the flame to the oven; let a stone or some brick be set up above the bottom of the oven at the hole aforesaid, about six or seven inches high, to prevent the pearl ash from falling into the chimney. Make the bottom of your oven with stone that will stand the fire, and arch it with the same. Brick will answer well for the arch, but not so well for the bottom, as it crumbles or scrapes off when turning the pearl-ash. Let the mouth of this oven be about two feet and an half wide, and eighteen or twenty inches high. You may put into the oven one barrel or a barrel and an half at a time, which will sometime require a day to bake it: but some in half that time, for some salts are easier baked than others. When you put your salts into the oven, then light your fire in the said hole underneath which will flame all over the salts. After some time, you will see the colour change from its dark-brown to a whitish cast; then turn it with a shove and hoe, the top down and bottom up to the flame, and what is nearest the flue behind, towards the mouth of the oven, and that part back, and so continue till done, with intermission of about a quarter of an hour; but more at the beginning. When you find that it becomes white, and that it gains no more colour, but is rather turning to the bluish and yellow cast, then you may stop your fire, and take it out on a clean place until it cools,



hen put it in tight barrels for shipping. If it bakes well, it will be as white as the finest coloured paper or linen. The pot-ash of a greyish lime-stone, or ash-colour—the salts of a brown or blackish cast; but the blacker it is, the whiter it will bake. Your shovel and hoe before mentioned should be iron, the shovel about ten inches square, with a long handle made of a bar of an inch thick diameter. The hoe about the same size. Six or eight hundred bushels of ashes will be necessary to make a ton, according to their goodness. The operation can be performed in three weeks. One man, with the assistance of another about two days in the week, can do the whole. Ashes can be obtained from clearing new land, so as to defray the whole expence of the clearing.



*Thoughts on the law prohibiting hogs to prowle the streets of Philadelphia.*

I Observed in a late newspaper an extract, published from a law of this state, which forbids hogs to run at large in the streets of Philadelphia; and I have lately heard, with sorrow, of the execution of the law, by the forfeiture of the hogs to the informers, and to the house of employment.

Nature does nothing in vain. She is a great œconomist in all her works. She appears to have intended hogs to feed on those offal matters which would otherwise become not only offensive to two of the senses, but the cause of putrid diseases.

From the want of a corporation these offal matters abound more in the city than ever; and hence arises the peculiar usefulness of hogs in our streets. They kindly supply, in one particular, the want of a city government.

In the cities and towns on the sea shore in New England, where the inhabitants live chiefly upon fish, hogs are constantly permitted to run at large in the streets, in order to consume the great quantity of offal matter which is necessarily produced from that article of diet. They consider them not only as scavengers, but, from their great usefulness in preventing diseases, they sometimes call them physicians.

There is another advantage which arises to the city from permitting hogs to run at large in our streets. It enables a number of poor people to lay up a few pounds of salt meat for the winter. A young hog that runs from the spring till the fall in our streets, generally picks up about fifty pounds of flesh, and from the number of hogs which ran last year in the streets, it is computed that above forty thousand pounds of pork were added to the stock of the winter provisions of our city through this source alone. This consideration should have more weight with us when we reflect that many of the people who are benefited by the meat acquired in this way, would otherwise be without it altogether, or partake of it in much smaller quantities, and at a much higher price.

*A friend to the health of the city and to the poor.*



*Extracts from a "memoir to the American philosophical society."—Ascribed to H. H. Brackenridge, esq.*

IT is now thirty-five years, since I applied myself to philosophical studies, and, during that time, have read the greater part that has been written, both in ancient and modern languages, on the productions, and phenomena of nature; the distinguishing qualities, the causes and effects of all things, in the heavens, in the seas, and on the dry land.

It was my great hope that by this my industry, I might one day attract the notice of some learned body, such as yours, and induce them to reach out to me the right hand of fellowship, and invite me to be a member. But I perceive, to my great mortification, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but to the Lord that sheweth mercy. For though I have broken almost every tooth in my head, cracking all kinds of nuts that came in my way, and examining the kernels—and almost poisoned myself poring at the tails of birds, to determine the species—yet I have had no more notice taken of me, than if I had been a mere jackdaw, without the human genius: while in the mean time, Oric Macguggan is admitted to be a member, and for no other reason, but for having presented to you, after

carrying it three hundred miles on his back, the thigh bone of an old horse, which he had been led to believe to be the tooth of an elephant, *Ebur elephantis*, as Mogul says in his chapter, on the nature of ivory.

Indeed, I confess, though with some regret, that I myself have been a wag in my time, and very early, at a place where there was a museum of crabs' eyes and rats' tails, and other things which strangers used to visit, I diverted myself a little at the expence of the credulous, by affixing to a piece of brown paper, a label with these words. "remnant of a bramin's shirt," and placing it amongst the curiosities, it remains there to this day; and except the gills of a dry'd fish of a singular form, I do not know that there is any thing in that collection, judged to be of more strangeness.

In another instance, indeed—and when a man looks over his past life, he will always find something more and more to check his conscience.—I cheated two philosophers, or indeed rather cheated my aunt, and only deceived them: for taking an old fan of hers, and letting it lie awhile in the mud of the marsh, I gave it a brown colour, and bringing it out, threw it among them as a great curiosity. Four months had they it under consideration, and at last determined that it was the wing of a Madagascar bat. You perceive, said they, the continuity of the parts, which clearly distinguishes it from the *ala pluma*, as Manuga, the Italian, terms it, or the feathered wing. Indeed the Querouche Pouche, or the flying squirrel, of their country, has the same kind of sublevamen, but none that we have yet discovered, have so large as this, except the great Candian, or the Madagascar bat; and that it is the Madagascar is most probable, not only because there are no bats in Candia, but because the joint or knot, where the lamina or stems meet, seems to turn on a small nerve like a wire, and this, you well know, is the exact description which Abufegun gives of the bat's wing, in the fourth volume of his history.

But I have been long since fully sensible of the vanity of wit and mirth, and of the greater dignity of philosophic truth, inasmuch, that to atone,

in some degree, for this lightness of a youthful mind, I have applied myself seriously to investigate the arcana of your science, and have dedicated the time and talents, which God has given me, to search out the effects and causes of all things. For this reason, I have been, as I have already said, the more hardly treated, that I have not been made one of your body. What! am I to sit solely and alone, cut off from the men and the pursuit I love, and obliged to talk to those, who know no more the value of a crooked shell, or the skin of a burned lobster, than a cat does of a harpsicord? It is well known to several in this country, that for many years past, not contented with examining more perfectly things already known, I have applied myself to discover new objects. Into how many wasps' nests have I thrust my hands? How many dung heaps have I watched with my spectacles, to find unusual flies? I have gone upon the sea-shore, if haply I might find a pebble of a stripe uncommon,—no such thing came in my way;—I found a kind of shell-fish, it is true, one day, which I thought somewhat odd, but on examination by the description of Gnerdon, I saw it was the *cochlearis alba*, which Maggapippo, in his treatise *de marinis*, delineates. A singular butterfly once alighted on the front cock of my hat, but as I was gazing at it between me and the sun, and straining my brows to see it perfectly without disturbing it, it flew off, to my great chagrin; for if I could have had the good fortune to have got a wing or a rib of this, to dissect and dry, so that the veins and nerves might appear, it would have fixed my reputation.

One day, while my mind was troubled, at not finding any novel thing in nature, I was amused with the simplicity of a servant, an Irishman, who was with me, as I was traversing a meadow, and my eye roving on the grass and windle straws, to discover a stem or stalk of an odd contexture: "by my shoul, master," said the honest fellow, "something is the matter wid you,—your jaw is longer than your chin, and you look cast down a little." Having communicated freely the anxiety of my mind to be a member of your body, and that to recom-

commend myself I was poring on the posteriors of the world, for something new, but was disappointed and distressed, the simple swain replied, "oh! and is that all? If so, be aisy—fool as I am, I will be in that society in less than a month, and, by shaint Patrick, have you along with me." "How so," said I, "Paddy? have you observed any remarkable phases in the heavenly bodies, or what is more probable, have you seen in the field where you have been ploughing, any new species of vermicula? Verius Sperculus takes notice of worms of a thousand feet, and who knows, but there may be of them with a thousand heads? Have you fallen in with any thing like this, Paddy?" "The devil burn me," reply'd the fellow, "if I found any thing at all worse than myself; but I can do as a comrade of mine did in Dublin, as he was helping the sexton to dig a grave, he found the joint of his grandmother's toe, and shewed it about the town among the boys for a cow's thumb; and, maffer, do you think the people here have more wit than they have at home?"

"Why," said I, "Paddy, I make no doubt but it might be possible to deceive this learned body of illustrious philosophers, who have been selected out of all nations, tongues and languages; and it is true that I have practised this craft with individuals, but not with a corporate body. If it was in my power not only to be admitted, as a member, but even to be president, of that institution, by any deception whatever—as for instance, palming on them a cow's tail for an Arabian beard, or a ram's horn for a coral sprig, yet my regard for the dignity of science would forbid it."

It has transpired, and therefore I will freely acknowledge that it has been suggested to me, that I might procure attention from this society, by presenting to them, not a cat's claw, or a petrified whetstone, but forty or fifty pounds in money; but this appeared to me improper, not only because it was suitable for those only who had nothing else to recommend them, but also, because my stomach has been always better than my means, and my teeth less worn than my coat, and I have no money to spare, or in-

deed that I could command, in any shape whatsoever.

But as there is always an ultimate point of distress from which things begin to grow better, I have at length succeeded in my great object, or which will ensure me a reception, viz. I have discovered an animal truly new and uncommon, and this more by good fortune, than by any research of mine; for I declare upon the word of a philosopher, it came in my way, when I was not looking for it. No doubt, as it has happened with others, and particularly with the great Gonius in Hungary, it may not be at first believed, but there are several whom I took to view it, and who can make affidavit of the form, and the disposition of it, which I am about to relate.

(To be continued.)



*Observations on the constitution proposed by the late federal convention.*

[Continued from page 56.]

**B**UT besides the objections originating from the before-mentioned cause, that have been called local, there are other objections that are supposed to arise from the maxims of liberty and policy.

Hence it is inferred, that the proposed system has such inherent vices, as must necessarily produce a bad administration, and at length the oppression of a monarchy or an aristocracy in the federal officers.

The writer of this address being convinced, by as exact an investigation as he could make, that such mistakes may lead to the perdition of his country, esteems it his indispensable duty, strenuously to contend, that the power of the people, pervading the proposed system, together with the strong confederation of the states, form an adequate security against every danger that has been apprehended.

If this single assertion can be supported by facts and arguments, there will be reason to hope, that painful anxieties will be removed from the minds of some citizens, who are truly devoted to the interests of America, and who have been thrown into afflictive perplexities, by the never-ending mazes of multiplied, intricate,

and contrariant disquisitions. The objectors agree, that the confederation of the states will be strong, according to the system proposed, and so strong, that many of them loudly complain of that strength. On this part of the assertion, there is no dispute. But some of the objections that have been published, strike at another part of the principle assumed, and deny, that the system is sufficiently founded on the power of the people.

The course of regular enquiry demands, that these objections should be considered in the first place. If they are removed, then all the rest of the objections, concerning unnecessary taxation, standing armies, the abolition of trials by jury, the liberty of the press, the freedom of commerce, the judicial, executive, and legislative authorities of the several states, and the rights of citizens, and the other abuses of federal government, must, of consequence, be rejected, if the principle contains the salutary, purifying, and preserving qualities attributed to it. The question then will be—not what may be done, when the government shall be turned into a tyranny; but, how the government can be so turned?

Thus unembarrassed by subordinate discussions, we may come fairly to the contemplation of that superior point, and be better enabled to discover, whether our attention to it will afford any lights, whereby we may be conducted to peace, liberty and safety.

The objections, denying that the system proposed is sufficiently founded on the power of the people, state, that the number of the federal trustees or officers, is too small, and that they are to hold their offices too long.

One would really have supposed, that smallness of number could not be termed a cause of danger, as influence must increase with enlargement. If this is a fault, it will soon be corrected, as an addition will be often made to the number of the senators, and almost every year to that of the representatives; and, in all probability, much sooner, than we shall be able and willing to bear the expence of the addition.

As to the senate, it never can be, and it never ought to be, large, if it is to possess the powers, which almost

all the objectors seem inclined to allow to it, as will be evident to every intelligent person, who considers those powers.

Though small, let it be remembered, that it is to be created by the sovereignties of the several states; that is, by the persons, whom the people of each state shall judge to be most worthy and who, surely, will be religiously attentive to making a selection, in which the interest and honour of their state will be so extensively concerned. It should be remembered, too, that this is the same manner, in which the members of congress are now appointed; and that herein, the sovereignties of the states are so intimately involved, that however a renunciation of part of these powers may be desired by some of the states, it never will be obtained from the rest of them.—Peaceable, fraternal, and benevolent as these are, they think, the concessions they have made, ought to satisfy all.

That the senate may always be kept full, without the interference of congress, it is provided, that if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the legislature which shall then fill up such vacancies.

As to the house of representatives it is to consist of a number of persons not exceeding one for every thirty thousand. Thus, every member of that house will be elected by a majority of the electors of a whole state; or by a majority of electors, among thirty thousand persons. These electors will reside, widely dispersed, over an extensive country. Cabal and corruption will be as impracticable, as on such occasions, human institution can render them. The will of free men, thus circumstanced, will give the fiat. The purity of election, thus obtained, will amply compensate for the supposed defect of representation, and the members, thus chosen, will be most apt to harmonize in their proceedings, with the general interests, feelings, and sentiments of the people.

Allowing such an increase of population, as, from experience and a variety of causes, may be expected, the representatives, in a short period, will

mount to several hundreds, and most probably long before any change of manners for the worse, that might tempt or encourage our rulers to maladministration, will take place on this continent.

That *this* house may always be kept full, without the interference of contests, it is provided in the system, that when vacancies happen in any state, the executive authority there shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

But, it seems, the number of the federal officers is not only too small: they are to hold their offices too long. This objection surely applies not to the house of representatives, who are to be chosen every two years, especially if the extent of empire, and the vast variety and importance of their deliberations, be considered. In that view, they and the senate will actually be not only legislative, but also diplomatic bodies, perpetually engaged in the arduous task of reconciling, in their determinations, the interests of several sovereign states, not to insist on the necessity of a competent knowledge of foreign affairs, relative to the states.

They who desire the representatives to be chosen every year, should exceed Newton in calculations, if they attempt to evince, that the public business would, in that case, be better transacted, than when they are chosen every two years. The idea, however, should be excused for the zeal that prompted it.

Is monarchy or aristocracy to be produced, without the consent of the people, by a house of representatives, thus constituted?

It has been unanimously agreed by the friends of liberty, that frequent elections of the representatives of the people, are the most sovereign remedy of all grievances in a free government. Let us pass on to the senate.

At the end of two years after the first election, one-third is to be elected for six years. Of the remaining two thirds, one will constantly have but four years, and the other but two years to continue in office. The whole number at first will amount but to twenty-six, must ever continue very small, will be regularly renovated by the biennial election of one-third, and

will be overlooked, and over-awed by the house of representatives, nearly three times more numerous at the beginning, rapidly and vastly augmenting, and more enabled to overlook and over-awe them, by holding their offices for two years, as thereby they will acquire better information, respecting national affairs. These representatives will also command the public purse, as all bills for raising revenue, must originate in their house.

As in the Roman armies, when the principes and hastati had failed, there were still the triarii, who generally put things to rights; so we shall be supplied with another resource.

We are to have a president to superintend, and, if he thinks the public weal requires it, to controul any act of the representatives and senate.

This president is to be chosen, not by the people at large, because it may not be possible, that all the freemen of the empire should always have the necessary information, for directing their choice of such an officer; nor by congress, lest it should disturb the national councils; nor by any one body whatever, for fear of undue influence. He is to be chosen in the following manner. Each state shall appoint, as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the state shall be entitled in congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the united states, shall be appointed an elector. As these electors are to be appointed, as the legislature of each state may direct, of course they will be appointed by the people of the state, if such be the pleasure of the people. Thus the fairest, freest opening is given, for each state to choose such electors for this purpose, as shall be most signally qualified to fulfil the trust.

To guard against undue influence, these electors, thus chosen, are to meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot; and, still further to guard against it, congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes—which day shall be the same throughout the united states. All the votes from the several states are to be transmitted to congress, and therein

counted. The president is to hold his office for four years.

When these electors meet in their respective states, utterly vain will be the unreasonable suggestions derived from partiality. The electors may throw away their votes, mark with public disappointment, some person improperly favoured by them, or, justly revering the duties of their office, dedicate their votes to the best interests of their country.

This president will be no dictator; two thirds of the representatives and the senate may pass any law, notwithstanding his dissent; and he is removable and punishable for misbehaviour.

Can the limited, fluctuating senate, placed amidst such powers, if it should become willing, ever become able, to make America pass under its yoke? The senators will generally be inhabitants of places very distant one from another. They can scarcely be acquainted till they meet. Few of them can ever act together for any length of time, unless their good conduct recommends them to a re-election; and then there will be frequent changes in a body dependent upon the choice of other bodies, the legislatures of the several states, that are altering every year. Machiavel and Cæsar Borgia, together, could not form a conspiracy in such a senate, dangerous to any but themselves and their accomplices.

It is essential to every good government, that there should be some council, permanent enough to get a due knowledge of affairs internal and external; to constituted, that by some deaths or removals, the current of information should not be impeded or disturbed; and so regulated, as to be responsible to, and controulable by the people. Where can the authority for combining these advantages, be more safely, beneficially, or satisfactorily lodged, than in the senate, to be formed according to the plan proposed? Shall parts of the trust be committed to the president, with counsellors who shall subscribe their advices? If assaults upon liberty are to be guarded against, and surely they ought to be, with sleepless vigilance, why should we depend more on the commander in chief of the army and navy of the

united states, and of the militia of the several states, and on his counsellors, whom he may secretly influence, than on the senate to be appointed by the persons exercising the sovereign authority of the several states? In truth, the objections against the powers of the senate, originated from a desire to have them, or at least some of them, vested in a body, in which the several states should be represented, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as the house of representatives. This method is unattainable, and the worse for it should be dismissed from every mind, that desires the existence of confederation.

What assurance can be given, what probability be assigned, that a board of counsellors would continue honest, longer than the senate? Can that they would possess more useful information, respecting all the state than the senators of all the states? It appears needless to pursue this argument any further.

How varied, balanced, concordant, and benison, is the system proposed to us? To secure the freedom and to promote the happiness of the present and future states, by giving to the people a decisive influence over the whole, and over all the parts, with what a comprehensive arrangement does it embrace different modes of representation, from an election by county to an election by an empire? What are the complicated ballot, and all the refined devices of Venice for maintaining her aristocracy, when compared with this plain dealing way for diffusing the blessings of equal liberty and common prosperity over myriads of the human race?

All the foundations before mentioned, of the federal government, are by the proposed system to be established, in the most clear, strong, positive, unequivocal expressions, of which our language is capable. Magna charta or any other law, never contained clauses more decisive and emphatic. While the people of these states have sense, they will understand them; and while they have spirit, they will make them to be observed.

*Philadelphia,*  
*April 15, 1788.*

[To be continued.]

thoughts on the federal constitution—on the opposition to it in Pennsylvania—on the feuds which have prevailed in that state in times past—on the consequences of anarchy, &c.

THE first convention, held at Annapolis, in 1786, consisted of men conspicuous for their patriotism and good sense; but there were not states enough represented at that time for business of reformation; the several states were advertised of this, and a general convention was recommended by congress—the states all (but that posthumous sink of American honour, Rhode Island,) concurred in the proposition; and delegates were elected to their legislatures to meet in convention at Philadelphia. Were any, willing to have a seat in that honourable body, disappointed of their election? They ought to submit to the reference given to others. Were not some earnestly solici- tized, who refused to serve? In this state, we know, that there were. Should another convention, of all the states, be thought practicable, would those gentlemen again stay at home, and oppose every thing that they may disapprove—or would they enterprize the accomplishment of a system adapted to their own principles and their own prospects? In either case, opposition is inevitable. The present is as fair an opportunity as can offer, to decide the question by convention, and fix our constitutional fate; which delay renders every day more critical. The last general convention consisted of select statesmen and patriots, from twelve states, which twelve states unanimously agreed, by those their representatives, to a form of government, which six of those states have already confirmed; and six are all that have decided upon the question—some of these six were unanimous, and in two only was the opposition considerable. In one, domestic feuds had scarcely subsided, and private jealousies and resentment had great weight. The principles of the constitution, notwithstanding, were thoroughly discussed; and approved by a respectable majority. The minority, on that occasion, acted like men truly sensible of their duty as members of a great republic, and subscribed to the

decision with a patriotic condescension that will honour the national character of old Massachusetts while the fact is had in remembrance. In the other state\*, animosities and the spirit of faction reigned. It would be painful to recapitulate the mutual charges of artifice, cunning, deception, and falsehood, that were publicly imputed to either party, and, possibly, in some cases, unworthily practised. It is enough to know, that however equal the parties may have been represented at such work, there was a great disparity of numbers upon the division on the grand question. A considerable and a very respectable majority were for the adoption of the new plan. The minority, finding themselves disappointed of their purpose in the house, resolved upon effecting it, at all hazards, out of doors. They protested† vehemently, against the proceedings of their convention; and hastened to their respective counties to cultivate that discord, the seeds of which had been long sown among their constituents.

Such is the mode of opposition in a neighbouring state! And must we necessarily infer that it proceeds from well-grounded objections against the proposed system? Never, since that state has been governed solely by its own citizens, have they enjoyed tranquility; and instances of insult and violence against their former establishment, are yet too recent to be forgotten. Upon this occasion, we are told, that their towns and villages are distracted with declamation and invectives—and that inflammatory publications are circulated with vindictive industry. If credit is to be given to reports from a particular quarter‡, the ignorant are deluded—the laws of the country violated—culprits wrested from the hands of justice—their capital threatened with tumult—and insulting intimidations held forth to the members of their legislature. If this be true, what more powerful motives have the friends of order in that state, to wish for a more energetic government? Terrible as all this may seem

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\* Pennsylvania.—C.

† For their protest, see *American Museum*, Vol. II. page 536.—C.

‡ Carlisle.—C.

to us in Maryland, there is nothing in it, but the occasion, which is novel to our neighbours. It is quite consistent with that truly Paxton-policy which massacred the unarmed captive Indians, in the jail of the largest inland town on the continent, in defiance of all the powers that law and humanity could unite. It is the same unmanageable spirit that drew upon the arms of America, the disgrace of a revolt of all the troops of a state, ‡ at one time; and the infamy, at another, of suffering two heroes, who came to treat of peace, to be violently seized and put to death, when under the protection of a military guard. The blood of the great chief, CORNSTALK, and of his gallant son, was mingled with the dust; but their memory is not lost in oblivion. LUKENS\*, too, that youthful heir of an aged sire's virtues, is remembered in sorrow. Wyoming, and other parts of the state, bear melancholy evidence of the fatal consequences of a disobedient and desperate disposition. The very streets of their great city have been stained with their cruelties. Citizens have trembled at the madness of citizens—their cavalry hath been summoned to repel an attack upon a private dwelling; their first magistrate hath been forced to expose his person to restore peace—and a youth † who had sacrificed his right arm at the shrine of liberty, with his left, defended the rights of hospitality till his life became a prey to their phrensy. And are these the people we ought to join in opposition? And against what? Against a government that will assuredly curb their insolence, or punish their crimes—a government that will restrain licentiousness, and fix the

bounds of social liberty—a government, in short, that promises peace and happiness to all who are disposed to be peaceable and happy. Why then we not rather join with a large majority of virtuous and sober men, of the same state, who, with unremitting assiduity, guard that wide-extended democracy, as well against the violations of its unnatural citizens, against its secret enemies; and even against the constitutional defects of its own government?

Among the opponents to the proposed plan of government, candour must confess that there are men of enlightened understandings, distinguished for their patriotism, and famous for their exertions, their perseverance, and their sacrifices in the cause of liberty: and such there will ever be against any form that can be devised, until experience shall convince mankind (if such a thing be possible) what sort of government is most perfect, and in what form they can secure of the greatest degree of human felicity. But the ages that are past are too few, and the present, notwithstanding its great improvements, cannot hope for perfection. The imperfection of human nature, and the mutability of all things terrestrial, subject us to this calamity—it is, therefore, vain that some have proposed another and yet another experiment, by conventions, to come at that form which all must approve. The same motives will continue to operate—opposition will not cease, while men are susceptible of vice or virtue—for virtue itself may be misled by imperfect judgment, and the best intentions may be, and are not unfrequently are, perverted by every generous passion, when excited by error, misrepresentation, or deception. Situation and circumstance influence the judgment, as well as the passions: and interest is a prevailing motive with many, if not all of us. The new government will in some degree, affect a variety of interests, which in investigating the motives of people's conduct, it is well to consider. I doing this, I disclaim the mean design to characterize individuals, or give pain to any; there are men on both sides of the question, whose understandings I respect, and whose virtues I reverence; and it is natural

## NOTES.

|| *Lancaster, anno 1763 or 4.—C.*

‡ *Anno 1781.—C.*

\* Mr. Lukens was not intentionally killed by his countrymen; but going to settle a dispute, he fell in a private quarrel between two parties claiming the same lands, under different grants.

§ *The house of James Wilson, esq. in Philadelphia, wherein were assembled, gen. Mifflin, mr. R. Morris, mr. G. Morris, &c. &c.—C.*

† Lieutenant Campbell.



ne to be less solicitous to please, than careful not to give offence.

Admiring, as I sincerely do, that love of liberty and spirit of enterprise, which entice so many of my countrymen to seek for independence in the western wilds, and considering what effect the new government may possibly have upon subjects the farthest removed from its head, or sovereign residence, it was natural to reflect, that the first ideas we have of government, *i. e.* of being governed, even by men of our choice, bring with them ideas of restraint and obligation. Men who have always enjoyed the greatest share of freedom, and indulged long in that latitude of liberty which all new countries afford—men who have suffered the least restraint, will ever be the most averse from regulations, which, although for the general good, abridge, in the smallest degree, the privileges of individuals. If among such there are men, and the case is quite possible, who never paid debts nor taxes of any kind, and who do not acknowledge the justice of a demand on them to pay a proportion of the price of our national independence, how much more averse will such men be from a government, which will extend, with equal energy, justice, and equity, to the remotest parts of all the states in the union. Yet, we know, and it is an argument greatly in favour of the government in question, that in the remotest parts of all the states, there are men wise and ingenuous enough to see and acknowledge its merits, and to wish for its adoption.

It is commonly said, that the officers of the present governments are generally against the one proposed, which is no exception to my position—how many others, in the several states, will feel its effects—what credit may be curtailed—what speculations, public and private, ended—what property restored—what justice take place, although contrary to the lenient policy of former practice—would be difficult and ungrateful to tell. But had we not, my honest friends, better suffer all this than the reverse?—perhaps worse than the reverse?

Consider the dreadful consequences of division among ourselves—remember the ravages committed by bandit-

ties of whigs, tories, free-booters, and plunderers, in the two most southern states, during the contest with a foreign power—what less may we expect in a contest with one another? If we may credit those who were witnesses of the devastation, and, in some instances, of murders, which they could not prevent, the inhabitants, particularly of the interior parts of those states, did infinitely more injury to one another than all the armies, Americans, allies, and enemies, that so long depredated that once devoted country. Shall we look towards Holland? The scene is too shocking for representation. Our own country affords examples enough to caution us against that frantic zeal which draws the sanguine sword of opposition against legal measures. How lately, and with what difficulty and expence, has it been sheathed in a populous state to the eastward?—and how long will it yet be before all the painful consequences of that phrensy shall be at an end? Consider, my countrymen, for what cause shall we hazard such fatal effects as may ensue? We are cautioned, it was observed, against the influence of great names—let us be equally cautious of prejudices created by those names, mere sounds, which, like the black man in the dark, are, too successfully, applied to timid minds. Without conveying any precise idea to the person alarmed, democracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, &c. &c. seldom fail, when artfully used, to excite jealousies, and caricature any form of government that is intended to be represented as tyrannical or wicked; but the perversion of sound and sense, stops not at these: men have acquired the address of confounding good and bad, and of misusing names, as illustrious as the annals of the world have recorded.—A long life of integrity and honour, in which the emanations of superior wisdom have shone with peculiar lustre, secures not the fame of a Franklin: even the favour of his country escapes not the charge of ambition!—If, indeed, he is ambitious, it is of giving to the world another example of moderation, magnanimity, and love for his country. To the principle, inculcated by the example of that body, of which he was late the soul, “the

principle of laying down, in peace, arms assumed for public defence," he wishes to add that of reforming, without war, those systems which are found incompetent to preserve the happiness of society. How new and how pleasing the expedient!—how truly great the design! What scene can be more sublime than men and nations, amicably assembled, adjusting their respective claims—reconciling, by mutual concessions, those things which peculiarity of situation, or circumstance, renders opposite—and elevating, on the broad basis of equal liberty, the pillars of justice, equity, reciprocal interest, and mutual affections!—But, "all things, in the extreme, approach their opposites," and the most exalted virtue is a cause of political jealousy. We must not, or we give offence, confide in those who have exhibited to the world, all the proofs of public virtue, of which humanity is capable; and it cannot be our choice to confide in those of a different character. Suppose, then, we exercise our own imperfect judgments, and consider, that all hopes of prosperity under the present confederation have subsided—that, that system is abandoned and given up, by all parties—that a new form of government is proposed by the authority of the people of twelve states in convention, and submitted to the people of each state for their separate consideration and adoption—that this constitution may be rejected, but amendments can take place, previous to its adoption, only in a convention of all the states—that after its adoption, two-thirds of congress, or a convention, called at the request of two-thirds of the legislatures of all the states, may propose such amendments, and the same shall become parts of the constitution when ratified by the legislatures or conventions, of three-fourths of the said states—and shall we not conclude, that defective as it may be, it is better and safer than none? We have it in our choice to accept, and make it what we want it, or reject it, and commit ourselves to chance. Anarchy, and all the evils attendant on political confusion, or peace, order and prosperity, are subjects of our election. An ELECTOR.

Frederick, Maryland,  
March 20, 1788.

*The new roof\*. By the honourable Francis Hopkinson, esq.*

THE roof of a certain mansion house was observed to be in very bad condition, and insufficient for the purpose of protection from the inclemency of the weather. This was matter of surprise and speculation, as it was well known that the roof was not more than twelve years old, and therefore its defects could not be ascribed to a natural decay by time. Although there were many different opinions, as to the cause of this deficiency, yet all agreed that the family could not sleep with comfort or safety under it. It was at last determined to appoint some skilful architects to survey and examine the defective roof, to make report of its condition, and to point out such alterations and repairs as might be found to be necessary. These skilful architects accordingly went into a thorough examination of the faulty roof, and found,

1st. That the whole frame was too weak.

2dly. That there were, indeed, thirteen rafters; but that these rafters were not connected by any braces or ties, so as to form a union of strength.

3dly. That some of these rafters were thick and heavy, and others very slight: and as the whole had been put together whilst the timber was yet green, some had warped outwards, and of course sustained an undue weight, whilst others, warping inwards, had shrunk from bearing any weight at all.

4thly. That the lathing and shingling had not been secured with iron nails, but only wooden pegs, which, shrinking and swelling by successive wet and dry weather, had left the shingles so loose, that many of them had been blown away by the winds; and that before long the whole would probably, in like manner, be blown away.

5thly. That the cornice was so ill proportioned, and so badly put up, as to be neither of use nor ornament. And

#### NOTE.

\* European readers may require to be informed that the NEW ROOF is allegorical of the new federal constitution; the thirteen rafters, of the thirteen states, &c. &c.—C.

Gaily. That the roof was so flat, as to admit the most idle servants in the family, their play-mates, and acquaintance, to trample on and abuse it.

Having made these observations, these judicious architects gave it as their opinion, that it would be altogether vain and fruitless to attempt any alterations or amendments in a roof so defective in all points, and therefore proposed to have it entirely removed; and that a *new roof*, of a better construction, should be erected over the mansion house. And they also prepared and offered a drawing or plan of a new roof, such as they thought most excellent, for security, duration, and ornament. In forming his plan, they consulted the most celebrated authors in ancient and modern architecture, and brought into their plan the most approved parts, according to their judgments, selected from the models before them; and finally endeavoured to proportion the whole to the size of the building, and strength of the walls.

This proposal of a new roof, it may well be supposed, became the principal subject of conversation in the family, and the opinions upon it were various, according to the judgment, interests, or ignorance of the disputants.

On a certain day the servants of the family had assembled in the great hall to discuss this important point. Among these was James \* the architect, who had been one of the surveyors of the old roof, and had a principal hand in forming the plan of a new one. A great number of the tenants had also gathered out of doors, and crowded the windows and avenues to the hall, which were left open, that they might hear the arguments for and against the new roof.

Now there was an old woman known by the name of Margery †, who had got a comfortable apartment in the mansion house. This woman was of an intriguing spirit, of a restless

and inveterate temper, fond of rattle, and a great mischief maker. In this situation, and with these talents, she unavoidably acquired an influence in the family, by the exercise of which, according to her natural propensity, she had long kept the house in confusion, and sown discord and discontent among the servants. Margery was, for many reasons, an irreconcilable enemy to the new roof, and to the architects who had planned it; amongst these, two reasons were very obvious:—

1st. The mantle piece, on which her cups and platters were placed, was made of a portion of the great cornice, and she boiled her pot with the shingles that blew off from the defective roof.

And 2dly. It so happened, in the construction of the new roof, her apartment would be considerably lessened. No sooner, therefore, did she hear of the plan proposed by the architects, but she put on her old red cloak, and was day and night trudging amongst the tenants and servants, and crying out against the new roof and the framers of it. Amongst these she had selected William, Jack, and Robert ‡, three of the tenants, and instigated them to oppose the plan in agitation—she caused them to be sent together to the great hall on the day of debate, and furnished them with innumerable alarms and fears, cunning arguments, and specious objections.

Now the principal arguments and objections with which Margery had instructed William, Jack, and Robert, were,

1st. That the architects had not exhibited a bill of lading for the new roof, as they ought to have done; and therefore the carpenters, under pretence of providing timber for it, might lay waste whole forests, to the ruin of the farm.

2dly. That no provision was made in the plan for a trap door for the servants to pass through with water, if the chimney should take fire; and that, in case of such an accident, it might hereafter be deemed penal to

#### NOTES.

|| *Meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, at the state house, October 3, 1787.—C.*

\* James Wilson, esq.

† *The reputed author of the pieces signed "CENTINEL."—C.*

#### NOTE.

‡ *Three members of the convention of the state of Pennsylvania, appointed to examine and decide upon the new constitution.—C.*

break a hole in the roof for access to save the whole building from destruction.

3dly. That this roof was to be guarded by battlements, which, in stormy seasons, would prove dangerous to the family, as the bricks might be blown down and fall on their heads.

4thly. It was observed that the old roof was ornamented with twelve pedestals ranged along the ridge, which were objects of universal admiration; whereas, according to the new plan, these pedestals were only to be placed along the eaves of the roof, over the walls; and that a cupola was to supply their place on the ridge or summit of the new roof. As to the cupola itself, some of the objectors said it was too heavy, and would become a dangerous burden to the building, whilst others alleged that it was too light, and would certainly be blown away by the wind.

5thly. It was insisted that the thirteen rafters being so strongly braced together, the individual and separate strength of each rafter would be lost in the compounded and united strength of the whole; and so the roof might be considered as one solid mass of timber, and not as composed of distinct rafters, like the old roof.

6thly. That according to the proposed plan, the several parts of the roof were so framed as to mutually strengthen and support each other; and therefore, there was great reason to fear that the whole might stand independent of the walls; and that in time, the walls might crumble away, and the roof remain suspended in air, threatening destruction to all that should come under it.

To these objections, James the architect, in substance, replied,

1st. As to the want of a bill of scantling, he observed, that if the timber for this roof was to be purchased from a stranger, it would have been quite necessary to have such a bill, lest the stranger should charge in account more than he was entitled to; but as the timber was to be cut from our own lands, a bill of scantling was both useless and improper; useless, because the wood always was, and always would be, the property of the family, whether growing in the forest, or fabricated into a roof for the man-

sion house—and improper, because the carpenters would be bound by the bill of scantling, which, if it should not be perfectly accurate, a circumstance hardly to be expected, either the roof would be defective for want of sufficient materials, or the carpenters must cut from the forest without authority, which is penal by the law of the house.

To the second objection he said that a trap door was not properly part in the frame of the roof; but there could be no doubt but that the carpenters would take care to have such a door through the thingling, for the family to carry water through dirty or clean, to extinguish fire either in the chimney, or on the roof; and that this was the only proper way of making such a door.

3dly. As to the battlements, he insisted that they were absolutely necessary for the protection of the whole house. 1st. In case of an attack by robbers, the family would defend themselves behind these battlements, and annoy and disperse the enemy. 2dly. If any of the adjoining buildings should take fire, the battlements would screen the roof from the destructive flames; and 3dly. They would retain the rafters in their respective places in case any of them should, from rot, tennels or warping, be in danger of falling from the general union, and injuring other parts of the roof; observing that the battlements should always be ready for these purposes, and there would be neither time nor opportunity for building them after an accident was actually made, or a conflagration begun. As to the bricks being blown down, he said the whole was in the power of the family to repair or remove any loose or dangerous parts, and there could be no doubt but that their vigilance would at all times be sufficient to prevent accidents of this kind.

4thly. With respect to the twelve pedestals, he acknowledged their use and elegance; but observed that these like all other things, were only for their proper places, and under circumstances suited to their nature, and design, and insisted that the ridge of roof was not the place for pedestals, which should rest on the solid wall being made of the same materials and

light, in propriety, to be considered as many projections or continuations of the wall itself, and not as component parts of the wooden roof. As the cupola, he said that all agreed there should be one of some kind or other, as well for a proper finish to the building, as for the purposes of directing the winds, and containing a fall to found an alarm in cases of necessity. The objections to the present cupola, he said, were too contradictory to merit a reply.

To the fifth objection he answered, that the intention really was to make a firm and substantial roof by uniting the strength of the thirteen rafters; and that this was so far from annihilating the several rafters and rendering them of no use individually, that it is manifest from a bare inspection of the plan, that the strength of each contributed to the strength of the whole, and that the existence of each of all were essentially necessary to the existence of the whole fabric as a whole.

Lastly. He said, that the roof was indeed so framed that the piers should mutually support and check each other, but it was most absurd and contrary to the known laws of nature, to infer from thence, that the whole frame would stand self-supported in air; for however its component parts might be combined with respect to each other, the whole must necessarily rest on and be supported by the walls. That the walls might indeed stand for a few years in a ruinous and uninhabitable condition without any roof, that the roof could not for a moment stand without the support of the walls; and finally, that of all dangers and apprehensions, this of the roof's remaining when the walls are gone, was the most absurd and impossible.

It was mentioned before, that, whilst this debate was carrying on in the great hall, the windows and doors were crowded with attendants. Amongst these was a half-crazy fellow, who was suffered to go at large, because he was a harmless lunatic. Margery, however, thought he might be a serviceable engine in promoting opposition to the new roof. As people deranged understandings are easily irritated, she exasperated this poor fellow against the architects, and filled

him with the most terrible apprehensions from the new roof; making him believe that the architects had provided a dark hole in the garret, where he was to be chained for life. Having by these suggestions filled him with rage and terror, she let him loose among the crowd; where he roared and bawled to the annoyance of all by-standers. This circumstance would not have been mentioned, but for the opportunity of exhibiting the stile and manner in which a deranged and irritated mind will express itself—one of his rhapsodies shall conclude this narrative.—

“The new roof! the new roof! Oh! the new roof!—Shall demagogues, despising every sense of order and decency, frame a new roof?—If such bare-faced presumption, arrogance and tyrannical proceeding will not rouse you, the gad and the whip—the gad and the whip should do it—but you are careless and insecure sinners, whom neither admonitions, intreaties nor threatnings can reclaim—sinners consigned to unutterable and endless woe. Where is that pusillanimous wretch who can submit to such contumely?—oh the *ultima ratio regum*: [He got these three Latin words from Margery] oh the *ultima ratio regum*—ah! the days of Nero! ah! the days of Caligula! ah! the British tyrant and his infernal junto—glorious revolution—awful crisis—self-important nabobs—diabolical plots and secret machinations—oh the architects! the architects—they have seized the government, secured power, brow-beat with insolence and assume majesty—oh the architects! they will treat you as conquered slaves—they will make you pass under the yoke, and leave their gluttony and riot, to attend the pleasing sport—oh that the glory of the Lord may be made perfect—that he would shew strength with his arm, and scatter the proud in the imaginations of their hearts—blow the trumpet—sound an alarm—I will cry day and night—behold, is not this my number five?—attend to my words, ye women labouring of child—ye sick persons and young children—behold—behold the lurking places, the despots, the infernal designs—lust of dominion and conspiracies—from battle and murder and from

sudden death—good Lord deliver us.

“Figure to yourselves, my good fellows, a man with a cow and a horse—oh, the battlements, the battlements, they will fall upon his cow, they will fall upon his horse, and wound them, and bruise them, and kill them; and the poor man will perish with hunger. Do I exaggerate?—no truly—Europe, and Asia, and Indostan deny it if you can—oh God! what a monster is man!—A being possessed of knowledge, reason, judgment and an immortal soul—what a monster is man! But the architects are said to be men of skill—then the more their shame—curse on the villains!—they are despots, sycophants, Jesuits, Tories, lawyers—curse on the villains! We beseech thee to hear us—Lord have mercy on us—Oh!—Ah!—Ah!—Oh!”



State	Period	Majority
Delaware,	December 3, 1787,	unanimously.
Pennsylvania,	December 13,	46 to 23,
New-Jersey,	December 19,	unanimously.
Georgia,	January 2, 1788,	128 to 40,
Connecticut,	January 9,	187 to 168,
Massachusetts,	February 6,	63 to 12,
Maryland,	April 28,	149 to 73,
South-Carolina,	May 23,	57 to 46,
New-Hampshire,	June 21,	89 to 79,
Virginia,	June 25,	30 to 23,
New-York,	July 26,	5

Statement of the periods at which the new constitution has been ratified by the several states which compose the new union\*.

Majority.

#### NOTE.

\* For the form of the ratification by the state of Delaware, see *American Museum*, vol. II. page 586: of Pennsylvania, *ibid.*; of Connecticut, vol. III. 102; of Massachusetts, 161; of Georgia, 597.—C.

*Ratification of the new constitution by the convention of the state of New Jersey, subjoined to a copy thereof and to the resolution and act of the legislature of said state, appointing the meeting of that convention.*

*In convention, December 18, 1787.*

NOW be it known, that we the delegates of the state of New-Jersey, chosen by the people thereof, for the purposes aforesaid having maturely deliberated on, and considered the aforesaid proposed constitution, do hereby, for and on the behalf of the people of the said state of New-Jersey; agree to, ratify and confirm the same, and every part thereof. Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the members present this eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and of the independence of the united states of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, &c.



*Form of the ratification of the new constitution by the convention of the state of Maryland.*

*In convention of the delegates of the people of the state of Maryland 28th April, 1788.*

WE, the delegates of the people of the state of Maryland having fully considered the constitution of the united states of America reported to congress, by the convention of deputies from the united states held in Philadelphia, on the 17th of September, 1787, of which the foregoing is a copy\*, and submitted to us by a resolution of the general assembly of Maryland, in November session, 1787, do, for ourselves, and in the name and on the behalf of the people of this state, assent to and ratify the said constitution. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

\* *Prefix.*



*Form of the ratification of the new constitution by the convention of South Carolina, May 23, 1788.*

IN convention of the people of the state of South Carolina, by their representatives, held in the city of

Charleston, on Monday the twelfth day of May, and continued by divers adjournments to Friday, the twenty third day of May, anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and in the twelfth year of the independence of the united states of America.

The convention having maturely considered the constitution, or form of government, reported to congress by the convention of delegates from the united states of America, and submitted to them by a resolution of the legislature of this state, passed the eventeenth and eighteenth days of february last, in order "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the said united states and their posterity;" do, in the name and behalf of the people of this state, hereby assent to, and ratify the said constitution.

Done in convention the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and of the independence of the united states of America the twelfth.

THOMAS PINCKNEY,

*President. (L. S.)*

Attest, JOHN S. DART, Secretary.  
(L. S.)

*And whereas* it is essential to the preservation of the rights reserved to the several states, and the freedom of the people under the operations of a general government, that the right of prescribing the manner, times, and places of holding the elections for delegates to the federal legislature, should be for ever inseparably annexed to the sovereignty of the several states—this convention doth declare, that the same ought to remain to all posterity a perpetual and fundamental right in the local, exclusive of the interference of the general government, except in cases where the legislatures of the states shall refuse or neglect to perform and fulfil the same, according to the tenor of the said constitution.

This convention doth also declare, that no section or paragraph of the

said constitution warrants a construction that the states do not retain every power not expressly relinquished by them and vested in the general government of the union.

*Resolved*, That the general government of the united states ought never to impose direct taxes, but where the monies arising from the duties, imposts, and excise are insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then, until congress shall have made a requisition upon the states to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisitions: and in case any state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then congress may assess and levy such state's proportion, together with interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed by such requisition.

*Resolved*, That the third section\* of the sixth article ought to be amended, by inserting the word *other* between the words *no* and *religious*.

*Resolved*, That it be a standing instruction to all such delegates as may hereafter be elected to represent this state in the general government, to exert their utmost abilities and influence to effect an alteration of the constitution, conformably to the foregoing resolutions.

Done in convention, the twenty third day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and of the independence of the united states of America, the twelfth.

THOMAS PINCKNEY,

*President. (L. S.)*

Attest. JOHN S. DART, Secretary.  
(L. S.)

NOTE.

\* *This section is as follows:*

"The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the united states, and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the united states."—C.

*Form of the ratification of the new constitution by the convention of New-Hampshire.*

*State of New-Hampshire.*

*In convention of the delegates of the people of the state of New-Hampshire, June the 21st, 1788.*

**T**HE convention having impartially discussed and fully considered the constitution for the united states of America, reported to congress by the convention of delegates from the united states of America, and submitted to us by a resolution of the general court of said state, passed the 14th day of December last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the supreme Ruler of the universe, in affording the people of the united states in the course of his providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new constitution, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity,"—do, in the name and behalf of the people of the state of New-Hampshire, assent to and ratify the said constitution for the united states of America. And as it is the opinion of this convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said constitution would remove the fears, and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this state, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the federal government, the convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said constitution :

I. That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid constitution, are reserved to the several states, to be by them exercised.

II. That there shall be one representative to every 30,000 persons, according to the census mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of the representatives amounts to 200.

III. That congress do not exercise

the powers vested in them by the 4th section \* of the first article, but in cases when a state shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulation contrary to a free and equal representation.

IV. That congress do not lay direct taxes, but when the money arising from the impost, excise, and their other resources is insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then, until congress shall have first made a requisition upon the states to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said constitution, in such way and manner as the legislature of the state shall think best; and in such case, if any state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then congress may assess and levy such state's proportion—together with the interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent, per annum, from the time of payment prescribed in such requisition.

V. That congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

VI. That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment, or loss of life, until he be first indicted by a grand jury; except in such cases as may arise in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

VII. All common law causes between citizens of different states shall be commenced in the common law courts of the respective states—and no appeal shall be allowed to the federal court in such cases, unless the sum or value of the thing in controversy amount to 3000 dollars.

VIII. In civil actions, between citizens of different states, every issue of fact arising in actions at common law,

#### NOTE.

\* *This section is as follows: "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state, by the legislature thereof: but the congress may at any time make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.—C.*



shall be tried by a jury, if the parties or either of them request it.

IX. Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the united states, shall accept of a title of nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince or foreign state.

X. That no standing army shall be kept up in time of peace, unless with the consent of three-quarters of the members of each branch of congress: nor shall soldiers, in time of peace, be quartered upon private houses, without the consent of the owners.

XI. Congress shall make no laws touching religion, or to infringe the rights of conscience.

XII. Congress shall never disarm any citizen, unless such as are or have been in actual rebellion.

And the convention do, in the name and behalf of the people of this state, enjoin it upon their representatives in congress, at all times until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered, agreeably to the fifth article of the said constitution, to exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions, in such manner as is provided in the said article. And, that the united states in congress assembled, may have due notice of the assent and ratification of the said constitution by this convention, it is resolved, that the assent and ratification aforesaid, be engrossed on parchment, together with the recommendation and injunction aforesaid, and with this resolution: and that John Sullivan, esq. president of convention, and John Langdon, esq. president of the state, transmit the same, countersigned by the secretary of convention, and the secretary of the state, under their hands and seals, to the united states in congress assembled.

JOHN SULLIVAN, *president of the convention.* (L. S.)

JOHN LANGDON, *president of the state.* (L. S.)

By order, JOHN CALFE, *sec'y of convention.*

JOSEPH PEARSON, *sec'y of the state.*

*Form of the ratification of the new constitution by the convention of Virginia.*

WE, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected, in pursuance of a recommendation of the general assembly, and now met in convention, having fully and fairly investigated and discussed the proceedings of the federal convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation will enable us, to decide thereon, do, in the name and behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the constitution being derived from the people of the united states, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right, of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the congress, by the senate, or house of representatives, acting in any capacity, by the president, or any department or officer of the united states, except in those instances where power is given by the constitution for those purposes: that among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and of the press, cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the united states:

With these impressions, with a solemn appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that, whatsoever imperfections may exist in the constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the union into danger by delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments previous to the ratification:

We, the said delegates, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, do, by these presents, assent to and ratify the constitution, recommended on the 17th day of September, 1787, by the federal convention for the government of the united states; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said constitution is binding upon the said people, according to an authentic co-

py hereto annexed, in the words following : \*



*The declaration of rights, and the amendments to the new constitution agreed by the convention of Virginia, to be recommended to the consideration of the congress which shall first assemble under the said constitution.*

*Richmond, Virginia.*

*In convention, June 27, 1788.*

I. **T**HAT there are certain natural rights, of which men, when they form a social compact, cannot deprive or divest their posterity ; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from, the people ; that magistrates, therefore, are their trustees and agents, and at all times amenable to them.

III. That government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people ; and that the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.

IV. That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services ; which not being descendable, neither ought the offices of magistrates, legislator, judge, or any other public offices to be hereditary.

V. That the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of government should be separate and distinct : and, that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression by feeling and participating the public burdens, they should at fixed periods be reduced to a private station—return into the mass of the people ; and the vacancies be supplied by certain and regular elections : in which all or any part of the members to be eligible or ineligible, as the rulers of the constitution of government, and the laws shall direct.

NOTE.

\* To this ratification was annexed a copy of the new constitution.—C.

VI. That elections of representatives in the legislature ought to be free and frequent : and all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community, ought to have the right of suffrage ; and no aid, charge, tax, or fee can be set, rated or levied upon the people, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor can they be bound by any law, to which they have no in like manner assented for the public good.

VII. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws by any authority without the consent of the representatives of the people in the legislature, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusations : to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses ; to call for evidence, and be allowed counsel in his favour ; and to a fair and speed trial, by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent, he cannot be found guilty (except in the government of the land and naval forces) ; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself.

IX. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or diseized of his freehold, liberties, privileges, or franchises, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land.

X. That every freeman, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to a remedy to enquire into the lawfulness thereof and to remove the same, if unlawful ; and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

XI. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is one of the greatest securities to the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

XII. That every freeman ought to find a certain remedy or recourse to the laws for all injuries and wrongs he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely without sale completely and without denial, prompt

and without delay, and that all establishments or regulations, contravening these rights, are oppressive and null.

XIII. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XIV. That every freeman has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches, and seizures of his person, his papers, and property; all warrants, therefore, to search suspected places, or seize any freeman, his papers, or property, without information upon oath (or affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an oath) of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive, and all general warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

XV. That the people have a right peaceably to assemble together to consult for the common good, or to instruct their representatives; and that every freeman has a right to petition, or apply to the legislature for redress of grievances.

XVI. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing, and publishing their sentiments; that the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and ought not to be violated.

XVII. That the people have a right to keep and bear arms: that a well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state. That standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances and protection of the community will admit; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

XVIII. That no soldier in time of peace ought to be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, and in time of war in such manner only as the laws direct.

XIX. That any person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, ought to be exempted upon payment of an equivalent to employ another to bear arms in his stead.

XX. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men have an equal, natural and unalienable right to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favoured or established by law in preference to others.

*Amendments to the new constitution.*

I. That each state in the union shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the congress of the united states, or to the departments of the federal government.

II. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants, according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which, that number shall be continued or increased as congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each state to some greater number of people from time to time, as population increases.

III. When congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state, according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised; and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota, at the time required by congress, the taxes and excises laid by congress shall not be collected in such state.

IV. That the members of the senate and house of representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the united states, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected.

V. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof, relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as, in their judgment, require secrecy.

VI. That a regular statement and

account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published at least once in every year.

VII. That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate ; and no treaty, ceding, contracting, or restraining, or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the united states, or any of them—or their, or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigating the American rivers, shall be made, but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity ; nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of members of both houses respectively.

VIII. That no navigation laws or law, regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

IX. That no standing army, or regular troops, shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

X. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer a term than the continuance of the war.

XI. That each state respectively shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining its own militia, whenever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service, in time of war, invasion, or rebellion : and when not in the actual service of the united states, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties, and punishments as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

XII. That the exclusive power of legislation given to congress over the federal town and its adjacent district, and other places, purchased or to be purchased by congress, of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

XIII. That no person shall be capable of being president of the united states for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

XIV. That the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such courts of admiralty, as congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish in any of the different states : the judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under treaties, made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the united states ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the united states shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more states, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different states. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction ; in all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, as to matters of law only : except in cases of equity, and of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; in which the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make : but the judicial power of the united states shall extend to no case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this constitution ; except in disputes between states about their territory ; disputes between persons claiming lands under the grants of different states ; and suits for debts due to the united states.

XV. That in criminal prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accustomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

XVI. That congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same.

XVII. That those clauses which declare that congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever to extend the power of congress ; but that they be construed either as making ex-

options to the specified powers where this shall be the case, or otherwise, inserted merely for greater caution.

XVIII. That the laws ascertaining the compensation of senators and representatives for their services, be postponed in their operation, until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof; that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

XIX. That some tribunal other than the senate be provided for trying impeachments of senators.

XX. That the salary of a judge shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office, otherwise than by general regulations of salary, which may take place on a revision of the subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such salaries shall be first ascertained by congress.

And the convention do, in the name and behalf of the people of this commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in congress, to exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the foregoing alterations and provisions in the manner provided by the fifth article of the said constitution; and in all congressional laws to be passed in the mean time, to conform to the spirit of these amendments as far as the said constitution will admit.

Extract from the journal,

JOHN BECKLEY,  
clerk of convention.



*Ratification of the new constitution by the convention of the state of New York.*

**W** E, the delegates of the people of the state of New York, duly elected and met in convention, having maturely considered the constitution for the united states of America, agreed to on the seventeenth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, by the convention then assembled at Philadelphia, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania (a copy whereof precedes these presents) and having also seriously and deliberately considered the present situation of the united states, do declare and make known,

Vol. IV. No. II.

I. That all power is originally vested in, and consequently derived from the people; and that government is instituted by them for their common interest, protection, and security.

II. That the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are essential rights which every government ought to respect and preserve.

III. That the power of government may be re-assumed by the people, whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the said constitution clearly delegated to the congress of the united states, or the departments of the government thereof, remains to the people of the several states, or to their respective state governments, to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses, in the said constitution, which declare that congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said constitution; but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions to certain specified powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.

IV. That the people have an equal, natural, and unalienable right, freely and peaceably to exercise their religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that no religious sect or society ought to be favoured or established by law, in preference of others.

V. That the people have a right to keep and bear arms; that a well regulated militia, including the body of the people capable of bearing arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state.

VI. That the militia should not be subject to martial law, except in time of war, rebellion, or insurrection.

VII. That standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be kept up, except in cases of necessity; and that at all times the military should be under strict subordination to the civil power.

VIII. That in the time of peace no soldier ought to be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, only by the civil magistrate, in such manner as the laws may direct.

IX. That no person ought to be

G

taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, or exiled or deprived of his privileges, franchises, life, liberty, or property, but by due process of law.

X. That no person ought to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb for one and the same offence; nor, unless in case of impeachment, be punished more than once for the same offence.

XI. That every person, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to an enquiry into the lawfulness of such restraint, and to a removal thereof, if unlawful; and that such enquiry and removal ought not to be denied or delayed, except when, on account of public danger, the congress shall suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

XII. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

XIII. That (except in the government of the land and naval forces, and of the militia, when in actual service, and in cases of impeachment) a presentment or indictment by a grand jury ought to be observed as a necessary preliminary to the trial of all crimes cognizable by the judiciary of the united states; and such trial should be speedy, public, and by an impartial jury of the county where the crime was committed; and that no person can be found guilty, without the unanimous consent of such jury. But in cases of crimes not committed within any county of any of the united states, and in cases of crimes committed within any county in which a general insurrection may prevail, or which may be in the possession of a foreign enemy, the enquiry and trial may be in such county as the congress shall by law direct; which county, in the two cases last mentioned, should be as near as conveniently may be to that county in which the crime may have been committed. And that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused ought to be informed of the cause and nature of his accusation; to be confronted with his accusers, and the witnesses against him; to have the means of producing his witnesses, and the assistance of counsel for his defence, and should not be compelled to give evidence against himself.

XIV. That the trial by jury, in

the extent that it obtains by the common law of England, is one of the greatest securities to the rights of free people, and ought to remain inviolate.

XV. That every freeman has right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers, or his property; and therefore, that all warrants to search suspected places, or seize any free man, his papers, or property, without information upon oath, or affirmation of sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive; and that all general warrants (or such in which the place or person suspected are not particularly designated) are dangerous, and ought not to be granted.

XVI. That the people have a right peaceably to assemble together to consult for their common good, or to instruct their representatives; and that every person has a right to petition or apply to the legislature for redress of grievances.

XVII. That the freedom of the press ought not to be violated or restrained.

XVIII. That there should be once in four years, an election of the president and vice-president, so that no officer who may be appointed by the congress to act as president, in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of the president and vice-president, can in any case continue to act beyond the termination of the period for which the last president and vice-president were elected.

XIX. That nothing contained in the said constitution, is to be construed to prevent the legislature of any state from passing laws at its discretion, from time to time, to divide such state into convenient districts, and to apportion its representatives to, amongst such districts.

XX. That the prohibition contained in the said constitution, against *ex post facto* laws, extends only to laws concerning crimes.

XXI. That all appeals in causes determinable according to the course of the common law, ought to be by writ of error, and not otherwise.

XXII. That the judicial power of the united states, in cases in which state may be a party, does not extend to criminal prosecutions, or to autho-

be any suit, by any person against a state.

XXIII. That the judicial power of the united states, as to controversies between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, is not to be construed to extend to any other controversies between them, except those which relate to such lands, so claimed, under grants of different states.

XXIV. That the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the united states, of any other court to be instituted by the congress, is not in any case to be increased, enlarged, or extended, by any fiction, collusion, or mere suggestion; and that no treaty is to be construed, so to operate, as to alter the constitution of any state.

Under these impressions, and desiring that the rights aforesaid cannot be abridged or violated, and that the explanations aforesaid are consistent with the said constitution, and in confidence that the amendments which shall have been proposed to the said constitution, will receive an early and mature consideration—We, the said delegates, in the name, and in behalf of the people of the state of New York, do, by these presents, assent to and ratify the said constitution. In full confidence, nevertheless, that another convention shall be called and convened for proposing amendments to the said constitution, the militia of this state will not be continued in service out of this state for a longer term than six weeks, without the consent of the legislature thereof; that the congress will not make or alter any regulation in this state, respecting times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators or representatives, unless the legislature of this state shall neglect or refuse to make laws or regulations for the purpose, or from any circumstance be incapable of making the same; and that in those cases, such power will only be exercised until the legislature of this state shall make provision in the premises; that no excise will be imposed on any article of the growth, production, or manufacture of the united states, or any of them, within this state, ardent spirits excepted; and that the congress will not lay direct taxes within this state, but when the monies arising

from the impost and excise shall be insufficient for the public exigencies, nor until congress shall first have made a requisition upon this state to assess, levy, and pay the amount of such requisition, made agreeably to the census fixed in the said constitution, in such way and manner as the legislature of this state shall judge best; but that in such case, if the state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then the congress may assess and levy this state's proportion, together with interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, from the time at which the same was required to be paid.

Done in convention at Poughkeepsie, in the county of Dutchess, in the state of New York, the twenty sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

By order of the convention,  
GEO. CLINTON, president.

Attested,

JOHN M'KESSON, } Sec'ries.  
ABM. B. BANCER. }

And the convention do, in the name and behalf of the people of the state of New York, enjoin it upon their representatives in the congress, to exert all their influence, and use all reasonable means to obtain a ratification of the following amendments to the said constitution, in the manner prescribed therein; and in all laws to be passed by the congress in the mean time, to conform to the spirit of the said amendments, as far as the constitution will admit.

I. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants, according to the enumeration, or census mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or increased, but not diminished, as congress shall direct, and according to such ratio as the congress shall fix, in conformity to the rule prescribed for the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes.

II. That the congress do not impose any excise on any article, except ardent spirits, of the growth, production, or manufacture of the united states, or any of them.

III. That congress do not lay di-

rect taxes, but when the monies arising from the impost and excise, shall be insufficient for the public exigencies ; nor then, until congress shall first have made a requisition upon the states, to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said constitution, in such way and manner, as the legislature of the respective states shall judge best ; and in such case, if any state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then congress may assess and levy such state's proportion, together with interest, at the rate of six per centum per annum, from the time of payment, prescribed in such requisition.

IV. That the congress shall not make or alter any regulation, in any state, respecting the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators or representatives, unless the legislature of such state shall neglect or refuse to make laws or regulations for that purpose, or from any circumstance, be incapable of making the same ; and then only, until the legislature of such state shall make provision in the premises ; provided, that congress may prescribe the time for the election of representatives.

V. That no persons, except natural born citizens, or such as were citizens on or before the fourth day of July, 1776, or such as held commissions under the united states during the war, and have, at any time, since the 4th of July, 1776, become citizens of one or other of the united states, and who shall be freeholders, shall be eligible to the places of president, vice-president, or members of either house of the congress of the united states.

VI. That the congress do not grant monopolies, or erect any company with exclusive advantages of commerce.

VII. That no standing army or regular troops shall be raised, or kept up, in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house.

VIII. That no money be borrowed on the credit of the united states, without the assent of two-thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house.

IX. That the congress shall not

declare war without the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house.

X. That the privilege of the *habeas corpus* shall not by any law be suspended for a longer term than six months, or until twenty days after the meeting of the congress next following the passing the act for such suspension.

XI. That the right of the congress to exercise exclusive legislation over such district, not exceeding ten mile square, as may by cession of a particular state, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the united states, shall not be so exercised as to exempt the inhabitants of such district from paying the like taxes, imposts, duties, and excises as shall be imposed on the other inhabitants of the state, in which such district may be ; and that no person shall be privileged within the said district, from arrest for crimes committed or debts contracted out of the said district.

XII. That the right of exclusive legislation with respect to such place as may be purchased for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings shall not authorize the congress to make any law to prevent the laws of the states respectively in which they may be, from extending to such place in all civil and criminal matters, except as to such persons as shall be in the service of the united states ; nor to them, with respect to crimes committed without such places.

XIII. That the compensation for the senators and representatives be ascertained by standing laws ; and that no alteration of the existing rate of compensation shall operate for the benefit of the representatives, until after a subsequent election shall have been had.

XIV. That the journals of the congress shall be published at least once a year, with the exception of such parts, relating to treaties of military operations, as, in the judgment of either house, shall require secrecy ; and that both houses of congress shall always keep their doors open, during their session, unless the business may in their opinion require secrecy. That the yeas and nays shall be entered on the



journals whenever two members in either house may require it.

XV. That no capitation tax shall ever be laid by the congress.

XVI. That no person be eligible for a senator for more than six years in any term of twelve years; and that the legislatures of the respective states may recall their senators or either of them, and elect others in their stead, to serve the remainder of the time for which the senators, so recalled, were appointed.

XVII. That no senator or representative, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any office under the authority of the united states.

XVIII. That the authority given to the executives of the states to fill the vacancies of senators, be abolished, and that such vacancies be filled by the respective legislatures.

XIX. That the power of congress to pass uniform laws, concerning bankruptcy, shall only extend to merchants and other traders; and that the states respectively may pass laws for the relief of other insolvent debtors.

XX. That no person shall be eligible to the office of president of the united states, a third time.

XXI. That the executive shall not grant pardons for treason, unless with the consent of the congress; but may, at his discretion, grant reprieves to persons convicted of treason, until their cases can be laid before the congress.

XXII. That the president or person exercising his powers for the time being, shall not command an army in the field in person, without the previous desire of congress.

XXIII. That all letters patent, commissions, pardons, writs, and process of the united states, shall run in the name of the people of the united states, and be tested in the name of the president of the united states, or the person exercising his powers for the time being, or the first judge of the court out of which the same shall issue, as the case may be.

XXIV. That the congress shall not constitute, ordain, or establish any tribunals or inferior courts, with any other than appellate jurisdiction, except such as may be necessary for the trial of causes of admiralty, and mari-

time jurisdiction, and for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and in all other cases, to which the judicial power of the united states extends, and in which the supreme court of the united states has not original jurisdiction, the causes shall be heard, tried and determined, in some one of the state courts, with the right of appeal to the supreme court of the united states, or other proper tribunal to be established for that purpose, by the congress, with such exception, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

XXV. That the court for the trial of impeachments shall consist of the senate, the judges of the supreme court of the united states, and the first or senior judge, for the time being, of the highest court of general and ordinary common law jurisdiction, in each state; that the congress shall, by standing laws, designate the courts in the respective states, answering this description, and in the states having no courts exactly answering this description, shall designate some other court, preferring such, if any there be, whose judge or judges may hold their places during good behaviour: provided that no more than one judge, other than judges of the supreme court of the united states, shall come from one state. That the congress be authorized to pass laws for compensating the said judges for such services, and for compelling their attendance; and that a majority at least of the said judges shall be requisite to constitute the said court. That no person impeached shall sit as a member thereof—that each member shall, previous to the entering upon any trial, take an oath or affirmation, honestly and impartially to hear and determine the cause: and that a majority of the members present shall be necessary to a conviction.

XXVI. That persons aggrieved by any judgment, sentence, or decree of the supreme court of the united states, in any cause in which that court has original jurisdiction, with such exceptions and under such regulation as the congress shall make concerning the same, shall, upon application, have a commission, to be issued by the president of the united states, to such men learned in the law, as he shall nomi-

nate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint not less than seven, authorizing such commissioners, or any seven or more of them, to correct the errors in such judgment, or to review such sentence, and decree as the case may be, and to do justice to the parties in the premises.

XXVII. That no judge of the supreme court of the united states shall hold any other office under the united states, or any of them.

XXVIII. That the judicial power of the united states shall extend to no controversies respecting land, unless it relate to claims of territory or jurisdiction between states, or to claims of land between individuals, or between states and individuals under the grants of different states.

XXIX. That the militia of any state shall not be compelled to serve without the limits of the state for a longer term than six weeks, without the consent of the legislature thereof.

XXX. That the words—*without the consent of the congress*—in the second clause\* of the ninth section of the first article of the constitution be expunged.

XXXI. That the senators and representatives, and all executive and judicial officers of the united states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation not to infringe or violate the constitution or rights of the respective states.

XXXII. That the legislatures of the respective states may make provision by law, that the electors of the election districts, to be by them appointed, shall choose a citizen of the united states, who shall have been an inhabitant of such district for the term of one year immediately preceding the time of his election, for one of the representatives of such state.

Done in convention, at Poughkeepsie, in the county of Dutchess, in the state of New York, the 26th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

By order of the convention.

GEO. CLINTON, president.

Attested,

JOHN M'KESSON, }  
ABM. B. BANCKER, } *Sec'ries.*

NOTE.

\* This clause runs thus: "No title of nobility shall be granted by

Circular letter from the convention of the state of New York, to the governors of the several states in the union.

Poughkeepsie, July 28, 1788.

S I R,

WE, the members of the convention of this state, have deliberately and maturely considered the constitution proposed for the united states. Several articles in it appear so exceptionable to a majority of us that nothing but the fullest confidence of obtaining a revision of them by general convention, and an invincible reluctance to separating from our sister states, could have prevailed upon a sufficient number to ratify it without stipulating for previous amendment. We all unite in opinion, that such a revision will be necessary to recommend it to the approbation and support of a numerous body of our constituents.

We observe that amendments have been proposed and are anxiously desired by several of the states, as well as by this; and we think it of great importance that effectual measures be immediately taken for calling a convention, to meet at a period not far remote; for, we are convinced, that the apprehensions and discontents which those articles occasion, cannot be removed or allayed, unless an act to provide for it, be among the first that shall be passed by the new congress.

As it is essential that an application for the purpose should be made to them by two-thirds of the states, we earnestly exhort and request the legislature of your state, to take the earliest opportunity of making it.—We are persuaded that a similar one will be made by our legislature, at their next session; and we ardently wish and desire that the other states may concur in adopting and promoting the measure.

It cannot be necessary to observe

NOTE.

"the united states: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state."—C.

that no government, however constituted, can operate well, unless it possesses the confidence and good will of the great body of the people; and we desire nothing more, than that the amendments, proposed by this or other states, be submitted to the consideration and decision of a general convention, we flatter ourselves, that motives of mutual affection and conciliation will conspire with the obvious dictates of sound policy, to induce even such of the states as may be content with every article in the constitution, to gratify the reasonable desires of that numerous class of American citizens, who are anxious to obtain amendments of some of them.

Our amendments will manifest that none of them originated in local views, as they are such, as, if acceded to, must equally affect every state in the union. Our attachment to our sister states, and the confidence we repose in them, cannot be more forcibly demonstrated, than by acceding to a government, which many of us think every imperfect, and devolving the power of determining whether that government shall be rendered perpetual, in its present form, or altered agreeable to our wishes, and a minority of the states with whom we unite.

We request the favour of your excellency to lay this letter before the signature of your state; and we are persuaded, that your regard for our national harmony and good government, will induce you to promote a measure, which we are unanimous in thinking very conducive to those interesting objects.

We have the honour to be, with the highest respect, your excellency's most obedient servants.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE CLINTON, *president.*



*Proposals for an exchange of general Burgoyne.—Ascribed to his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey.\**

SHOULD the report of general Burgoyne's having infringed the

NOTE.

\* *The turgid, bombastic proclamation, (for which see American Museum, Vol. II. page 495) which gave*

capitulation, between major general Gates and himself, prove to be true, our superiors will doubtless take proper care to prevent his reaping any benefit from it; and should he be detained as a prisoner for his infraction of any of the articles, I would humbly propose to exchange him in such manner, as will at the same time flatter his vanity, and redound to the greatest emolument of America. To evince the reasonableness of my proposal, I would observe that by the same parity of reason, that a general is exchanged for a general, a colonel for a colonel, and so on, with respect to other officers, mutually of equal rank, we ought to have for one and the same gentleman, who shall happen to hold both those offices, both a general and a colonel. This will appear evident from the consideration that those exchanges are never regulated by viewing the persons exchanged in the light of *men*, but as *officers*; since otherwise, a colonel might as well be exchanged for a serjeant, as for an officer of his own rank; a serjeant being undoubtedly equally a *man*, and, as the case sometimes happens, *more of a man* too. One prisoner, therefore, having twenty different offices, ought to redeem from captivity twenty prisoners aggregately holding the same offices; or such greater or less number as shall, with respect to rank, be equal to his twenty offices. This being admitted, I think general Burgoyne is the most profitable prisoner we could have taken, having more offices, or (what amounts to the same thing in Old England) more titles, than any gentleman on this side the *Ganges*. And as his *impetuous excellency* certainly meant to avail himself of his titles, by their

NOTE.

*rise to this elegant and poignant satire, was prefaced in the following manner: "Proclamation.—by John Burgoyne, esquire, lieutenant general of his majesty's armies in America, colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragons, governor of fort William, in North Britain, one of the representatives of the commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet on an expedition from Canada, &c. &c. &c."*—C.

pompous display in his proclamation, had he proved *conqueror*, it is but reasonable that we should avail ourselves of them now he is *conquered*; and, till I meet with a better project for that purpose, I persuade myself that the following proposal will appropriate them to a much better use, than they were ever applied to before.

*The exchange I propose is as follows:*

I. For John Burgoyne, *esquire*.

Some worthy justice of the peace, *magnanimously stolen out of his bed*, or taken from his farm by a band of ruffians in the uniform of British soldiers, and now probably perishing with hunger and cold in a loathsome jail in New York.

II. For John Burgoyne, *lieutenant-general of his majesty's armies in America*.

Two majors general.

III. For John Burgoyne, *colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons*.

As the British troops naturally prize every thing in proportion as it partakes of *royalty*, and under-value whatever originates from a *republican government*, I suppose a colonel of her majesty's own regiment will procure at least *three continental colonels of horse*.

IV. For John Burgoyne, *governor of fort William in North Britain*.

Here I would demand one governor of one of the united states, as his *multitudinary excellency* is governor of a fort; and two more, as that fort is in *North Britain*, which his Britannic majesty may be presumed to value in that proportion; but considering that the said fort is called *William*, which may excite in his majesty's mind the *rebellious* idea of liberty, I deduct *one* upon that account, and, rather than puzzle the cartel with any perplexity, I am content with *two governors*.

V. For John Burgoyne, *one of the representatives of Great-Britain*.

The first member of congress who may fall into the enemy's hands.

VI. For John Burgoyne, *commander of a fleet employed in an expedition from Canada*.

The admiral of our navy.

VII. For John Burgoyne, *commander of an army employed in an expedition from Canada*.

One commander in chief in any of our departments.

VIII. For John Burgoyne, *&c. &c.*

Some connoisseurs in hieroglyphic imagine that these three et cætera are emblematical of three certain *occult* qualities in the general, which never intends to exhibit in more *legible* characters, viz. *prudence, modesty, and humanity*. Others suppose it they stand for *king of America*; a that, had he proved successful, would have fallen upon general Howe and afterwards have set up for himself as it may, (which it however behoves a certain gentleman on the other side of the water seriously consider) I insist upon it, that as dark and cabalistical characters are suspicious, these *incognoscible enigmas* may portend much more than is generally apprehended. At all even general Burgoyne has availed himself of their importance, and I doubt if they excited *as much* terror in his proclamation, as any of his more *luminous* titles. As his person, therefore, by the capture, become the property of the congress, all his titles, (which some suppose to constitute his very essence) whether more splendid or pake, latent or visible, are become ipso facto, the lawful goods and chattels of the continent, and ought not be restored without a consideration equivalent. If we should happen over-rate them, it is his own fault being in his power to ascertain their intrinsic value; and it is a rule of law, that when a man is possessed of evidence to disprove what is alleged against him, and refuses to produce it, the presumption raised against him is to be taken for granted. Certain it is, that these three et cæteras may stand for three *somethings*, and as the three somethings must, at least, be equal to three somethings without ratio or title, I had some thoughts of setting them down for *three privates*; then as they are *three somethings* general Burgoyne, which must be twice the value of *three any thing*, in *any three privates*, I shall double them, and demand in exchange for these three problematical, enigmatical, hieroglyphical, mystical, cromantic, cabalistical and portentous et cæteras, *six privates*.

So that according to my plan, we ought to detain this *ideal* conqueror of the North, now a *real* prisoner in the East, till we have got in exchange for him, one esquire, two majors general, three colonels of light horse, two governors, one member of congress, the admiral of our navy, one commander in chief in a separate department, and six privates; which is probably more than this extraordinary hero would fetch in any part of Great Britain, were he exposed at public auction for a day and a year. All which is nevertheless humbly submitted to the consideration of the honourable the congress, and his excellency general Washington.

Princeton, December 8, 1777.



*Biographical anecdotes of the late Anthony Benezet.*

**I**N early life, he was bound apprentice to a merchant; but finding commerce opened temptations to a worldly spirit, he left his master, and bound himself apprentice to a cooper. Finding this business too laborious for his constitution, he declined it, and devoted himself to school-keeping; in which useful employment, he continued during the greatest part of his life.

He possessed uncommon activity and industry in every thing he undertook. He did every thing as if the words of his Saviour were perpetually sounding in his ears, "wilt ye not, that I must be about my Father's business?"

He used to say, "the highest act of charity in the world was to bear with the *unreasonableness* of mankind."

He generally wore plush clothes, and gave as a reason for it, that after he had worn them for two or three years, they made comfortable and decent garments for the poor.

He once informed a young friend, that his memory began to fail him; "but this," said he, "gives me one great advantage over you; for you can find entertainment in reading a good book only *once*—but I enjoy that pleasure as often as I read it; for it is always new to me."

Few men, since the days of the apostles, ever lived a more disinterested life. And yet, upon his death bed, he said, he wished to live a little longer, that "he might bring down *SELY*."

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The last time he ever walked across his room, was to take from his desk six dollars, which he gave to a poor widow whom he had long assisted to maintain.

His funeral was attended by persons of all religious denominations, and by many hundred negroes.

Colonel J—n, who had served in the American army, during the late war, in returning from the funeral, pronounced an eulogium upon him. It consisted only of the following words: "I would rather, said he, "be Anthony Benezet in that coffin, than George Washington with all his fame."



*Plan of the Philadelphia dispensary for the medical relief of the poor. Instituted April 12, 1786.*

**I**N all large cities, there are many poor persons afflicted by diseases, whose former circumstances and habits of independence will not permit them to expose themselves as patients in a public hospital. There are also many diseases and accidents, of so acute and dangerous a nature, that the removal of patients afflicted by them, is attended with many obvious inconveniences. And there are some diseases of such a nature, that the air of an hospital, crowded with patients, is injurious in them. A number of gentlemen, having taken these things into consideration, have established a public dispensary in the city of Philadelphia, for the medical relief of the poor.

The particular advantages of this institution are as follow:

I. The sick are attended and relieved in their own houses, without the pain and inconvenience of being separated from their families. A father may still continue to provide for his children, and children may enjoy in sickness the benefit of a mother's kindness and attention.

II. The sick are relieved at a much less expence to the public than in an hospital, where provisions, bedding, fire-wood, and nurses, are required for their accommodation.

III. The sick are relieved in a manner perfectly consistent with those noble feelings of the human heart, which are inseparable from virtuous poverty; and in a manner also strictly a-

agreeable to those refined precepts of christianity, which inculcate secrecy in acts of charity and benevolence.

The following are the rules of the institution :

I. Each lady or gentleman, who pays annually into the hands of the treasurer one guinea, is entitled to the privilege of having two patients at one time, under the care of the dispensary. Those who pay annually two guineas, have four, and so on in the same proportion ; and those who subscribe ten guineas at once, are entitled, during life, to the privilege of having two patients attended at one time by the physicians of the dispensary.

II. A board, consisting of twelve managers, is annually elected on the first Monday in January, by a majority of the contributors. Votes may be given at all elections, either in person or by proxy. Five managers constitute a quorum. Their business is to provide medicines for the sick, and to regulate all affairs relative to the institution.

III. Six attending, and four consulting physicians and surgeons, an apothecary and a treasurer of the dispensary, are annually elected by the managers of the institution.

IV. The physicians and surgeons in ordinary regularly attend at the dispensary on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from twelve till one o'clock : and such patients as are unable to go abroad on dispensary days, are regularly visited at their respective places of abode.

V. Every case is duly attended, whether acute, chronic, surgical, or obdetrical, if recommended by a contributor in a written note, addressed to the attending physician, agreeably to the first rule. The mitigation of the evils and danger of the small-pox, by inoculation, is likewise an object of the charity of this institution. The attending physicians and surgeons have a right to apply for advice and assistance to the consulting physicians and surgeons, when they think proper, in all difficult and extraordinary cases.

VI. The apothecary resides at the dispensary : his business is to compound and deliver medicines ; to keep an exact account of the names, places of abode, diseases, times of admission,

discharge, &c. of the patients ; which he receives a salary of a hundred pounds per annum.

*Present officers, elected, Jan. 1788*

*Managers :*

Reverend doctor William Whitham,  
Thomas Clifford,  
Samuel Powel,  
Reverend George Duffield,  
Henry Hill,  
Reverend Robert Blackwell,  
John Baker,  
Thomas Fitzsimons,  
Samuel Miles,  
Lawrence Seckle,  
Samuel Pleasants,  
Thomas Francis.

*Attending physicians and surgeons*

Doctor Samuel P. Griffiths,  
Doctor John Morris,  
Doctor William Clarkson,  
Doctor John R. B. Rodgers,  
Doctor Casper Wistar,  
Doctor Michael Leib.

*Consulting physicians and surgeons*

Doctor John Jones,  
Doctor William Shippen, jun.  
Doctor Adam Kuhn,  
Doctor Benjamin Rush.

*Treasurer :* John Clifford.

*Apothecary :* John Story.

The number of patients admitted the care of the dispensary, from April 12th, to December 12th 1786, is—719.

Of which number,

562 have been cured,  
32 have died,  
33 have been relieved,  
7 discharged disorderly,  
2 removed to the hospital at house of employment,  
1 incurable,  
82 remaining under care.

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719

The number of patients admitted from December 12th, 1786, to December 1st, 1787, is—1647.

Of whom the number cured

is,	-	-	1297
Dead,	-	-	69
Relieved,	-	-	131
Discharged disorderly,	-	-	24
Removed to the hospital, and house of employment,	-	-	6
Remaining under care,	-	-	120

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1647

*address delivered at the university of Pennsylvania, by Samuel Magaw, D. D. on the 5th of June, 1782—when his appointment to the vice-provost's chair was announced by the vice-president of the state, and of the board of trustees; other members also of that body being present.*

Gentlemen,

EXCEEDINGLY indebted for the honour conferred upon me, an appointment to one of the departments in this university—although I cannot say I am at any loss, in regard to the affectionate sensibilities of every thankful heart on the occasion,

I am at a loss with respect to such language as I would wish to use, in expressing the gratitude I feel. Will I condescendingly add to the favours I have already bellowed, by representing to the whole of your honourable board, the ideas I entertain of duty and obligation to them?—Their generous fullness, and your extremely polite manner of announcing it, shall,

the blessing of God, be followed, on my part, by an unremitting series of most cheerful labours, in some degree, at least, consonant thereto. I would hope that my deficiencies will cast no damp upon the established credit of this well-known seminary; and that it will be more than counterbalanced by my attention and fidelity.

The venerable faculty have also in kindness, and with a distinguished courtesy, given me the right-hand of fellowship. I thank them; and deem it one of the happiest circumstances in my life, to be associated with men of such approved virtue, erudition, experience, and abilities.

Countenanced on this occasion by persons whom I hold in most respectful esteem, I shall direct the remainder of my address especially to the students of the university.

Young gentlemen,

WITH an eminent degree of pleasure, I introduce myself to you this day, and take my place as another of your friends, affectionately attached to you; and, in most respectful union with characters whom I honour, wishing to go along with you in your studies; and wherever it may be necessary, to assist in pointing out your way in the delightful field of science.

Having been early connected with this institution, and, many years ago, travelled the road which you are now engaged in, you will do me the justice, and withal, the favour to suppose, that my love for so venerable a place, and for its train of elevated exercises, hath yet continued; and that I ever did regard and exult in its prosperity with a distinguished predilection.

To shew my love still farther, and give substantial evidence of the deeply-impressed, grateful sentiments I feel, will, under the guidance of divine providence, be a very capital part of my employment and felicity.

Permit me too to say, the issue will much depend on your improvement here, and literary success.

True wisdom and sound learning are first-rate blessings in human life. The great and good, in all ages, have owned their noble influence, and patronised them. It is no small pleasure to anticipate such prosperity as likely to pervade, ere long, the whole of this large country. It is an immediate satisfaction to find this effectually taking place already in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Propriety of conduct and action always implies a competent information and knowledge. To make the mind great and excellent, it must first receive a due illumination; and while this is imparting, a special regard must be had to the expansion of the heart in pure benevolence, and to the very strict arrangement and harmonized flow of the passions and affections.

At a time when events of the first magnitude in relation to America, are crowding fast together—and the greatest nations upon earth, are, one way or another, interested in our fortune, it is of prime consequence for us to trim and brighten the golden lamp of learning; to cultivate and spread abroad among our numerous fellow-citizens, every species and degree of useful knowledge, as much as possible.

Our senators and patriots, knowing and inflexibly upright, are planning and executing for the public weal: our heroes and men of valour, in the high places of the field are defending freedom's cause: other worthy characters and orders in social life, are reputably filling their respective sta-

tions, and increasing the aggregate of private and general utility. It is *our* business, within these collegiate walls, to strengthen and continue the good foundation they have gone upon ; to be constantly fitting out accomplished minds : preparing the way, that other senators, and patriots, and heroes, and valuable citizens, of every rank and profession, may annually go out from hence, who, in due season, will effectually co-operate with, or follow in succession, those who with a dignity and lustre have gone before.

For these purposes, we must avail ourselves of the experience of past ages, and all the improvements of the present. The compacted wisdom of the most celebrated ancients we are to make our own ; and to adorn this stock with what the moderns have successfully added. Having necessary aid in the exercise and range of our mental powers, we shall attain their purpose to entire effect, and with a pleasing facility.

I proceed now, barely to sketch the *outlines* of the draught of knowledge in its respective beautiful compartments, as laid down and cultivated in these our favourite seats. Though I may not, perhaps, explicitly name the several branches till near the close, your sagacity will supply that omission, and easily discover to you, whereabout I am.

As the medium through which we are to come at the original fine sense of antiquity, the learned languages, as they are properly filed, claim a very early attention. These you are already (many of you) in a considerable degree, acquainted with. You will, as there is afforded so excellent an opportunity, complete this acquaintance. To understand *something* of them is not sufficient for a real scholar : they should be studied by such a one, with the delicacy of a refined taste, and understood with critical exactness. Their compass, expressiveness, elegance, energy, recommend them to your high notice ; and more especially, as they unlock the springs of knowledge in their pure primeval source, and render you familiar with the masterly, sublime sentiments of the greatest of mankind. It will be generally found, that the degree of estimation in which these are held in

any seminary, is a pretty certain index by which to form a judgment of the state of education in other respects.

Yet languages, however estimable and worthy of being adequately known, are not in themselves, properly, a branch of science ; but barely an introduction thereunto.

Carrying with you this idea, ye forthwith proceed to the still higher exercise of the mind, in regard, first to its *speculative* powers ; and then to the investigation and improvement of its various *moral* sensibilities and movements. Mean while, there is included in this comprehensive view whatever can be known by man concerning universal nature, and its infinite cause.

Here *philosophy*, with all her venerable business, comes in exhibition—inviting *you*, her pupils, to notice an inwardly digested process, and the spirit of her laws, that you may be illustrious and happy.

Your progress in the elevated search after knowledge, in order that it may be successful, must be conducted in the course of an easy, natural method.

Opening, then, with an enquiry into the perceptive rational faculties of man—learning what he is, in respect of apprehension and capacity—and in this procedure, observing the great outlines of connexion between the various ranks of being—by an apt transition from this general view, to a more particular one, you will find the compartments of science beautifully filled up. This will direct you not only to trace with a discriminating accuracy and intimate consideration, the *mind's* impressions and diversity of operations—but also to examine the physical properties of matter ; carefully to observe the phenomena of nature ; and, in the train of well managed experiments (a skill in numbers, proportion, and various mathematical theory, lending its aid) to resolve these phenomena into their respective causes—and thus to see more brightly the creator's wisdom ; and observe what innumerable objects around us are, and can be made to minister to the necessities, convenience, ease and embellishment of human life.

Introduced to some general acquaintance with the system of man's rational abilities, as also, with nume-



ous objects of surrounding nature ; and led through these, in ascending gradation, up to the still-growing idea of the God of all, you will wish to employ those abilities, and bring the multiplying notices you receive, home to the purpose of exalted moral temper, and diffusively-beneficent conduct.

You will attend, therefore, to the state assigned to human nature in the scale of the universe : learn *what we are*, as to ourselves ; what relation we stand in to other beings ; the ties connecting us to our own species. You will, moreover, carefully analyze our wonderful internal composition : study the characteristic properties of the will ; weigh the influence and bearings of the passions ; see what is reason's fixed department—and *whence* the authority and sacred adjudications of conscience.

By an intelligible, clear deduction then, you will know what private habitual series of sentiment and action we should maintain ; what duties we owe to our fellow-creatures, as well in the narrower, as the expanded districts ; and what the ties invariably connecting us with the eternal Parent of the grand system. Moral obligation will be fully disclosed ; the rights of the *individual* established ; the claims of a *public* ascertained ; society contemplated in its earliest principles, and followed through its diversity of forms and combinations ; the laws that appertain to each respectively, digested, recognised, reported in detail ; and the benefits innumerable that result therefrom, most clearly illustrated. You will thus, in short, comprehend the scheme of *ethics*, and of *jurisprudence*, natural and political, as a scheme of virtue, conducting unto, and perfectly providing for, particular and general felicity.

On a plan of so much compass as that we are now concerned in, you hardly would suppose, but that our ingenious pupils, in their literary course, shall be seasonably made acquainted with, at least, a general review of past ages from the beginning—with the mightiest occurrences and interesting transactions which have distinguished them.

Connected herewith, is some competent notion as well of the whole cur-

rent or succession of times, as of the several distributions of the earth ; the various countries, people, states and kingdoms, conspicuous in the narrative of events.

In that branch of knowledge now suggested, with these its auxiliary parts, you have a chart of human nature upon the largest scale : you see its principles, its movements, its complexion, operations and tendency, in all the possible diversity of cases and situation. You can be furnished with traits of the human character in every attitude and position ; calmly reflect on the world's greatness, and its *littleness* ; deducing accordingly the maxims of discretion, and incentives to virtue. The memory becomes now stored with ample materials for subsequent improvement and application : curiosity is engaged ; the imagination polished and invigorated ; the energies of reason still increased : an amplitude of thought, and generosity of sentiment promoted. The deficiencies of personal acquaintance and experience are filled up. Men and things are seen in their proper light, and a true judgment respecting them established ; while, in an especial manner, the controuling power of the most wise and gracious Arbiter of all, is understood and illustrated.

While cultivating these parts of liberal education, we would have you gradually led on to understand and exercise the valuable art of clothing your ideas, both in writing and speaking, with correctness, elegance, and energy.

From the very first of your being initiated here, attention is given to the propriety of your articulation, style and manner. You are employed occasionally in such trials of ingenuity, as are suited immediately, and of purpose, to form and improve these ; and the professors in their departments severally, amidst the weightiest disquisitions, leave not this object out of sight.

The ancient languages, as we have observed already, have their proper excellence and use. It is with pleasure, and in *classic* taste you have been drinking, in those Pierian springs. Drink yet deeper. But remember also, you have a language of your own—a language, which, in copiousness, in

power, in perspicuity, refinement, and dignity, falls very little short (if any thing) of those of *Greece* and *Rome*. In this you should excel: here you should be striving for a masterly address and readiness; for, though you should speak in all the languages of the *east*, and have the gift of arts, and understand all mysteries and knowledge—and yet, be *stammerers*, and *halt*, and *lame* in your vernacular tongue; you will only degrade your learning, and appear, comparatively, nothing.

We would have you, through this medium, competent to the sublimest purposes of mental intercourse and communication: assisted by accumulated improvement from every quarter—to be aiming at a purity, an *original greatness*, in composition, elegance and criticism. Availing yourselves of present opportunities, furnished with materials which science and philosophy so plentifully give, and having in constant view the very best models in every species of writing—not fervilely to imitate any, but to direct your own judgment and manner by theirs—you will possess ability in all the forms of representing your conceptions, and conveying your knowledge; you will be susceptible continually of the most refined pleasures of the intellect—discriminate and enjoy in the height and purity of taste, the *marvellous*, the *beautiful*, the *brilliant*, the *solemn*, the *persuasive*, the *pathetic*, which give so enchanting a power to the several works of genius and imagination.

I have now gone through a summary detail of the liberal accomplishments, and *chief* branches of science cultivated in this institution.

You discern the place and real intent of universal languages, as facilitating the way, and setting the passage open, to the temple of wisdom.

You see *metaphysics*, and *logic*, unfolding the contexture, and investigating the faculties of the human mind; and directing its operations in the pursuit and communication of truth: *natural* and experimental philosophy, with all the retinue of admirable arts belonging therunto: *moral* philosophy, including ethics, and the laws of natural and adventitious rights; the pre-eminent science of *duty* and

*happiness*; history and chronology, exhibiting a connected view of the transactions of mankind, arranged according to coincident and succeeding divisions of time; and, in the last place, rhetoric, (though engaged in early, yet now, in consequence of increasing materials, carried to its elevated improvements,) branching forth in every admired part of oratory—in accurate and just enunciation—in purity, clearness, force and majesty of expression—in the superior excellencies of fine *writing* and *speaking*, together with a masterly *discernment* in respect to the merits of both.

Within a few days, it is expected a complete arrangement will take place, under the authority of the trustees; and several improvements will be added to the original plan of education\*. That honourable board, invariably regarding the interest of their country, and knowing how immediately connected therewith, is the full advancement of learning, do watch over this seminary with parental assiduity, and leave nothing unfinished to bring it to perfection.

We shall, I trust, in *our* departments, entirely concur with the purposes of the *wife*, and the endeavours of the *munificent*.

In conclusion, for the present—proceed, beloved youths, with alacrity and diligence unrelaxing, in the course you have begun. Let your public hours of attendance here, be graced by a courteous, manly deportment, and a distinguished application to business: let your private hours perfectly correspond therewith. Despise the “cowardice of *doing wrong*,” reverence *religion*, the glory of your nature: love your country next to your God.

#### NOTE.

\* A professorship of *history* hath been lately appointed, and likewise of the *oriental languages*. The *German* and *French* are taught in great purity. The *medical* schools, which, from the beginning, have formed a very distinguished part of this institution, are conducted by professors of the *first abilities* and *estimation*. They are attended with great success. They do signal benefit and honour to *Pennsylvania*, and indeed to *America* in general.

Enrolled among the sons of science—constituting so respectable a part of the rising hopes of *the land you live in*—patronized by so many of the *illustrious and good*—emulous of character springing from unquestionable merit—panting after virtue in the high-way of wisdom—and all long, looking for celestial inspiration to regulate and bless the whole, you will soon take your rank in the line of most estimable men and citizens—and forthwith commence for IMMORTALITY.



*Inscription of a treatise to general Washington.*

Mr. Printer,

A Few days since I was at a friend's house in this town, and while there, some books for him arrived, brought in one of the last ships from London. Among them was one, entitled, "an experimental enquiry into the properties of opium;" written by the celebrated John Leigh, M. D. of Edinburgh. The inscription struck me so forcibly, that I copied it, and if you think it worthy, I will thank you to publish it. C.

*Boston, April, 1788.*

*The inscription :*

This treatise is humbly inscribed to  
GEORGE WASHINGTON, esquire,  
a man equally revered  
by the friends and foes of his country :  
and whose character will  
be transmitted to the latest  
ages of posterity,  
for consummate conduct and courage,  
public and private virtue.  
*Edinburgh, May 15, 1786.*



*Speech of his excellency — Huntington, esq. governor of the state of Connecticut, in the convention of said state, Jan. 9, 1788.*

Mr. President,

I DO not rise to detain this convention for any length of time. The subject has been so fully discussed, that very little can be added to what has already been offered. I have heard and attended with pleasure to what has been said on it. The im-

portance of it merited a full and ample discussion. It does not give me pain, but pleasure, to hear the sentiments of those gentlemen who differ from me. It is not to be expected from human nature, that we should all have the same opinion. The best way to learn the nature and effects of different systems of government, is not from theoretical dissertations, but from experience, from what has actually taken place among mankind. From this same source, it is that mankind have obtained a more complete knowledge of the nature of government, than they had in ages past. It is an established truth, that no nation can exist without a coercive power—a power to enforce the execution of its political regulations. There is such a love of liberty implanted in the human heart, that no nation ever willingly gave up its liberty. If they lose this inestimable birth-right of men, it is not for a want of the will, but of the proper means to support it. If we look into history, we shall find that the common avenue, through which tyranny has entered in, and enslaved nations who were once free, has been their not supporting government.

The great secret of preserving liberty, is, to lodge the supreme power so as to be well supported and not abused. If this could be effected, no nation would ever lose its liberty. The history of man clearly shews, that it is dangerous to entrust the supreme power in the hands of one man. The same source of knowledge proves, that it is not only inconvenient, but dangerous to liberty. for the people of a large community to attempt to exercise in person the supreme authority. Hence arises the necessity that the people should act by their representatives; but this method, so necessary for civil liberty, is an improvement of modern times. Liberty, however, is not so well secured as it ought to be, when the supreme power is lodged in one body of representatives. There ought to be two branches of the legislature, that one may be a check upon the other. It is difficult for the people at large to know when the supreme power is verging towards abuse, and to apply the proper remedy. But if the government be properly balanced, it will possess a renovating principle,

by which it will be able to right itself. The constitution of the British nation affords us great light upon the subject of government. Learned men in other countries have admired it, tho' they thought it too fine-spun to prove beneficial in practice. But a long trial has now shewn its excellence; and the difficulties which that nation now experiences, arise not from their constitution, but from other circumstances.

The Author of nature has given mankind a certain degree of insight into futurity. As far as we can see a probability that certain events will happen, so far we do well to provide and guard. But we may attempt to go too far; it is in vain to think of providing against every possible contingency. The happiness of society depends not merely upon its constitution of government, but upon a variety of circumstances. One constitution may suit one particular nation exceedingly well: when a different one would suit another nation in different circumstances. Even among the American states there is such a difference in sentiments, habits, and customs, that a government which might be very suitable for one, might not be agreeable to the other.

I am fully of opinion, that the great council of the union must have a controuling power with respect to national concerns. There is at present an extreme want of power in the national government; and it is my opinion that this constitution does not give too much. As to the subject of representation, at the first view it appears small; but, on the whole, the purposes of the union could not be so well answered by a greater number. It is impracticable to have the number of the representatives as great, and times of election as frequent, as they are in our state governments. Nor is this necessary for the security of our liberty. It is sufficient, if the choice of our representatives be so frequent, that they must depend upon the people, and that an inseparable connection be kept up between the electors and the elected.

The state governments, I think, will not be endangered by the powers vested by this constitution in the general government. While I have at-

tended in congress, I have observed that the members were quite as strenuous advocates for the rights of the respective states, as for those of the union. I doubt not but this will continue to be the case, and hence I infer that the general government will not have the disposition to encroach upon the states. But still the people themselves must be the chief support of liberty. While the great body of freeholders are acquainted with the duties which they owe to their God, to themselves, and to men, they will remain free. But if ignorance and depravity should prevail, they will inevitably lead to slavery and ruin. Upon the whole view of this constitution, I am in favour of it, and think it bids fair to promote our national prosperity.

This is a new event in the history of mankind. Heretofore most governments have been formed by tyrants, and imposed on mankind by force. Never before did a people unite together by their representatives, and with calm deliberation frame for themselves a system of government. This noble attempt does honour to our country. While I express my sentiments in favour of this constitution I candidly believe that those gentlemen who oppose it, are actuated by principles of regard to the public welfare. If we will exercise mutual candour for each other, and sincerely endeavour to maintain our liberties, we may long continue to be a free and happy people.



*Speech of the hon. Richard Law, esq. chief justice of the supreme court of the state of Connecticut, in the convention of that state, Jan 9, 1788.*

*Mr. President,*

THE important subject before me has been examined so particularly, that I do not expect to add anything new. As we have been a long time poring upon the defective parts of the constitution, I think it will not be amiss to pay some attention to its excellencies. There is one clause in it which provides a remedy for whatever defects it may have. The clause to which I refer, is that which provides that whenever two-thirds of congress, or a convention to be cal-

at the instance of two-thirds of the states, shall propose amendments, and they be agreed to by three-fourths of the states, such amendments shall be valid, as part of the constitution. This is an easy and peaceable way of amending any parts of the constitution which may be found inconvenient in practice.

As this is a most important question, it concerns not only present but future generations, we ought to consider upon its real merits, without suffering our minds to be misled by examples of other nations, whose circumstances are very different from ours. We have been led into a mistake, comparing a part of this constitution with that of Great Britain. But this is very different from theirs. Our president is not a king, nor our senate a house of lords. They do not claim independent hereditary authority. The whole is elective; all dependent on the people. The president, the senate, the representatives, are all creatures of the people. Therefore the people will be secure from oppression. Though I admit that if our president and senate were possessed of independent hereditary authority, the democratical branch would be too weak for the others.

Some suppose that the general government, which extends over the whole, will annihilate the state governments. But consider that this general government rests upon the state governments for its support. It is like a vast and magnificent bridge, built upon thirteen strong and stately pillars; and the rulers who occupy the bridge, must not be so belied themselves as to lock away the pillars which support the whole fabric. But, some say, a government like this, has not energy enough to pervade a country of such vast extent. We are not satisfied with this assertion. We want to try the experiment. A free system of government is now presented to our acceptance. We shall be wanting to ourselves, if, instead of adopting it, we wait for the arm of tyranny to impose upon us a system of despotism. The finger of Providence is evident to be seen in the political affairs of our country. The old articles of confederation were once the best that we could have been willing to adopt.

We have been led on by imperceptible degrees to see that they are defective; and now if it be the design of Providence to make us a great and happy people, I believe that he who turns the hearts of the children of men, as the rivers of water are turned, will induce the people of the united states to accept of a constitution which is well calculated to promote their national welfare.



*Speech of the hon. Oliver Wolcott, esq. lieutenant governor of the state of Connecticut, in the convention of said state, Jan. 9, 1788.*

*Mr. President,*

I Do not expect to throw any new light on a subject which has been so fully discussed. Yet I cannot content myself without giving my opinion more explicitly than by a silent vote. It is generally agreed that the present confederation is inadequate to the exigencies of our national affairs. We must therefore adopt this plan of government, or some other, or risk the consequences of disunion. As the present articles of confederation are inadequate, we ought to consider whether this constitution be as good as can be agreed on by so many different states, or whether it be a dangerous system: whether it secures the liberties of the people, or whether its tendency be unfavourable to the rights of a free people. I have given it all the consideration in my power, and I have a considerable time made up my mind on the subject, and think it my duty to give my voice in favour of adopting it. It is founded upon the election of the people. If it varies from the former system, or if it is to be altered hereafter, it must be with the consent of the people. This is all the security in favour of liberty that can be expected. Mankind may become corrupt, and give up the cause of freedom: but I believe that love of liberty which prevails among the people of this country will prevent such a direful calamity.

The constitution effectually secures the states in their several rights. It must secure them for its own sake; for they are the pillars which uphold the general system. The senate, a con-

fluent branch of the general legislature, without whose assent no public act can be made, are appointed by the states, and will secure the rights of the several states. The other branch of the legislature, the representatives, are to be elected by the people at large. They will therefore be the guardians of the rights of the great body of the citizens. So well guarded is this constitution throughout, that it seems impossible that the rights either of the states or of the people should be destroyed.

I do not see the necessity of such a test as some gentlemen wish for. The constitution enjoins an oath upon all the officers of the united states. This is a direct appeal to that God who is the avenger of perjury. Such an appeal to him is a full acknowledgment of his being and providence. An acknowledgment of these great truths is all that the gentlemen contend for. For myself, I should be content either with or without that clause in the constitution which excludes test-laws. Knowledge and liberty are so prevalent in this country, that I do not believe that the united states would ever be disposed to establish one religious sect, and lay all others under legal disabilities. But as we know not what may take place hereafter, and any such test would be exceedingly injurious to the rights of free citizens, I cannot think it altogether superfluous to have added a clause, which secures us from the possibility of such oppression. I shall only add, that I give my assent to this constitution, and am happy to see the states in a fair way to adopt a constitution, which will protect their rights and promote their welfare.



*Speech of mr. Dollard, in the convention of South Carolina, May 23, 1783.*

*Mr. President,*

**I**RISE with the greatest diffidence to speak on this occasion, not only knowing myself unequal to the task, but believing this to be the most important question that ever the good people of this state were called together to deliberate upon. This constitution has been ably supported, and

ingeniously glossed over by many able and respectable gentlemen in this house whose reasoning, aided by the most accurate eloquence, might strike conviction even in the pre-determined breast, had they a good cause to support. Conscious that they have not and also conscious of my inequalities, point out the consequences of its defects, which have in some measure been defined by able gentlemen in this house, I shall therefore confine myself within narrow bounds, that is, concisely to make known the sense and language of my constituents. The people of prince Frederick's parish whom I have the honour to represent are a brave, honest, and industrious people. In the late bloody contest they bore a conspicuous part, where they fought, bled, and conquered, defence of their civil rights and privileges, which they expected to transmit untainted to their posterity. They are nearly to a man opposed to the new constitution, because, they say they have omitted to insert a bill of rights therein, ascertaining and fundamentally establishing the unalienable rights of men, without full, free, and secure enjoyment, which there can be no liberty, and never which it is not necessary that good government should have at command. They say, that they are by no means against vesting congress with ample and sufficient powers; but make over to them or any set of men their birthright, comprised in magna charta, which this new constitution absolutely does, they can never agree to. Notwithstanding this, they have the highest opinion of the virtue and abilities of the honourable gentlemen from this state, who represented us at the general convention; and also of a few other distinguished characters whose names will be transmitted with honour to future ages; but I believe at the same time, they are but mortal and therefore liable to err; and the virtue and abilities of those gentlemen will consequently recommend their being first employed in jointly conducting the reins of this government, they are led to believe it will commence in a moderate aristocracy but that it will in its future operation produce a monarchy, or a corrupt and oppressive aristocracy, they have

anner of doubt. Lust of dominion natural in every soul, and the love of power and superiority is as prevailing in the united states at present, as in any part of the earth; yet in this country, depraved as it is, there still remains a strong regard for liberty: an American bosom is apt to glow at the sound of it, and the splendid merit of deserving that best gift of God, which is mostly expelled every country in Europe, might stimulate indolence, and animate even luxury herself to consecrate \* at the altar of freedom. My constituents are highly alarmed at the large and rapid strides which this new government has taken towards despotism. They say it is big with political mischiefs, and pregnant with a greater variety of impending woes to the good people of the southern states, especially South Carolina, than all the plagues supposed to issue from the poisonous box of Pandora. They say it is particularly calculated for the meridian of despotic aristocracy—that it evidently tends to promote the ambitious views of a few able and designing men, and to enslave the rest—that it carries with it the appearance of an old phrase, formerly made use of in despotic reigns, and especially by archbishop Laud in the reign of Charles I. that is, “non-resistance.” They say they will resist it—that they will not accept of it unless by force of arms, which the new constitution plainly threatens—and then, they say, your standing army, like Turkish Janissaries enforcing despotic laws, must ram it down their throats with the points of bayonets. They warn the gentlemen of this convention, as the guardians of their liberty, to beware how they will be accessory to the disposal of, or rather sacrificing their dear bought rights and privileges. This is the sense and language, Mr. President, of the people; and it is an old saying, and I believe, a very true one, that the general voice of the people is the voice of God. The general voice of the people, to whom I am responsible, is against it. I shall never betray the trust reposed in me by them; therefore shall give it my hearty dissent.

NOTE.

\* This passage appears erroneous.—C.

*Speech of Mr. Tweed, delivered in the convention of South Carolina, on the same day as the preceding one.*

SINCE I came to town, I have more than once heard it asserted, that the representatives of the parish of prince Frederic were, prior to their election, put under promise to their constituents, that they should by no means give their sanction to the adoption of the new constitution: any such restriction, sir, on my own part, I deny; had they taken upon them so far to dictate for me, I should have spurned at the idea, and treated such propostals with that contempt they would have justly merited; and I am clearly of opinion, and I think warranted so to say, that these are the sentiments and situation of (at least) some others of my colleagues. Notwithstanding, sir, from all I have heard or can learn, the general voice of the people is against it. For my own part, Mr. President, I came not here to echo the voice of my constituents, nor determinately to approve or put a negative upon the constitution proposed; I came with a mind open to conviction, in order to hear what in the course of the debates of this house, might be said for and against it. Much—very much, sir—has been advanced on both sides. The matter in hand I look upon to be the most important and momentous that ever came before the representatives of the people of South Carolina. We were told, sir, some days ago, by a learned and honourable gentleman, now on the floor, that as our case at present stood, we must adopt the constitution proposed; for, if we did not, in all probability some powerful despot might start up and seize the reins of government. Another learned and honourable gentleman on my left hand, said, we must look up to it as the rock of our salvation. To make short, sir, *necessitas non habet legem* was the word.

Those gentlemen, Mr. President, and some others, members of this respectable convention, whose profound oratory and elocution would, on the journals of a British house of commons, stand as lasting monuments of their great abilities—a man of my circumscribed scale of talents is not adequate to the task of contending with, not have I a turn for embellish-

ing my language, or bedecking it with all the flowers of rhetoric. In a word, mr. President, my idea of the matter now under our consideration is, that we very much stand in need of a reform of government, as the very sinews of our present constitution are relaxed. But, sir, I would fondly hope, that our case is not so very bad as represented : are we invaded by a foreign enemy ? Or, are the bowels of our country torn to pieces by insurrections and intestine broils ? I answer, no.

Sir, admit but this, and then allow me to ask, if history furnishes us with a single instance of any nation, state, or people, who had it more in their power than we at present have, to frame for ourselves a perfect, permanent, free, and happy constitution. The constitution, sir, now under consideration, was framed (I shall say) by the wisdom of a general convention of the united states ; it now lies before us to await our concurrence or disapprobation. We, sir, as citizens and freemen, have an undoubted right of judging for ourselves ; it therefore behoves us, most seriously to consider, before we determine a matter of such vast magnitude. We are not acting for ourselves alone, but, to all appearance, for generations yet unborn.



*Speech of mr. G. Livingston, delivered in the convention of the state of New York, previous to putting the question for ratifying the new constitution.*

*Mr. President,*

**I** Hope for the indulgence from this honourable house, that I may briefly state the reasons which actuate me, for taking the part I do in the business before us. The great and final question on the constitution is now to be taken. Permit me, sir, again to say, that I have had a severe struggle in my mind, between duty and prejudice.

I entered this house, as fully determined on previous amendments (I sincerely believe) as any one member in it. Nothing, sir, but a conviction that I am serving the most essential interest of my country, could ever induce me to take another ground, and differ from so many of my friends on

this floor. I think, sir, I am, in this pursuing the object I had at first in view—the real good of my country. With respect to the constitution itself, I have the same idea of it I ever had : that is, that there is no safe under it, unless amended. Some time after we first met, sir, a majority of those in this house who oppose it, determined not to reject it. Only one question then remained—which was the most eligible mode to insure a general convention of the states, to reconsider it, in order to have the essential amendments ingrafted into it ?

I do not mean here to go into the reasons which have repeatedly been urged on this head—but only to say that on the most mature and deliberate reflection on this momentous occasion, the result of my judgment, that the adoption on the table, of the bill of rights and amendments contained in it, and the circular letter to the different states accompanying it, are, considering our present situation with respect to our sister states, the wisest and best measure, we can possibly pursue. I shall therefore vote for it.

As an American, I am proud of my country—as a whig, I love it, and feel the duty of guarding its rights and freedom to the utmost of my power—and, sir considering my situation in this house, as a representative of a respectable county, I feel the weight of duty increasing in a redoubled proportion.

Sir, I know I was elected a member of this convention, from a confidence the people had in my integrity. And, sir, I trust, I am at this instant giving them an unquestionable evidence of it. The people of the county I have the honour to represent are, in general, thinking and sensible—and I have not the least doubt, but that they soon will, if they at present do not, see the propriety of the measure here pursued.

But, sir, I would beg leave to mention another consideration, of a nature infinitely superior to any thing which possibly can be put in competition with it, as a motive of action—an approving conscience, and an approving God. I must hereafter stand at a bar, where, if the most trifling conduct must be accounted for (and which



fully believe) surely this most important transaction of my life will be particularly scrutinized. To that awful Being—who will there preside, —I would, with due submission and humility, appeal for the rectitude of my intentions. I hope, sir, the house will pardon me, for having been so personal in this address; I owe it, sir, to them, as well as to myself; especially to a part of one side of the house, who, I have no doubt, are actuated by the purest motives, and are equally conscientious with myself on this occasion, and with whom, and every friend to his country, I will readily persevere, in every possible means to procure this desirable object, revision of the constitution.

For consistency in conduct, to this honourable house, to my constituents, and to my country, on this occasion, with the utmost cheerfulness do I submit myself.



*Speech of an American quaker on African slavery, delivered about the commencement of the late contest.*

**H**OW long then shall we have two consciences, two measures, two scales! one in our own favour, one for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment, that the parliament of England wishes to enslave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of subjects, without leaving us the rights of citizens; while for this century past, we have been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery, men who are our equals and our brethren? What have those unhappy men done to us, whom nature had separated from us by barriers so formidable, whom our avarice has sought after through storms and wrecks, and brought away from the midst of their burning sands, or from their dark forests inhabited by tigers? What crime have they been guilty of, that they should be torn from a country which fed them without toil, and that they should be transplanted by us to a land where they perish under the labours of servitude? Father of heaven! what family hast thou then created, in which the elder born, after having seized on the property of their brethren, are still resolved to compel

them, with stripes, to manure with the blood of their veins and the sweat of their brows that very inheritance of which they have been robbed? Deploable race, whom we render brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we extinguish every power of the soul, to load their limbs and their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the image of God, and the stamp of manhood! A race mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of mind and body, throughout its existence, by us who are christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye people favoured by heaven, and respected on the seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the same instant? No, brethren! it is time we should be consistent with ourselves. Let us set free those miserable victims of our pride: Let us restore the negroes to that liberty, which man should never take from man. May all christian societies be induced, by our example, to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes and plunders of two centuries! May men, too long degraded, at length raise to heaven their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of gratitude! Alas! these unhappy mortals have hitherto shed no tears but those of despair.



*British state of politics, for May, 1788; with remarks thereon, by a French gentleman, of distinction, at New York.*

**D**URING a profound peace among the maritime powers, Great Britain never enjoyed more consequence in the scale of nations than at the present moment. Though lately divested of territorial possessions, the most extensive ever known, since the fall of the ancient monarchies, she maintains her native grandeur with a dignity which commands universal admiration. By the united states of America she is still regarded as the power whose friendship is most favourable to their prosperity. In Europe, her alliance, her commercial intercourse, or her political mediation, are courted by the sovereigns of every climate. In Asia, the glory of her empire surpasses whatever was before conceived of acquired dominion. And, that no part of the world may be exempted from her auspicious influence,

she is now making a magnanimous effort for extending to the inhabitants of Africa the blessings of liberty and peace. Our commercial treaty with France appears to operate in a manner the most advantageous to British subjects; while with the Dutch, at length happily recovered from their late infatuation, we have concluded a new alliance, which promises to be more effectual and permanent than the former.

Such at present is the state of the nation with respect to foreign countries. The prospect of our domestic affairs is not less agreeable to the eye of a political observer. The national finances, since the commencement of the public debt, were never in a more prosperous condition; and, from additional improvements, proposed in the collection of the revenue, there is the strongest reason to expect that they will be brought, in a short time, to a state of yet greater perfection. New canals, in various quarters, have been for years increasing the internal trade of the British inhabitants; waste lands are daily submitting to the cultivation of industry; and the great augmentation of buildings, both in town and country, affords an undeniable proof, that the number and wealth of the people are in a flourishing progression. In Scotland, the spirit of commercial enterprize diffuses with that of liberty; and the Irish experience a degree of prosperity, unknown to their ancestors, from their late political emancipation.

*Mr. Hastings.*

The trial of Mr. Hastings proceeds apace; and, should it be productive of no other effect, affords an opportunity, which happens not often, of displaying the dignity of the PATRICIANS of Great Britain, when assembled on important occasions, in their judicial capacity. It is, however, a singular circumstance, that an impeachment preferred by the house of commons, should be regarded by the nation with an almost total unconcern for the success of the prosecution, and even with sentiments of general attachment to the person and character of the accused; a strong proof, that British generosity is superior to every prejudice which might affect the distribution of

justice, or derogate from the claims of honest fame.

*France.*

The present situation of France a contrast to that of Great Britain. Her political importance astonishingly reduced, the intrigues of her court frustrated, and even her national faith openly violated, she is obliged to be an unwilling spectator of the renewal of ancient enmity between England and the united provinces, as well as of the most unprovoked confederacy ever formed for the destruction of her Ottoman ally. Lulled in the soft fetters of a temporary matrimonial alliance she either seems not to suspect the danger which must result from success attending the imperial operations, or the sacrifices both her political and commercial interests to a precarious tranquility, enjoyed at present without satisfaction, and which will be repaid, at a future period, by the reviving animosity of her aggrandized and inveterate rival. France is not less distracted in her views abroad, than unhappy in her domestic situation. Her finances are deranged to such a degree, that even the greatest retrenchments practicable cannot immediately restore them to a state of prosperity. Her commerce, upon the whole, at least with Great Britain seems to be maintained more by importation than export; and by an incompatible policy, while she is grasping with eagerness at commercial advantages to her subjects, she is struggling for despotism. The flame of revolt, which she fostered in America recoils on the vitals of France; and tho' smothered for a time, by the habits of popular subjection, it will yet break forth with irresistible rage, and in the end, extinguish her monarchy.

*Confederacy of the imperial crowns.*

This is one of the most formidable confederacies recorded in the annals of human kind; and what renders it the more remarkable, it seems to have been framed upon no principle of national justice or security, but with the resolution, almost openly avowed, of extirpating an established, and to them an inoffensive potentate from the political system of Europe. These powerful confede-

ates, though differing in sex and character, are congenial at least in the sentiments of exorbitant ambition. The Russian, with a masculine vigour of mind, has alternately sullied and adorned, by her vices and her virtues, the throne of her barbarian predecessors; while the Austrian, less bold and firm in his conduct, but untainted with the weakness of superstition, has hitherto chiefly confined his political enterprises to dilapidations of the church. The imperial associates have at length commenced their operations; but, as yet, without much success.— Their force, though inferior in point of numbers to the army of Xerxes, infinitely exceeds it in vigour and discipline; nor can it be much reduced by desertion in a country so remote from their own, and among a people equally barbarous and hostile. But the political alliance of Russians and Austrians cannot boast the unanimity of the Persian multitude; and, should dissension once find its way into the confederate camps, adieu to all the flattering hopes of victory, conquest, and renown. Their enemies, it must be admitted, are not inspired with that ardent spirit of liberty which actuated the Grecian republics of old against the Persian invader; but they are animated, in battle, with an enthusiasm unknown to the troops of other nations. The union of the two potentates is an alliance of interests, not of affection or esteem; and, independently of the numerous accidents by which the success of their enterprise may be affected, it will be found no easy task to conduct the operations of an offensive war upon any determinate plan that will suit alike the extreme avidity of both parties. Without sufficiently alarming, they have excited the attention of all Europe by their military preparations, and may at last provoke its derision.

#### *Prussia.*

The new sovereign of Prussia seems ambitious to emulate, in the department of state, the plans of his great predecessor; and that he is not destitute of spirit, vigour, and enterprise, the world has lately, in the settlement of Holland, beheld an unequivocal proof. So far as yet appears, he has threatened no obstruction to the mea-

sures of the imperial allies: but we are not thence to conclude that he is really uninterested in the contingent result of their expedition. It would be unreasonable to suppose, that, with an example before his eyes so recent as the affair of Bavaria, he should not apprehend more pernicious effects from a far greater accession of territory to the Austrian dominions, though situated beyond the bounds of the empire. We may be assured that he watches the issue of the imperial operations with a degree of solicitude inseparable from the jealousy and prudent circumspection of a wise king. But he is connected with the Porte by no ties of commercial interest to excite his immediate interposition; and the emperor may be attacked with greater success when his army has been weakened, and his resources exhausted by some exertion, than in the outset of the war, and in the heat of the alliance, when he would be assisted with all the vengeance of an implacable empress, counteracted in the prosecution of a favourite project, and disappointed in sanguine expectations.

#### *Spain.*

This once powerful kingdom was for ages the terror of Europe, and aspired to be the arbitress of nations. By a series of fortunate events, and an ambition peculiarly restless, she rose, in the sixteenth century, to an almost unexampled pitch of grandeur, until, intoxicated with success, and reversing every maxim of policy, she hastened the decline of a constitution, which, in the days of its vigour, ransacked both land and sea in the pursuit of dominions and riches; of dominions which proved pernicious by their great extent, and of riches yet more fatal, as productive of national poverty. Such is now the condition of Spain, that she may view with a jealous but scarcely can with a vindictive eye, the military enterprises of other European powers. There seems however to be a mystery in her present naval preparations, if not misrepresented, which requires a little time to unfold. The equipment of seventeen or eighteen sail of the line is a force beyond all proportion to any danger which can be threatened by the depredations of Barbary corsairs.

If it is intended to dispute with the Russian fleet the entrance of the Mediterranean, a positive remonstrance to that purpose might have precluded the necessity of the armament, and must, according to the practice of all civilized nations, be an indispensable prelude to its exertion.

*The other powers of Europe.*

These are all the nations which at present make any prominent figure in the politics of Europe; with respect to the others which merit any attention, it will be sufficient to give them a place in the back ground of our picture.

Portugal, notwithstanding her vicinity to Spain, continues to enjoy, through the jealousy of other powers, that tolerated independence which she could neither assert by her own native strength, nor the talents of the house of Braganza. The king of the two Sicilies displays monarchical splendour in the pleasures of Campanian luxury. Sardinia sits secure in the fastnesses which nature has planted around him. Holland, which had long been in a state of stagnation, resumes her commercial activity. And Sweden and Denmark, once distinguished planets, are now content to act, occasionally, as dependent satellites to the more luminous powers that move in the political hemisphere.

*Scotch reform.*

The moderate claims of freedom made by the burgesses of Scotland are, we understand, to be immediately submitted to the wisdom and justice of parliament. On the probable fate of their application it would be presumptuous in us to decide. But their moderation, their spirit, and perseverance, in so good a cause, we cannot but commend; and they ought to derive hope and confidence from the reflection that they are now to present their appeal before a tribunal whose penetration, directed to the real nature and effect of the systems complained of, will not suffer itself to be misled by the partial and illusive representations of interested men, or by the gloss of the name of ancient constitution, with which it is attempted to preserve and sanctify slavery, abuse, and corruption in borough government.

*Remarks on the preceding British state of politics; by a French gentleman of distinction, at New York*

THE RE was never a period, at which the preservation of peace was more necessary to Great Britain than after a war, during which her political existence has been in the greatest danger: and her public debts have increased to a degree, which expose her even in time of the most profound peace, to all the dangers which may result from the uncertainty of a credit, which is founded on very sick ground. It will require a considerable time before she can, if ever she may be able to acquire the same consequence in the scale of nations, which, by different favourable circumstances, she has preserved during the greatest part of the present century.

The glorious emancipation of her most valuable colonies, which are become independent states, has created a diversity of interests between them which makes a strong connection with the united states with Great-Britain utterly impracticable, unless they submit to such conditions as would be equivalent to a new sort of dependence on a nation, which never contracted commercial connexions with any other, but such as could turn only to her own benefit. Such she has been happy enough to form even with France, but was not able to renew with Russia, who does not choose to buy at that rate, the alliance which England has always before courted. So that, except the united provinces who follow blindly the dictates of their first magistrate, acting now as their ruler, Great Britain cannot be said to have a real ally in Europe, at the present moment. Her greatest importance depends on the possession of the valuable territories which she has acquired in Asia, but which are always in danger of being lost or reduced, by the continual attacks of the neighbouring natives, who have acquired a length the arts of war and politics in a degree which must at length produce the thorough expulsion of all the Europeans from India, where none will be a loser by that event, except the English, who, by being reduced, like other nations, to the condition of appearing there as merchants, will be

bled to engross the whole trade of the country. Nor will her possessions in Africa be of any importance, as long as the slave-trade will be abolished. Though too many praises cannot be bestowed on the abolition of that human trade, it is nevertheless true, that it is almost the only profitable branch of trade with Africa; as, by the little industry of its inhabitants, it is scarcely able to raise any other considerable staple commodity. By this prospect abroad, the advantages, which Great Britain enjoys out of her dominions, seem really to be, what they are, of the most precarious nature. The prospect of her domestic affairs will be found to have hardly a more favourable appearance. All the branches of public revenue depend so materially on the success of her trade and her manufactures, that the least injury suffered by these, must quickly and dangerously affect the revenue collected by excise and customs. Even without the inconvenience of war, they must naturally decrease by the continual efforts of every nation to carry on their own trade, and to give the greatest encouragement to the extension of manufactures amongst themselves. So that it is most likely the finances of Great Britain will rather diminish every year, than be brought to a state of greater perfection. The number of new buildings in the large towns are multiplied at the expence of the country, whose poor inhabitants abandon their lands to a few rich proprietors, that they may take a refuge in the towns, or seek for their subsistence by migrating to a new and better country. So that the depopulation of Great Britain will increase every year more and more, as it will be more difficult for common people to subsist in the country, which requires advances beyond their capacity. In Scotland, few trading and manufacturing towns will absorb the riches of the whole, except the possessions of some nobles, who are obliged to take an interest in the bank and the trading societies of Scotland, that they may maintain themselves in their ancient seats, from the vicinity of which the vassals have long since begun to fly for a shelter against misery. Such will be the case in Ireland, as soon as the lesser number will have acquired sufficient wealth.

at the expence of England, in many respects less favoured for trade, than a sister kingdom, whom she has so long kept under the most oppressive restraints.

#### *Trial of mr. Hastings.*

The trial of mr. Hastings displays to the world the efforts of a disappointed faction, who, having lost the possession of government, endeavour to ruin a man protected by their successors, and who has acquired to Great Britain possessions so valuable, that every denomination of men endeavour to turn them to their peculiar advantage. Such was the scheme of the prosecutors of mr. Hastings, during their administration. To that consideration must be attributed the unconcern for the success of a prosecution, whose motives are mistaken by nobody. If British generosity did exist in the degree to which it is extolled, the best proof which could be given of it, would be to resign the possession of a country acquired by the long perpetration of criminal measures, which must be imputed, not to a Clive, not to a Hastings, but to the whole British nation, which enjoys the fruit of the operations of her officers. That would not only be an act of generosity, but of real justice, whose appearance does not exist in a prosecution carried on by a particular faction, and which would be a mock shew, and almost an insult to oppressed India, if it was the operation of a nation glutted with her blood and treasures.

#### *France.*

The apparent intricacies of France, if that power should give apprehensions to Great Britain, would not be a sufficient motive of security. Employed in repairing the successive abuses in her finances which she did not perceive, because their effects were not yet strongly felt, she avoids, wisely, to interfere in concerns abroad, which do not materially affect her. After having endeavoured to restore peace within a neighbouring country, in concert with other powers, who had solicited her joint mediation, with promise and express declaration not to act otherwise, she avoided to involve with her Europe, and the other parts of the world, in a general war, for the sake of a nation, whom her chief magistrate had not hesitated to bring

under his yoke, by alliances directly opposite to her interests, and which render her entirely subservient to Great Britain, whose object it has ever been to reduce her as low as possible. Such an alliance may be considered as merely nominal, and France may recover her importance in the united provinces, as soon as circumstances require it; and the easier, as she will appear the deliverer of *all* the united provinces, who have been overcome much more by their disunion and internal jealousies, than by the want of faith of a neighbouring king, who, induced by attachment to his sister, suddenly ordered his troops to march into the united provinces, in the very moment that he feigned to combine with France in the most salutary measures to restore peace amongst them, without affecting either party. Before that event, she had avoided to interfere too far in their domestic concerns, to the arrangement of which she was never called, but by *one* province, whereas the *whole confederation*, for fear of greater mischief, desired her not to oppose the measures which their oppressor had adopted against them. In that situation, it is more than probable that the united provinces must eagerly wish for an opportunity which may authorise France to break the yoke which the deluded king of Prussia has imposed on them, rather than Great Britain, who has intervened in that transaction only by spreading part of her treasure amongst the domestic enemies of those unfortunate provinces, that they might be able to foment the wounds which the stadtholder had brought on him by his blind affection to Great Britain, for the sake of family concerns with the sovereign of that kingdom.

#### *Russia.*

Her mediation had been more sincerely courted by the empress of Russia, to prevent a most cruel war against an enemy, who, though an ancient ally to France, could not be brought to hearken to terms which did not agree with the impulse of her passions. Amidst the preparations and operations of that war, France has not intermitted her good offices, and acts constantly as a nation ought, that sees three powers at war, with which she is connected by treaties,

previous thereto. It will be time to alter her measures, according to the course which the operations of war may take, whose event is not so easy to be foreseen as was imagined. Her chief aim has been to preserve peace, and Great Britain herself is happy to have been involved in measures which might hurt it. As the belligerent powers will certainly be enfeebled by that war, France will be able, by restoring, as she does, her finances, and strengthening her armies, at land and sea, to take measures which she will think the most advisable, and that without the loss of controul from Great Britain, she will not be tempted to interpose in that affair, as she has done in the case of the united provinces, where she made a great shew, while another nation did all the business.

#### *Finances of France.*

The general system of finances has been turned in such a way, that France will, in a very short period, be elevated to that pitch of power, which, while it is but imaginary, was able to alarm and combine against her all Europe, while she was able to resist alone during twelve years. Her commerce, which succeeds depends much more upon internal than external regulations, will receive the greatest extent, by the measures which will be taken by an administering body, created expressly for that purpose, and which will at the same time provide against any future surprise, which might be made by foreign nations. The liberty given to the provincial assemblies, to administer many local branches of revenue, and to address government in all matters respecting taxation and commerce, will operate in such a manner as to produce all the blessings of liberty without the abuses of it. Some ambitious or misguided spirits, by clamouring and misrepresenting the internal views of the king, have drawn on themselves alone the effects of authority; which is most properly administered when employed to suppress measures that would tend not to amend but to alter government. Concessions freely made by the king, and patriotism on the part of the nation, will make the monarchy such as is necessary to be loved by good citizens, revered by friends abroad, and dreaded

awed or concealed enemies. A generous nation, who nobly assisted the oppressed Americans, and favoured the cause of humanity, is not able to oppose a parental administration, nor turn blindly against herself, arms, destined to assist her friends, and to repel hostile attacks against herself.

#### *Confederacy of the imperial crowns.*

The confederacy of the two imperial crowns of Europe against the Turks, may perhaps not be so formidable as it appears. The Turks have, in all probability, considered these enemies as absolutely irresistible, as they determinately excited the Russians, whose alliance with the Prussians they were perfectly acquainted with. This is presumable, likewise, from the step which the empress of Russia took at the first attack of the Turks. That was, to have recourse to the mediation of France, which necessarily proved successful by the exorbitant pretensions of the Turks. None of the other powers of Europe have a sufficient interest in the matter, to take an active part in the war. The event of it must be looked on as very doubtful, be it as it may, they will certainly gain a real advantage over the belligerent powers, if they employ in wise external measures of administration, the time and resources which the others waste in waging a most destructive war. Should one side be victorious, one of the most immediate consequences would be a revolution in the trade of India; which might be easily brought into different channels from those which it takes now, and affect essentially the British interest in India.

#### *King of Prussia.*

The new sovereign of Prussia, so far from emulating his great predecessor, has altered many of the measures which the late king of Prussia had used and maintained the glory of his kingdom. That misplaced spirit of honour displayed in the settlement of the affairs of Holland, has shewn to the world how ill he understands his real interests, and how little he may be trusted to, after the repeated positive declarations and assurances which he had given to the king of France, not to employ any decisive measures except with his consent. If he may be looked on as an affection-

ate brother, ready to resent even exaggerated and misrepresented injuries offered to his sister, he has evinced, at the same time, how easily he might be carried away by ambitious counsellors, into measures entirely contrary to his real interests as a sovereign, and repugnant to a prince jealous of keeping his word. He is happy, at the same time, that the provocation of the Turks against the Russians, has involved the emperor in a war, who might have proved a very troublesome neighbour to him, if he had employed all his forces for the recovery of Silesia, at a time when the king of Prussia could expect neither the assistance nor the mediation of France, whom he had so imprudently and so indecently abused. If he does not endeavour to repair that offence, he will most likely be reduced with time, to the precarious dependence on the subsidies of England, to whom he is not a natural ally, except the interests of the elector of Hanover, should be blended with those of the king of Great Britain. Under that view, the king of Prussia may be considered rather as a burden than a valuable weight in the scale of British politics.

#### *Spain.*

Spain, after having recovered from the disasters brought on her by two ambitious and three weak kings of the house of Austria, has increased her trade, opened new sources of wealth independent of the mines of Mexico and Peru, and, by the advantages which she obtained at the peace of 1783, has proved that as an ally, and an enemy, she may render herself very respectable. Her navy is brought to such perfection, that she was able to make an immediate offer of fifty-eight ships of the line to France, at a time when Great Britain had thought to take her unprepared, and tried to bring her, by her maritime preparations, to measures which could not be adopted by a power able and willing to maintain her dignity and interests. The wisdom of France, which rendered useless those rash measures of the British ministry, that had nearly brought on a general war, dispensed her from making use of the offer of her ally, and she entertains a grateful sense of such an act of friendly generosity, which has

shewn to the world, that by acting strenuously in favour of her ally, she had reasons to depend on her in the time of exigency.

*Powers of an inferior rank.*

These are, in fact, the principal powers of Europe; but several of an inferior rank may deserve some attention, if we recollect, that, during the American war, a single Swedish frigate insured, at the sight of a British squadron, to a convoy of forty sail, a protection which could not be obtained by the Dutch, in the time that they were reckoned among the few allies that Great Britain had preserved. Most of the inferior powers of Europe being joined with France, and guided by her, may add a considerable weight to her natural consequence. Portugal has long since taken some steps towards her independency from Great Britain, by whom that kingdom had been rendered entirely subservient to her views. France has no interest at all to weaken any other power; whereas Great Britain has adopted and follows the system of engrossing almost all the trade of other nations, by which she must rather excite jealousy than confidence. She might have been rendered more wise by the ill success of her pretuming views towards the extension of her commerce, which were the first source of the discontents of her colonies, and which have newly brought on the miscarriage of the intended treaty with Russia.

*Scotch Reform.*

The extension of freedom in Scotland may produce a very contrary effect to what is expected, if the disaffected proprietors of these lands give up the care which they were used to give to bodies of people, who were looked on and treated as the first fund of opulence; by which emigrations out of Scotland may be extended to a degree, which will be the more felt, as England will be deprived of a wonted resource to make up for a deficiency of population within herself.

So far it has been thought necessary to examine the British state of politics newly published, that it might not be esteemed really so brilliant as may appear by removing from sight some real inconveniencies, and exaggerating or misrepresenting the situation of other powers.

*Remarks on British paragonical puffs.*

THE English prints continually holding out to the world, a very prosperous and flourishing situation of *their* commerce, and the great strength of *their* navy, puts me in mind of a debtor on the brink of bankruptcy \*, blabbing away the scarcity of his stock, the goodness of *his* friends, the credit he supports in trade, and the great profits he is yearly making. The same prints, now and then, not only seem to make the British rejoice at their present prosperous situation, but add, how happy the nation is at present, by having the united states of America separated from them; as they now are rid of the expense and necessity of governing that country!—A happy thought, to be sure; but yet strange, that the British nation, who value themselves (above the rest of the world) for their wisdom and knowledge of these things, should not have been able to discover this great secret without the experiment they made by prosecuting a carrying on the late war against a cruelty unknown to civilized nations in this age, and to continue in ignorance until it had cost them upwards of one hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling. I therefore beg leave to say, *much good may them with this prosperity and happiness of theirs.* And as many of our friends of that country (now among us) fondly support the idea of our prosperity, &c. of Great Britain, account of their having got rid of giving us protection, and governing the states, and seem to think their happiness would be increased, were they to say to the inhabitants of the islands the West Indies, *you shall be free and independent, like the united states* and we will no longer protect nor govern you, I wonder they still continue to disregard their own prosperity so not to offer it those people; and when their hands are in, to do the like to Canada, Nova Scarcity, and Newfoundland, lest this separation at a

NOTE.

\* The national debt of England at present is said to be upwards of two hundred and eighty millions pounds sterling.



ture time (like the former) should cost the British nation upwards of an hundred and forty millions sterling.

M. H.



*Address to the printers of newspapers throughout the united states: written by Tench Coxe, esq.*

**T**HE liberty of the press is at all times interesting to the citizens of a free government, and is particularly so at this time, when the preservation of its rights, forms a part of the interesting objects of a most critical juncture. Dangers of very opposite natures are said to compass it on every side. While some of the opposers of the new constitution require, that a declaration on the subject should be introduced among the articles of a federal compact, some, equally ardent friends of liberty, tremble for the dangers with which this inestimable instrument of freedom is threatened from itself. At a moment thus embarrassing, permit a sincere friend of your liberal art, to suggest a few hints for your reflexion.

As your judgment will sometimes be erroneous, you may give to the public, pieces, the tendency of which you may not at first have perceived. The act of publication throws all their consequences upon you, unless you are possessed of the name of the author. Consider, then, whether it will not be proper to make that piece of information an indispensable requisite. The man of just and honourable intentions will not fear to commit his name to a firm and independent printer; but a writer, of sinister designs, the dark literary assassin, the scribbling incendiary, or the baneful disturber of the public peace, though he knows the the just pen, however bold, will ever be encouraged and defended by you, will not acknowledge himself to a single man the author of his malevolent or pernicious publications.

As the authority of just and lawful government is too often placed in the hands of folly, ignorance, and passion, you must expect some of those conflicts with power, which free and impartial printers cannot always avoid. On all occasions, it is necessary that you be cool and firm; but in these trying situations a most dignified de-

portment must be preserved. Before you commit yourself too far, you should, by means of the best advice, and the most careful consideration of the case, determine on the conduct you are to observe; and, having done so, on good grounds, you should equally disregard the mistaken censures and rage of your fellow citizens, and the vengeance of those, who, by holding the powers of government, are, for a time, your superiors.

You are to consider whether freedom of publication, extending to blasphemy, immorality, treason, sedition, malice, or scandal, does not destroy the inestimable benefits which result from the liberty of the press. This privilege is certainly essential to the existence of a free government; but it consists in avoiding to impose any previous restraints on publication, and not in refraining to censure or punish such things, as produce private or public injuries. Every freeman has a right to the use of the press: so he has to the use of his arms. But if his publications give an unmerited or deadly stroke to private reputation, or sap the foundations of just government, he abuses his privilege, as unquestionably as if he were to plunge his sword into the bosom of a fellow citizen: and the good of society requires that each offence should be punished. A printer, therefore, however independent he may be, should ever remember, that even the freedom of the press—the choicest gift of liberty—when really abused, is rendered for the time a curse, and not a blessing, and that as the frequent perversion of any privilege will ever produce its destruction, to prevent the licentiousness, is to preserve the liberty of the press.

Since laws, restraining the press, do not conflict with a free government—and since it is capable of being perverted to purposes of private resentment and malice, or the disturbance of the public tranquility—since inadvertence or design may render it an instrument to distress an innocent individual, or distract a wise administration, the duties of a printer are of the first consequence to society. It is indeed an office of infinite delicacy and importance. Humanity and consideration, to prevent all wanton attacks, however trivial; firmness, to

publish all just and necessary censures, however heavy they may fall, or however powerful the objects of reprehension may be; justice and delicacy, to prevent even the merited lash from extending to the innocent connexions of the unworthy; caution and foresight, to restrain the ill-timed reprehension of even a wicked man from endangering the interests or safety of the state—these rare and valuable qualifications are necessary in the superintendence of an useful and liberal press. Unless nature has bestowed a share of them, it is unhappy for the public, and unfortunate even for the well-intentioned printer, that he has undertaken a task, for which he must certainly prove unequal. As no one can possess these estimable qualities in a perfect degree, and as it must ever be the desire of a generous and prudent man, to supply his deficiency in any particular by every precaution, let me recommend to you, the most serious reflexion on the methods by which you can best supply their place. In addition, therefore, to the observations already suggested for your consideration, permit me earnestly to press upon you one idea more, which is, that you make the tendency of the pieces offered by your correspondents the great point which is to induce you to publish or refuse them. Even matter of amusement should be innocent and chaste; and papers of a serious nature should either evince that the writers had in view some good end, or at least were free from just imputation of a bad one.

#### PHILODEMOS.



*Thoughts on the imprisonment of colonel Oswald.*

THE imprisonment of colonel Oswald seems to be considered, by some persons, as a subject upon which common people have no right to form an opinion. It is alleged to be a business which none, but professed lawyers, are competent to examine: and a number of horrid falsehoods are industriously circulated, concerning the opinions of the gentlemen of the bar, upon this proceeding. There are in the world white lies and black lies, and lies of every shade and colour between the two extremes. Men of common discernment will be able, without

the help of a prism, to distinguish the colour of a lie, which is set on foot for the purpose of adding distress to the oppressed; and, at the same time, will distinguish between the men who invent a falsehood, and those who honestly believe and report it.

Nothing is more certain, than that the men who can passively resign up their judgments to the absolute guidance of other men's opinions in matters of religion or politics, are ripe for slavery; and it is to be hoped that the good people of this country are very differently disposed, and will maintain the right of thinking for themselves in matters of public concern. The constitution of Pennsylvania, as it was calculated for the general good of the citizens, was adapted to the meanest understanding. The ninth article of the bill of rights, in particular, is couched in plain, strong terms, and its meaning is obvious to the apprehension of every man who will not slavishly refuse to trull to the dictates of his own judgment. There is none of that mystery involved in it which has so often been used by state-jugglers to ensnare the souls and bodies of their fellow creatures. The words are plain, and there is no room to doubt of their meaning. "In all prosecutions for criminal offences, a man hath a right to be heard by himself and his counsel, to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the country, without the unanimous consent of which jury he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; nor can any man be justly deprived of his liberty, except by the laws of the land, or the judgment of his peers."

Yet have we seen a fellow citizen of Pennsylvania found guilty and punished without any trial by jury, and compelled to give evidence against himself, upon pain of being fined and imprisoned if he did not do it. "Confess and be punished; or refuse to confess and be punished," is the only alternative. This, to be sure, is no torture; but it is very near akin to it.

There is a book, which, at the time when we were struggling against the arbitrary encroachments of Great Bri-

tain, and at the time when our constitution was formed, was in the hands of every body. It is Burgh's political disquisitions, a most excellent book, and, in every page, devoted to the cause of liberty. It would be of great use, if it were read now as much as formerly. I hope the great reputation of the author will shield me from the charge of contempt in quoting a few passages from the 4th and 5th chapters of his 4th book.

In page 219, he speaks of the house of commons "imprisoning persons, not members, when guilty of breach of privilege, or contempt." "I see not," says that excellent man, "the justice, nor even the common decency of any set of men whatever (I am of opinion the two houses of parliament are but men) punishing any offences against themselves."

In page 223, he quotes Burnet. "Their right" (the house of commons) "of imprisoning any besides their own members, was enquired into, and it was found to be built on no law, nor practice, older than queen Elizabeth. Several people, therefore, when sent for in custody of the sergeant at arms, refused to attend."

Page 248, he gives us an account of the proceedings in the house of lords on the complaint against Whitehead's poem, called Manners, in which he had described some of the noble peers as little better than mere profligates. "The author absconded; Doddsley appeared." "Lords spoke bitterly." The "chancellor Hardwick explains the liberty of the press. He says it meant, originally, the liberty of printing, instead of transcribing," &c. "Let not," says lord Talbot, "such a charge lie against us, that we were judges, jury, and parties in the same cause."

In page 228, he says, "suppose a man had personally offended the majority of the individuals, who happen to compose a jury, that is to try him—would not every body acknowledge, it would be a great severity to refuse him the usual liberty of objecting to his jury? But suppose twelve men to commence a prosecution against one, and that those very individuals are immediately, in the very rage of their resentment, inclosed to pass a verdict, and determine of a punish-

ment for an offence against themselves—Would this have the smallest semblance of justice? On the contrary, is it not the very design of the law, to take out of the hands of the offended, the trial of the offenders, and put it into those of indifferent persons? But when either house of parliament, or a court of justice, punishes for breach of privilege, or contempt of court, the persons offended are the judges, and inflict the punishment."

Page 230. "It is the natural disposition of man, to over-stretch whatever power he gets into his hands. It is the same encroaching disposition, that puts kings upon decision by arms, rather than by arbitration; which puts lords upon rejecting the most salutary bills; which puts them and commons upon punishing supposed offences against themselves; and which puts inferior courts upon punishing what they call contempt. And it is easy to find somewhat plausible to say in support of an unjust claim. But after all is said, it will still be true, that a king's choosing the brutal decision of arms, rather than the rational one of arbitration by *neutral* powers, that a house of lords or commons, taking into their *own hands* the punishment of certain supposed offences against *themselves*, instead of referring them to indifferent persons, and a court of law or justice punishing whatever it pleases to call contempt against itself, instead of leaving the matter to a jury of the supposed offender's *peers*, without which every punishment is irregular; there is no doubt, I say, that all such proceedings as these are inconsistent, not only with justice and liberty, but with *civilization* and *police*, and are the very evils complained of under *tyrannical* governments, and among *savages*, not yet regulated by government."

Page 239. "Sir J. Maynard, A. D. 1647, treats the house of lords with contempt. Is fined £. 5000, and sent to the tower. Wanted to be tried by a jury. Nor will the subjects, while a spark of liberty remains, be reconciled to any other mode of trial."—N. B. Sir John Maynard was one of the greatest lawyers that ever lived.

Page 255, he speaks of the frivolous grounds upon which such prosecutions have been set a foot. "John



*Letter from Secretary Conway, to lieutenant governor Fauquier.*

S I R, Sep. 14, 1765.

IT is with the greatest pleasure I received his majesty's commands declare to you his most gracious approbation of your conduct. His majesty and his servants are satisfied, that the precipitate resolutions \* you at home did not take their rise from remissness or inattention in you; is his majesty at all inclined to oppose, that any instance of dissent or dissatisfaction could be founded in the general inclination of an ancient and loyal colony of Virginia; the nature of the thing and its representations induce a persuasion, that those ill-advised resolutions, which had their birth to the violence of a few individuals, who, taking the advantage of a thin assembly, so far prevailed, as to publish their own unimproved opinions to the world as the sentiments of the colony. But his majesty, sir, will not, by the prevalence of a few men, at a certain moment, persuaded to change the opinion, lessen the confidence, he has always entertained of the colony of Virginia; which has always experienced the protection of the crown. His majesty's servants, therefore, with entire reliance on your prudence, and the virtue and wisdom of the colony entrusted to your care, persuade themselves, that when a full assembly shall calmly and maturely deliberate on those resolutions, they will see, that they are themselves alarmed at, the dangerous tendency and insidious consequences which they might be productive of, both to the mother country and the colonies, which are the equal objects of his majesty's parental care; whose mutual happiness and prosperity certainly require a confidential reliance of the colonies upon the mother country.

Upon these principles, sir, and upon your prudent management, and a proper representation to the wife and sober part of the people, how earnest his majesty is to extend the happy influence of his fatherly care over every part of his dominions, it is expected that a full assembly will form very

NOTE.

See vol. III. page 470.—C.  
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different resolutions, such as may cement that union, which alone can establish the safety and prosperity of the colonies and the mother country.

As there is no intention in the crown to attempt, nor in the king's servants to advise, any encroachments on the real rights and liberties of any part of his majesty's subjects; so neither will his majesty undoubtedly submit, or his servants advise, under any circumstances, that the respect which is due to parliament, and which is necessary for the good of the whole British empire, should any where be made a sacrifice to local and dangerous prejudices.

As this important matter is, however, now before his majesty's privy council, as well as the other consideration of the dangerous riot and mutinous behaviour of the people on the frontiers, I shall not pretend to give any advice or instructions on these subjects; not doubting, but you will soon have the fullest from the wisdom of that board, in all those things, in which, by your last accounts, the most essential interests of the colony are so deeply concerned.

You will, therefore, in the meantime, be very attentive, by every prudent measure in your power, at once to retain the just rights of the British government, and to preserve the peace and tranquility of the province committed to your care.

But as these appear to me matters of government fit for his majesty's more immediate notice and information, I must beg you will not fail to transmit to me such occurrences, from time to time, on these heads, as you may deem of importance in the light I mention. I am, &c. H. S. CONWAY.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

*Secretary Conway's circular letter to the governors in North America.*

S I R, October 24, 1765.

IT is with the greatest concern, that his majesty learns the disturbances which have arisen in some of the North American colonies: if this evil should spread to the government of —, where you preside, the utmost exertion of your prudence will be necessary, so as justly to temper your conduct between that caution and coolness which the delicacy of such

a situation may demand, on the one hand, and the vigour necessary to suppress outrage and violence, on the other. It is impossible, at this distance, to assist you, by any particular or positive instruction; because you will find yourself necessarily obliged to take your resolution, as particular circumstances and emergencies may require.

His majesty, and the servants he honours with his confidence, cannot but lament the ill-advised intemperance shewn already in some of the provinces, by taking up a conduct, which can in no way contribute to the removal of any real grievance they might labour under, but may tend to obstruct and impede the exertion of his majesty's benevolence and attention to the ease and comfort, as well as the welfare, of all his people.

It is hoped and expected, that this want of confidence in the justice and tenderness of the mother country, and this open resistance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people. The better and wiser part of the colonies will know, that decency and submission may prevail, not only to redress grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but severity and chastisement. These sentiments you, and all his majesty's servants, from a sense of your duty to, and love of, your country, will endeavour to excite and encourage.

You will all, in a particular manner, call upon them not to render their case desperate. You will, in the strongest colours, represent to them the dreadful consequences that must inevitably attend the forcible and violent resistance to acts of the British parliament, and the scene of misery and calamity to themselves, and of mutual weakness and distraction to both countries, inseparable from such a conduct.

If, by lenient and persuasive methods, you can contribute to restore that peace and tranquility to the provinces, on which their welfare and happiness depend, you will do a most acceptable and essential service to your country: but having taken every step which the utmost prudence and

lenity can dictate, in compassion to the folly and ignorance of some misguided people, you will not, on the other hand, fail to use your utmost power for repelling all acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the province, by such a timely exertion of force as the occasion may require; for which purpose, you will make the proper applications to general Gage, or lord Colville, commanders of his majesty's land and naval forces in America. For however unwillingly his majesty may consent to the exertion of such powers as may endanger the safety of a single subject, yet can he not permit his own dignity and the authority of the British legislature, to be trampled on by force and violence, and in avowed contempt of all order, duty and decorum.

If the subject is aggrieved, he knows in what manner legally and constitutionally to apply for relief; but it is not suitable, either to the safety or dignity of the British empire, that individuals, under the pretence of redressing grievances, should presume to violate the public peace. I am, &c.  
H. S. CONWAY.



*From the votes of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay. Martis, 29<sup>th</sup> Octobris, A. D. 1765.*

*In the house of representatives.*

ACCORDING to the order of the day, there being a very fit time, the following draft, which had been laid on the table, was particularly considered, and thereupon voted.

Whereas the just rights of his majesty's subjects of this province, derived to them from the British constitution, as well as the royal charter, have been lately drawn into question: In order to ascertain the same, this house do unanimously come into the following resolves:

I. Resolved, that there are certain essential rights of the British constitution of government, which are founded in the law of God and nature, and are the common rights of mankind.—Therefore,

II. Resolved, that the inhabitant

of this province are unalienably entitled to those essential rights in common with all men : and that no law of society can, consistent with the will of God and nature, divest them of those rights.

III. Resolved, that no man can justly take the property of another without his consent ; and that upon this original principle, the right of representation in the same body, which exercises the right of making laws or levying taxes, which is one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded.

IV. Resolved, that this inherent right, together with all other essential rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of the people of Great Britain, have been fully confirmed to them by magna charta, and by former and later acts of parliament.

V. Resolved, that his majesty's subjects in America are, in reason and common sense, entitled to the same extent of liberty, with his majesty's subjects in Britain.

VI. Resolved, that by the declaration of the royal charter of this province, the inhabitants are entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural subjects of Great Britain, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatever.

VII. Resolved, that the inhabitants of this province appear to be entitled to all the rights aforementioned, by an act of parliament, 13th of Geo. 3.

VIII. Resolved, that those rights do belong to the inhabitants of this province, upon principles of common justice ; their ancestors having settled this country at their sole expence ; and their posterity having constantly approved themselves most loyal and faithful subjects of Great-Britain.

IX. Resolved, that every individual in the colonies, is as advantageous to Great Britain, as if he were in Great Britain, and held to pay his full proportion of taxes there : and as the inhabitants of this province pay their full proportion of taxes, for the support of his majesty's government there, it is unreasonable for them to be called upon to pay any part of the charges of the government there.

X. Resolved, that the inhabitants

of this province are not, and never have been, represented in the parliament of Great Britain : and that such a representation there, as the subjects of Great Britain do actually and rightfully enjoy, is impracticable for the subjects in America :—and further, that in the opinion of this house, the several subordinate powers of legislation in America, were constituted upon the apprehensions of this impracticability.

XI. Resolved, that the only method, whereby the constitutional rights of the subjects of this province can be secure, consistent with a subordination to the supreme power of Great Britain, is by the continued exercise of such powers of government as are granted in the royal charter, and a firm adherence to the privileges of the same.

XII. Resolved, as a just conclusion from some of the foregoing resolves, that all acts, made by any power whatever, other than the general assembly of this province, imposing taxes on the inhabitants, are infringements of our inherent and unalienable rights as men and British subjects ; and render void the most valuable declarations of our charter.

XIII. Resolved, that the extension of the powers of the court of admiralty within this province, is a most violent infraction of the right of trials by juries.—A right which this house, upon the principles of their British ancestors, hold most dear and sacred, it being the only security of the lives, liberties, and properties of his majesty's subjects here.

XIV. Resolved, that this house owe the strictest allegiance to his most sacred majesty king George the third : that they have the greatest veneration for the parliament : and that they will, after the example of all their predecessors, from the settlement of this country, exert themselves to their utmost in supporting his majesty's authority in this province—in promoting the true happiness of his subjects—and in enlarging the extent of his dominion.

Ordered, that all the foregoing resolves be kept in the records of this house ; that a just sense of liberty, and the firm sentiments of loyalty, may be transmitted to posterity.

*Vote and agreement of the inhabitants of Wallingford, in Connecticut, January 13, 1766.*

**W**H E R E A S it appears from ancient records and other memorials of incontestible validity, that our ancestors, with a great sum, purchased this township: at their only expence, planted, with great peril, possessed and defended the same: and we were free born, having never been in bondage to any, an inheritance of inestimable value:

Voted and agreed, that if any of said inhabitants shall introduce, use, or improve any stamp vellum, parchment or paper, for which, tax or tribute is or may be demandable, such person or persons shall incur the penalty of twenty shillings: to be recovered by the selectmen of said town, for the time being, for the use of the poor of said town. This order to continue in force until the next meeting of said inhabitants in town-meeting.

Copy examined. Attest.

ELIHU HALL.

*Resolutions of the sons of liberty, in Wallingford, January 13, 1766.*

**I. T**H A T the late act of parliament, called the stamp-act, is unconstitutional, and intended to enslave the true subjects of America.

**II.** That we will oppose the same to the last extremity, even to take the field.

**III.** That we will meet at the court-house in Newhaven, on the 3d Tuesday of February next; and we desire all the sons of liberty in each town in the county would meet then by themselves, or representatives, there to consult what is best to be done in order to defend our liberties and properties, and break up the sloop to public affairs.

A true copy, examined per  
P. P. clerk.

*Agreement of the principal gentlemen of Philadelphia, February, 1766.*

**W**E, the subscribers, desirous to encourage the raising of sheep, agree and pledge our honour to each other, that we will not eat or suffer

any lamb, or any meat of the mutton kind, that we know or believe to be under twelve months old when killed to be eaten in our families, from time to the first of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. And further, that we will not purchase, nor suffer to be purchased: our families' use or otherwise, during said time, any kind of meat from a butcher or other person, who, to our knowledge or belief, has killed a lamb from and after the first of February instant, until the first of January one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

*Agreement of the principal inhabitants of New-York, Feb. 1766.*

**W**E the inhabitants of New York do hereby engage and promise that we will not buy, or suffer to be bought for our use any lamb before the first day of August next, and that we will not buy any meat from a butcher, that shall expose any lamb for sale before the day aforesaid, and we give all manner of discountenance such butchers for the future. Given under our hands at New York, the 3d of Feb. 1766.

#### *Anecdote.*

**I**N the western expedition of 1759, general Forbes, who commanded it, was, by his infirmities, reduced so low as to be taken up in a litter.—The Indians, who saw him, were astonished that a warrior could not walk:—this so disgusted them at their commander, that they remonstrated against him. Their old friend, col. Weiser, to appease them, made this sagacious reply: "This man is so terrible in war, that we are obliged to constrain him, and let him write his orders; for if he was let loose on the world, he would deluge it with blood."

#### *Chronological memorandum.*

**T**HE year 88 has been, for three centuries, remarkable for giving birth to most important events:—

Spanish armada defeated	-	1588
English revolution,	-	1688
Federal constitution ratified,		1788



# SELECT POETRY.

*On doctor Franklin's shedding a tear, while signing  
the federal constitution.*

THE sage, whom rival nations join to praise,  
Whose lengthen'd span one patriot scene displays,  
Revolving in his spacious mind, the fate  
Of millions toiling in the servile state—  
With ardour grasp'd the pen, to sign the plan,  
Which gave his country all the rights of man.  
“Enough,” he cry'd—“my God, I ask no more !  
“Excuse, my friends, a tear : I am FOUR SCORE.”



*To the memory of general Lee.*

WARRIOR, farewell ! eccentrically brave,  
Above all kings, and yet of gold the slave ;  
In words a very wit—in deeds less wise ;  
For ever restless, yet would never rise ;  
At least no higher, than to meet the ground :  
If strong the blow, the greater the rebound.  
Of all men jealous, yet afraid of none ;  
In crowds for ever—ever still alone ,  
At once the pride and bubble of a throng,  
Pursuing right, and yet for ever wrong :  
By nature form'd to play the monarch's part,  
At best a sad republican at heart.

But to cast up the aggregated sum—  
Above all monarchs, and below all scum ;  
Unsettled virtues, with great vices mix'd,  
Like the wide welkin, where few stars are fix'd.  
Rest, restless chief ! thy sword has taken rust :  
Peace to thy manes—honour to thy dust.



*On the death of general Montgomery. Written in  
England, shortly after that lamented event.*

DECK'D be his tomb with ever-verdant bays !  
And statues to the hero's mem'ry raise !  
High on the splendid lists of deathless fame  
Erect the patriotic soldier's name !  
No Greek, no Roman name shall brighter there  
Effulge ; not WOLFE's, to grateful England dear :  
One place to both was fatal ; and it gave  
Alike to each, his glory, and his grave.  
Late time shall doubt, which more deserv'd applause,  
Which fell the braver, in the nobler cause.  
The gen'rous poet's tears take, mighty shade !  
Who weeps for thee, who weeps for virtue dead.  
“Tears shed for me !” (methinks the hero spake)  
“For me they're vain, but for my country's sake !”  
Pardon, great spirit ; I my error see,  
For who but wishes to have bled like thee ?



*A fair bargain.*

AS Satan was taking an airing one day,  
Columbia's fair genius fell plump in his way, }  
Array'd like a goddess, and blooming as May :

“ Vile Monster,” said she, “ you oppose me in vain,  
 “ My people shall surely their wishes obtain ;  
 “ You can but perplex us, and so mark the end on’t,  
 “ For, sooner or later, they’ll be independent.”  
 “ What you say,” quoth the fiend, “ I confess is  
 “ too true :  
 “ But why not allow the poor devil his due ?  
 “ Give me *one* of your states, and the rest shall be free  
 “ To follow their fate, unmolested by me.”  
 “ Agreed,” said the lady, “ if that’s all you want,  
 “ Here take and enjoy it—it is my Vermont.”  
 “ Oh ! ho !” exclaim’d Satan, “ how gen’rous  
 “ you’re grown,  
 “ So kindly to give—what’s already my own !  
 “ So thank you for nothing, fair lady, I trow,  
 “ The devil is not to be bamboozled so.  
 “ Come—down with your dust—you know what I mean  
 “ I must have at least *one* of your fav’rite *thirteen*.”  
 A tear in her eye, and a sigh from her breast,  
 The doubts and the fears of the genius confess ;  
 But while she was puzzled, unable to find  
 Which state might with ease be to Satan resign’d, }  
 The five per cent. imposs’t-law popt in her mind. }  
 This settled the point—she look’d up with a smile, and  
 Presented his fiendship the state of Rhode Island.  
 He seiz’d the fair prize—cram’d it into his pocket,  
 And darted away in a blaze, like a rocket.



*The Massachusetts' convention.*

**C**ONCENTR’D here th’ united wisdom shines,  
 Of learn’d judges, and of sound divines :  
 Patriots, whose virtues, searching time has tried,  
 Heroes, who fought, where brother heroes died ;  
 Lawyers, who speak, as Tully spoke before,  
 Sages, deep read in philosophic lore ;  
 Merchants, whose plans are to no realms confin’d,  
 Farmers—the noblest title ’mongst mankind ;  
 Yeomen and tradesmen, pillars of the state ;  
 On whose decision hangs Columbia’s fate.  
*Boston, January, 1788.*



*Hymn on the late peace.*

**B**EHO! D, array’d in light  
 And by divine command,  
 Fair peace, the child of heav’n, descends  
 To this afflicted land :  
 Like the bright morning star  
 She leads a glorious day,  
 And o’er this western world extends  
 Her all-reviving ray.

Your swords to plough-shares turn’d,  
 Your fields with plenty crown’d,  
 Shall laugh and sing—and freedom spread  
 The voice of gladness round.  
 Oh, sing a new-made song !  
 To God your hymns address,  
 He rul’d the hearts of mighty kings,  
 And gave our arms success.

He check'd our haughty foe,  
And bade the contest cease ;  
" Thus, and no farther, shalt thou go,  
" Be all the world at peace ;  
" No more shall savage war  
" Lead on the hostile band ;  
" No more shall suff'ring captives mourn,  
" Or blood pollute the land."

Confess Jehovah's pow'r,  
And magnify his name—  
Let all the world with one accord,  
His wond'rous works proclaim—  
Let us with hearts devout,  
Declare what we have seen,  
And to our children's children tell,  
How good the Lord hath been.

*Philadelphia, May 1783.*



*Masonic hymn, sung by charity scholars in St. George's chapel, New York, Dec. 27, 1787, after a charity sermon, preached by the rev. Abraham Beach, D. D.*

**T**HOU great first cause, whose wisdom plann'd,  
Whose pow'r achiev'd the boundless scheme,  
The matchless fabric of thy hand  
Proclaims thee architect supreme.

Ye angels, that surround his throne,  
Who form'd at first his joyful train,  
When laying the foundation stone ;  
As then ye shouted, shout again.

Ye glorious orbs, that roll on high,  
Exulting run your bright career,  
And through the regions of the sky  
Resound his praise from sphere to sphere.

O praise him, thou terraqueous globe,  
Who, tho' no native light be thine,  
Hath cloth'd thee with a lucid robe,  
And caus'd thy groffer mould to shine.

Breathe praise, thou circumambient air,  
Responsive sound, thou spacious main ;  
Aloft, ye hills, your tribute bear,  
Whilst lowly vales resound the strain.

Ye lowest in the vital scale,  
That wing the air, or tread the ground,  
His praises waft on every gale,  
Join all that cleave the vast profound.

Thou sov'reign of this earthly ball,  
With reason's voice the concert join :  
But most let us thy name extol,  
Our Lord, our architect divine.

With us let ev'ry heart be love,  
Let ev'ry tongue be grateful praise,  
Let ev'ry thought be realms above,  
Let ev'ry voice be choral lays.



*Address to Britain and America.*

**W**HEN rival nations, great in arms,  
 Great in power, in glory great,  
 Fill the world with war's alarms,  
 And breathe a temporary hate ;  
 The hostile storms yet rage awhile,  
 And the dire contest ends.  
 But ah ! how hard to reconcile  
 The foes, who once were friends !  
 Each hasty word, each look unkind,  
 Each distant hint that seems to mean  
 A something lurking in the mind,  
 That almost longs to lurk unseen :  
 Each shadow of a shade offends  
 Th' embitter'd foes, who once were friends.  
 That Pow'r alone who fram'd the soul,  
 And bade the springs of passion play,  
 Can all their jarring strings controul,  
 And form on discord concord's sway.  
 'Tis he alone, whose breath of love  
 Did o'er the world of waters move,  
 Whose touch the mountain bends,  
 Whose voice from darkness call'd forth light,  
 'Tis he alone can re-unite  
 The foes who once were friends.  
 To him, O Britain, bow the knee ;  
 His awful, his august decree,  
 Columbia's sons adore ;  
 Forgive at once, and be forgiv'n,  
 Ope in each breast a little heav'n,  
 And discord is no more.

*Union our only hope : a federal poem.*

**W**HEN party spirit boundless reigns,  
 And furious faction treads the plains—  
 When civil discord's fatal pow'r,  
 And foul sedition rule the hour,  
 Imperial states must bow :  
 Though once united, hand in hand,  
 They challeng'd Britain's hostile band,  
 Smil'd at the faithless tories' scheme,  
 Defied Knyphausen's might supreme,  
 And scorn'd the wrath of Howe.

Death, and the grave, and hell combin'd  
 Are not such foes, to human kind,  
 As mad disputes, and jealous broils :  
 These overturn the noblest toils  
 Of patriot, chief, or sage—  
 Roll forth wild phrenzy's glowing car,  
 Harness the steeds of social war,  
 Tone the loud trumpet's rattling sound,  
 Hurl swift destruction rapid round,  
 And light the torch of rage.

Already gleams the burnish'd glaive ;  
 A tip-toe on th' Atlantic wave,  
 Stand mad'ning hosts, of late subdu'd :  
 Afar they snuff the feast of blood,  
     And mark their future prey ;  
 Havock, and waste, and spoil, they cry !  
 Onward they come—with threat'ning eye—  
 And trampling tombs, where heroes sleep,  
 Harvests of mighty vengeance reap,  
     And loss and shame repay.

In floods of wrath, the victors burst—  
 Freedom's fair fabric turns to dust ;  
 The foaming courser thunders on ;  
 The sons of terror croud the lawn ;  
     Destructive lightnings flame :  
 Those hallow'd spots where Warren bled,  
 And great Montgom'ry bow'd the head,  
 And Mercer fell—and Wooster died,  
 And Nash and Laurens—glory's pride,  
     No more shall boast of fame.

By gales of strife to ruin driv'n,  
 The jest of earth—the scorn of heav'n,  
 Contemn'd at home—despis'd abroad,  
 For breach of public faith abhorr'd,  
     And private credit lost ;  
 Remains not then a hope to man ?—  
 Embrace as one the federal plan,  
 Complete the sacred work divine—  
 The stamp of God adorns each line,  
     By Washington engros'd.

Unite or die—arouse or fall,  
 Is rev'rend Franklin's dying call ;  
 Who dares suppose, his country's shield  
 A code of slav'ry ever seal'd,  
     Or fram'd tyrannic law ?  
 Can he, whose talents mock at time,  
 Whose genius lives in ev'ry clime,  
 The mask of vile deception wear,  
 To curse a world, so long his care,  
     Himself the despot's awe ?

Avaunt, ye tribes ! whose trumps are blown,  
 Reboant round old Anarch's throne,  
 Who hail the monster, king, and friend,  
 And summon each infernal fiend  
     To quaff the cup of gore :  
 The proper seat for discord's ch ld,  
 Is Nova-Scotia's *blooming* wild—  
 Canada's *gay enchanting* loe—  
 Bermuda's rock bound, *verdant* isle,  
     Or Florida's *rich* shore.

But on your part, an oath must bind,  
 'Till tygers lead the trembling hind,  
 Or eagles court the fearful dove,  
 Or sheep and wolves unite in love,  
     Or lions swim the seas,  
 To never, never, more return—  
 The childish thought indignant spurn ;  
 Nay, even swear, to starve or die,  
 To melt beneath Jamaica's sky,  
     Or at the north-pole freeze.

Decamp, embark, embrace the gale,  
 Run, fly, toil, sweat, this moment fail—  
 These blessed realms are giv'n to you,  
 Catarrhs, consumptions, colds and dew;  
     Tempestuous days and nights;  
 Full trees hang down with fruits of woe;  
 Asphaltian rivers, death-charg'd, flow;  
 Eternal wastes enrich the scene;  
 One snow-clad hill or sun-burnt green;  
     And murrain, storms, and blights.

There freedom's sons shall never stray;  
 Nor law, usurping hated sway,  
 Disturb the rule of Anarch's race;  
 Or mark their crimes with just disgrace,  
     Who raise rebellion's throne,  
 But the perennial soul-felt curse,  
 In basket, store, in food, in purse,  
 Broils, quarrels, terror, plagues and strife,  
 The fear of death—and dread of life,  
     Secure these lands your own.

*Song in praise of general Washington.*

**I**N a chariot of light from the regions above,  
 The goddess of freedom appear'd,  
 The sun-beams of day,  
 Emblazon'd her way,  
 And her empire America rear'd.

To sustain the vast fabric her offspring were taught,  
 She smil'd on each patriot's birth;  
 But shielded her charms,  
 Secure in the arms,  
 Of the chieftain celestial on earth.

This guardian exalted, the trumpet of fame  
 Resounding from hence to the skies—  
 All the deities bend,  
 And, list'ning, attend,  
 In silent delight and surprise.

But, fir'd at his glories, the fierce pow'r of war,  
 Disturbing etherial repose—

Exclaim'd—"thrones divine,  
 "See an hero of mine—  
 "How matchless and god-like he glows!"

"Your hero!"—Minerva indignant replies,  
 "'Twas I from his birth did preside,  
 "Form'd, finish'd his mind,  
 "The great talents design'd,  
 "His goddess, preceptress, and guide!

Their accents scarce ended, Apollo arose  
 "If intuitive knowledge," he cries,  
 "Makes him great, ye must own  
 "The free gifts of my throne—  
 "He's mine, gods, as sure as the skies!"





See christian blood bedew the burning plains,  
And friends to freedom languishing in chains !  
See ! mighty Europe crouches to the law,  
And one bold pirate keeps the world in awe.

In days of yore, with pious phrenzy fraught,  
On Palestine's fam'd fields what myriads fought,  
Their rival monarchs partial views despise,  
Glory their passion, and a tomb their prize.  
Our modern system, fatally refin'd,  
Corrupts the gen'rous ardour of mankind,  
And jealous nations with the Turk allied,  
Regain their virtue, and desert their pride.

Those veterans, perhaps, whose patriot toil,  
Gave independence to their native soil,  
Lost in the sad vicissitudes of fate,  
Call on their country to repay the debt.  
Perhaps some father shakes the pond'rous chain,  
His wretched offspring left to want and pain :  
Whence are those groans, and whence that plaintive cry—  
Oh ! speed your bounty, or a wife must die :  
And mark ! where heav'nly charity appears,  
Corrects our errors, and dispels our fears,  
Through the dark dungeon spreads a kindly ray,  
And shields her christian vot'ries from dismay :  
With savage pow'rs the glitt'ring bribe succeeds,  
And freedom from benevolence proceeds.

When all our earthly bliss shall pass away,  
This globe dissolve, and nature's self decay :  
When guilt shall at impending judgment start,  
And keen affliction wound the hard of heart ;  
Then white rob'd charity her friends shall cheer,  
And pay with int'rest what they lent her here.

Ye sons of liberty, attend the theme,  
Indulge your feelings, and assert your fame :  
Let sad experience paint the bondsman's woe,  
And still be blest'd, while blessings you bestow.



*Lampoon : by William More Smith, esq.*

**S**O very deaf, so blind a creature,  
As Delia, ne'er was seen in nature,  
Blind to each failing of a friend,  
But ever ready to commend ;  
Yet not to failings blind alone,  
Blind to each beauty of her own.

So very deaf, that if around  
A thousand shrill-ton'd tongues should sound,  
With scandal tipt, good names to tear,  
A single word she would not hear ;  
Or if, by chance, amidst a croud,  
Some antiquated maid, so loud,  
Against a youthful fair should rail,  
That deafness self must hear the tale ;  
Her comprehension is so slow,  
A single word she would not know ;  
Or did she know, so weak's her brain,  
That scandal's tale it can't contain.

Yet these are trifles, when compar'd  
 To things that all the town have heard,  
 For tho' so stupid, deaf, and blind,  
 The greatest charge is left behind;  
 The faults of nature I'd forgive,  
 But she's the greatest thief alive.  
 In earliest youth, the cunning child  
 Had pilfer'd Hermes of his wit!  
 Within a deep embrowning wood,  
 A hoary hermit's cottage stood;  
 There, as Minerva once retir'd,  
 To see the sage herself inspir'd,  
 While all around was wrapt in night,  
 Save the pale student's glimmering light,  
 She came with worse than burglar's tread,  
 And filch'd the helmet from her head;  
 She robb'd the graces of their charms,  
 And off she ran with Cupid's arms.  
 She stole the queen of beauty's zone,  
 And made Diana's smiles her own;  
 Nor does she ever spend a day,  
 But what she steals some heart away;  
 Even while I write this hasty line,  
 I feel, I feel, she's stealing mine.  
 Yes—stupid, deaf, and blind's the creature,  
 And yet the greatest thief in nature.



*Inscription, copied literatim (except that, in the original, the letter V is used for U) from a copper-plate print, taken from a monument in Hampton-church, by the order of Thomas Penn, esq. one of the descendants of the under-mentioned lady.*

**P**EN here is brought to home, the place of long abode,  
 Whose Vertu guided hathe her Shippe, into the quiet rode  
 A myrror of her Time, for Vertues of the Mynde  
 A Matrone suche as in her dayes, the like was herd to find  
 No Plant of servile Stocke, a HAMPDEN by descent  
 Unto whose race 300 yeres, hathe frendly Fortune lent  
 To Cowrte she called was, to foster up a King  
 Whose helping hand long lingringe sutes, to spedie End did bring  
 Twoo Queens that Scepter bare, gave Credyt to this Dame  
 Full many yeres in Cowrt she dwelt, without disgrac or blame  
 No House no worldly wealth, on earthe she did regarde  
 Before eche joy yea and her life, her Princes health preferd  
 Whose long and loyall love, with skilfull care to serve  
 Was such as did through heavenly help, her prince's thanks deserve  
 Woolde God the Ground were grafte, with trees of suche delighte  
 That idell braines of fruitfull plants, might find just cause to writ  
 As I have plyed my pen to praise this Pen withall  
 Who lyeth entombd in this Grave, untill the Trompe her call  
 This resting Place beholde, no subject place to bale  
 To whiche perforce ye lokers on, your fleeting Bodies shall.

*Nov. 6. 1562.*

*Res parvae concordia crescunt.*

**A**S o'er Columbia's peaceful plains  
Concordia way'd her golden  
chains,

The patriot virtues on her wait,  
And, link'd in love, consolidate.  
Each sordid soul shrinks from her sight,  
And jarring interests unite.

The sister states resolve to rear  
A temple to the Goddess fair,  
Which, elevated o'er the land,  
A splendid monument might stand,  
Informing all posterior times,  
That those thirteen united climes,  
In sacred faith, and mutual trust,  
Had form'd a union firm and just ;  
Whose lawful, delegated head,  
Affords each friend a sheltering shade ;  
And fills each foe with awful dread. }

Yet much disputed was the plan  
On which this edifice should stand ;  
Whether by Doric order grac'd,  
Or simply in the Tuscan taste ;  
Whether in fam'd Corinthian style,  
Or like the ancient Gothic pile.  
Those various orders to unite,  
Most voted for the composite,  
As that whose ornament and strength,  
Defy'd old time's decaying length ;  
And spread its splendid prospects far,  
Through smiling peace, or horrid war.  
A Mason there, whose art was shewn  
In undertaking plans unknown,  
Aid, from his skill in architecture,  
Should he be chose the chief projector,  
He'd so cement the mighty mass,  
As ev'ry fabric to surpass,  
Which either Greek or Roman art,  
Had e'er produc'd in any part ;  
That concord there should live alone,  
To other mansion ever own.

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

All such important, high pretensions,

Veigh well, y' ensuing state conventions !

Which, should you find or just, or wise,  
Smooth'd o'er by no deceitful guise ;  
But wholesome, virtuous, and true,  
From you they claim attention due.  
But selfish should they prove, or vain,  
Subverting concord's sacred fane,  
Diffusing anarchy and strife,  
Those baneful pests of social life ;  
Reject the whole impious band,  
And the discord curse the guilty land.

*Bladenburgh, Feb. 1, 1788.*

*A song in praise of human learning  
and divine revelation.*

**W**AKE, tuneful voices, wake,  
Begin the grateful song ;

Let sweet hosannas break  
From ev'ry heart and tongue.

Ye tutors sing,  
Ye children too,  
Here's work for you,  
To praise our king.

Science at his command,  
From old European shores,  
Has found our infant land,  
Our wilderness explores.

Here num'rous schools  
Instruct the mind,  
And youth refin'd  
Attend to rules.

Where once the Indian swains,  
Wild and untutor'd, trod,  
Instructive learning reigns,  
And scatters light abroad.

Here, heads and hearts  
With pens combine,  
In one design,  
To spread the arts.

Diviner knowledge too,  
In this fair climate grows,  
And sweets celestial flow  
From Sharon's blooming rose.

The sacred word  
Directs our way,  
To realms of day  
To praise the Lord.

Here mercy's silver sound  
Comes softly whispering by ;  
Inviting all around  
To taste of living joy.

O happy youth,  
Why will you stray ?  
Come, learn the way  
To peace and truth.

Ye sprightly, gay, and young,  
Attend a call so sweet,  
And all your honours lay  
At your Redeemer's feet.

Thus angels all,  
In climes above,  
In purest love  
Adoring fall.

Wake, tuneful voices, wake,  
To close the grateful song,  
Let sweet hosannas break  
From ev'ry heart and tongue.

Ye parents sing,  
Ye children too,  
Here's work for you,  
To praise our king.

## Foreign Intelligence.

VERSAILLES, JUNE 8.

EVERY thing remains quiet at Paris; but by the accounts we receive from Languedoc, Burgundy, Dauphine, and Bretagne, the tumults arise to a degree of violence little short of a civil war. Ten regiments marched a few days ago into Rennes, the capital of Bretagne, to quell the riots of the populace, who had assembled there in a considerable number, and were almost on the point of firing, when the nobility, gentry, and most wealthy citizens arrived, and happily prevented any bloodshed. The people however would not disperse, but on condition that the soldiers would first discharge their muskets in the air, which was agreed to, and executed.

A deputation from the states of Brittany arrived last week at Versailles with a representation signed by the nobility, and gentry of that country, warmly protesting against the late project of the ministry to annul the parliament, and by that measure to destroy the rights and privileges long since accorded and confirmed to the inhabitants of that province. This representation is by much the most respectful to his majesty, but at the same time the most vehement against the two ministers, of any that have been presented to the king. After shewing the evil tendency of the late measure in regard to the kingdom in general, it very firmly asserts the particular rights of Brittany; and concludes with these laconic expressions: Your majesty is deceived; your two ministers are criminal. Your majesty is just, but the laws are violated—your majesty is frugal, but the expences of the state are enormous. Your majesty wishes to reign by the laws, but these ministers are endeavouring to destroy them.

PARIS, JUNE 15.

The disturbances in Brittany increase daily; the resolution of government to send troops to that province alarms the public very much; they are shocked at the idea of a civil war.

Three more deputies are arrived here from the noblesse of Brittany with fresh representations; they wished to speak to the king himself, but received no other answer than that his majesty would answer them when he had taken the advice of his private council.

DUBLIN, JUNE 15.

By a letter from Cork we are assured, that since the disturbances of the Right Boys, the chapels in the interior parts of that county continue nailed up, and the priests are obliged to celebrate mass and exhort the flocks under the shade of trees, or in the open fields. At a time that the appearance of riot and disorder has subsided, to suffer so loyal a body of people as the Roman catholics of Cork to receive such disgrace, as to have their chapels nailed for the fault of individuals, numbers of whom were of a different persuasion, is unaccountable.

LONDON, APRIL 22.

The funeral of the celebrated comte de Buffon, at Paris, was attended by at least twenty thousand people, who shewed evident marks of sorrow for the death of so great a man. His body was opened after his death, and his disorder proved to be the stone, fifty-seven being found in his bladder; many of which were as big as a bear, and about thirty of a triangular shape and crystalline; all the other parts were perfectly sound. The faculty were of opinion his life might have been easily preserved, if he had submitted to be cut.

June 5. Letters from Constantinople dated the 8th of April, bring advice of a complete victory having been obtained by the Bosnians near Semendria, over three thousand Austrians, whom they drove to flight after having slain one thousand of them. In confirmation of this account, the courier who brought it produced to the grand Signior, the head of the Austrian colonel, who commanded in the action, with a great number of ears cut off from the vanquished enemy.

June 6. The whole province of Brittany is an arms, and the nobles, the amount of five hundred, have collected a body of 30,000 men, and armed them.

The greater part of the nobility in France, joined to the principal clergy, are united in remonstrating to the king, that if he will continue to pursue his measures, they are determined to resist.

On receiving this news, his majesty ordered all the forces that could be collected immediately to march into Brittany, and resist the insurrection.

June 14. The duke of Orleans received an express yesterday to inform him, that the tumult in Brittany had grown so alarming, that the two regiments, of which he is colonel, were ordered their march to quell the riot—and there were serious apprehensions of the dock yard of Brest, as it had been threatened to be set on fire and destroyed by the people.

June 18. The imperial Joseph has been at the camp before Belgrade, where, after witnessing three different attacks of the Turks upon his army, and by general cannonades, in which upwards of 2000 discharges were made, and once a resolute sally from the garrison, he thought proper on the 2d of May to quit his situation, and to pass the Save with a division from the grand army, to the amount of 7000 men.

To remonstrances, protests and paffades, papers of a bolder nature have succeeded in France, one of which was discovered whilst in the press. The officers upon entrance seized the materials and impressions of near forty quires, ready for distribution.

The last returns made of the total amount of effective troops in the pay of France, state the number to consist of 180,000 men.

One of the most capital houses in the linen trade at the west end of the town stopped payment yesterday—it is computed that the deficiency will, upon investigation, amount to upwards of half a million.

According to letters from Paris, dated on Monday evening last, the protest which the forty seven peers presented to the king, had not passed notice.

Vol. IV. No. II.

On Sunday evening a letter, of which the following are the contents, was sent to each of those patriots.

You are hereby solemnly commanded by the king, to remove from Paris, &c. and not on any account to approach nearer the capital than one hundred miles, till you receive the king's further orders. The place in which you take up your residence must be made known to his majesty, who likewise orders that you do not, on any account, leave the kingdom, or change the place of your effects.

An officer of the first rank was charged with the delivery of the above to each of the peers.

June 21. A tremendous storm is gathering in the north. Heaven grant that it may not extend over the other parts of Europe! The cause of this commotion is said to have arisen from the mortification which the empress of Russia felt, at the refusal of her request at the courts of Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, when she made application for the use of ships and men to convey her troops to the Mediterranean.

By the last accounts of the united powers of Austria and Russia, we learn, that a total despondence prevails with respect to any important advantages to be gained over the Turks. The contempt which Catharine and Joseph expressed towards his sublime highness, in the beginning of their wanton campaign, has given way to a sort of respect for the Mussulmen. Armies cannot be maintained without money; an article that by no means abounds in the christian camps. The Turk knows it, and avoids, as much as possible, a pitched battle, and, like a famous general of old, means to prove victorious, cunctando.

That a general war is now about to desolate the northern parts of Europe, is no longer a secret. From dispatches received yesterday by the Swedish consul, it appears, that general orders have been issued for the return of all subjects of whatever denomination, and a free pardon to those whose misdemeanors had banished them; in addition to this, a hot press (a measure hitherto unknown in that country) had taken place in every sea port and principal town. This intelligence, in corroboration of that already

dy received of the general motion of the Swedish troops, and the advanced state of the fleet, to all which preparations the prince royal is indefatigable in his attention, leaves not a shadow of doubt concerning the intention of the Swedes to take this opportunity to attempt the recovery of Finland, wrested from them by Peter the great. How the empress will be able to quench this fire, thus unexpectedly lighted up, time only can tell.

There has long subsisted between Sweden and Russia a treaty of defensive alliance, in which it is stipulated, that a certain quota of men and ships shall be furnished to either power, if attacked by a foreign enemy. The empress made a demand of this aid from Sweden. The assistance was refused, upon the plea that Russia was not attacked, and, therefore, could not call for support, which was only to act when engaged in her own defence. The empress was highly enraged at this subterfuge, and sent a courier with the declaration, that if the succours were refused, she would attack the Swedish province of Finland with 50,000 men. The king of Sweden replied, that he had 50,000 Swedes ready to meet her, and they should determine the matter.

*June 26.* We are assured that the declaration of war between Sweden and Russia has actually taken place. The king of Sweden is the offensive party. He follows this declaration by the personal command of the army in Finland. We before said, that the principal cause of jealousy was the recovery of that part of Finland, wrested from his ancestors in a former war with Russia, called the country of Karolia. It is the easternmost part of old Finland, and immediately adjacent to the other dominions of the empress.

*St. James's, June 25, 1788.*

*Present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.*

WHEREAS an act has been passed in this present session of parliament, entitled, "an act to continue the laws now in force for regulating the trade between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the united states of America, so far as

the same relate to the trade and commerce carried on between this kingdom and the inhabitants of the countries belonging to the said united states:" and whereas it hath been presented to his majesty at this board, that there is reason to apprehend that wheat, the produce of various parts of the territories belonging to the united states of America, may be infected with an insect, the spreading of which would be injurious to the grain of this kingdom; his majesty taking the same into his royal consideration, hereby pleased, with the advice of privy council, to order, that the utmost care be taken, not to permit any export to be passed for wheat of the growth of any of the territories belonging to the said united states of America, which is already or may hereafter be brought into any of the ports of Great Britain, until his majesty's pleasure shall be farther signified: and his right hon. lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury are to give the necessary directions herein according.

*July 1.* Accounts, it is said, just arrived, that a large detachment of imperial troops have had a rencontre with the advanced forces of the republic of Venice. The object of the contest was the passage of the imperial troops through the territory of the republic. This the Venetians resisted, and the resistance was followed by immediate action.

## American Intelligence

BOSTON, AUGUST 9.

DR. Rush's essay on the use of spirituous liquors, has been republished in almost every paper in the northern states, since it was first published in this. In consequence, we are told, that societies and families in several places, have come to a determination to abstain altogether from the use of spirits: and in this town so strikingly are the baneful effects resulting from their use displayed, that a number of young men have been induced thereby to enter into a resolution in future not to make any use of them.

Aug. 13. Several reports have  
ely circulated respecting an attack  
d to have been made on a party of  
e troops stationed in the territory  
orth-west of the Ohio. The best  
formation we can collect is from a  
nileman just arrived from the Mus-  
ngum, who says that a party of the  
hippawas, about 20, had been some-  
e loitering about the camp, where  
e stores were collected for the gene-  
l treaty, under the guard of a corpo-  
l and ten men; that taking advan-  
ge of this small party, they in the  
ght made an attack and killed two  
ntinels, wounded a third, supposed  
ortally, and scalped a mulatto man;  
at being fired upon by the remain-  
er of the guard, they retreated, with-  
ut doing any further damage, or ef-  
cting their purpose, which was to  
under the stores. Upon this out-  
ge being committed, the Delawares,

a very friendly tribe, not only gave proofs of their disapprobation of the measure by words, but actually seized six of the principal Indians who had been guilty of this attack, and delivered them into the hands of our troops; and that they were safely conducted to fort Harmar, where our informant saw them in irons.

The stores have been since removed to a place of greater security, and the treaty is now expected to be held at Fort Harmer.

Notwithstanding this accident (for so it is viewed in the western country) it is expected that there will be a full meeting of the Indians at the treaty ; from which great advantages will accrue, as the natives in general seem well disposed to cultivate harmony and a good understanding with our settlers in that quarter.



PETERSBURG, AUGUST 7.

The violence of the late hurricane has produced a scene of devastation, in some of the harbours of the united states, beyond all description.—Immense quantities of merchandize entirely ruined ; a large number of vessels totally lost ; planters and farmers materially injured in their crops, and many plantations along the sea-coast deluged by a dreadful inundation of the sea : hardly a vessel has escaped the rage of the combined elements ; and many, together with their unhappy crews, have fallen victims to its fury. In Baltimore alone, the damage done by the storm, is said to amount to 50,000*l*.—and in different parts of this state many of our citizens have suffered very considerably.



CHARLESTON, (S. C.) AUGUST 2.

A letter from North Carolina, dated July 7, says, "The late governor Sevier entered the Great Hiwassee Cherokee town early last month, and killed 25 young warriors, burned a number in a town house, without the loss of a man, horse, or gun."



PHILADELPHIA.

August 6. In many parts of New Jersey the harvest has been gathered in without the assistance of the liquid fire of the West Indies—A drink.

composed of two table spoonfuls of melasses, one of vinegar, and a tea spoonful of ginger, with a quart of water, has been found by experience to be more cooling and strengthening than all the mixtures with rum that ever have been invented.

Not more than two thirds of the quantity of spiritous liquors have been entered in the excise office of this city this year, that were entered last year—and the demand for malt liquors has increased in proportion to the diminished consumption of spirits.

There were formerly, twelve breweries in Boston, and only two distilleries, there are now thirty-two distilleries, and not one brewery in that town.

On Wednesday last, a commencement was celebrated at the university of Pennsylvania, with the customary solemnities. The trustees, and faculty met early in the apparatus chamber, to adjust some preliminary business. A little after ten o'clock they passed in procession, followed by the graduates, in the public hall, where a very respectable assembly had already convened. Immediately after, the honourable the vice-president, and members of the supreme executive council, entered and took their seats. The reverend the president of New Jersey college, the clergy of the city, and many other persons of eminence, were also present.

After the performance of an anthem, vocal and instrumental music coalescing, the provost delivered a solemn prayer adapted to the occasion. Then the exercises took place in their appointed order.

The degree of bachelor of arts was then conferred on the following young gentlemen, viz. Abijah Davis and Nathaniel Harris, of New Jersey, William Hewson, Michael Kepple and William Morris, of Philadelphia, James Robins, of Maryland, and James P. Wilson, of Delaware state.

The following young gentlemen were admitted to the degree of bachelor of physic:—James Beatty and John M'Clellen, of Pennsylvania, Reverdy Ghiselin, of Maryland, William Parker, A. M. of South Carolina, Francis Bowes Sayre and Henry Stuber, A. M. of Philadelphia.

The degree of master of arts conferred on the following gentlemen Robert Paterfon, professor of mathematics in the university, Rev. H. Waddell, of New Jersey, Samuel Prioleau, of South Carolina, John Millar, of the Delaware state, Philip, of Philadelphia, and Gemil.

The degree of doctor of medicine was conferred on Nicholas B. Waters, M. B. of Philadelphia. The gentleman had prepared, and submitted to the examination of the governors of the university, the faculty, such other learned persons as might think proper to examine it, a dissertation or essay—“*Tentamen medicum inaugurale, de scarlatina nanchica* ;” or an inaugural dissertation on the scarlet fever and sore throat.

The degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on the reverend Robert Blackwell, the rev. Nicholas Campbell and the rev. Samuel Jones, in consideration of their abilities and eminence in life.

Aug. 21. A letter from a gentleman at the Muskingum settlement the printer of the Massachusetts State dated July 14, 1788, says, “On 12th inst. a party of Indians, number uncertain, attacked the guard posted for the protection of the stores and goods lately sent up the Muskingum for the treaty, killed two of the guard and a mulatto servant of Major Duken; one other of the guard badly wounded, and two missing, whether taken or not is uncertain. One Indian was left dead on the ground, and it is supposed several were wounded. About an hour after the attack, a number of the Delaware tribe came in to the guard, with their wives and children; they say the Delaware Indian is a Tawawa or Chippawa. This is the substance of the official letter to general Harmar.

“The place where the goods were is between 70 and 80 miles up the river, on the west side. The guard consisted about 30 men, under the command of Lieut. M'Dole; it is about three weeks since they were sent up, to build a council-house or bower, and cellar to secure the goods from the weather for the Indians having complained that we did not meet them on equal



ground, the commissioners had determined, for once, to try their good faith, and meet them without the protection of a military force: and as the treaty was to be held at the special request of the Indians, there could be no reason to expect an attack of his fort, nor is it believed to be done by the knowledge or approbation of the Indians in general; but on the contrary, it is supposed to be a party of lawless wretches, who are outcasts from their own tribes, and who have associated together for the purposes of doing mischief: but be this as it may, it is such a piece of business as will prevent the treaty being held until satisfaction is demanded for so gross an insult: in the mean time, the goods are ordered down to this place, and boats set off last evening for that purpose. What will be the final consequence, no man can tell; however, my opinion is, that the issue will be to our advantage; for, on the one hand, if government behave with that firmness and dignity which they ought, the culprits will be delivered up to punishment, or an Indian war must ensue: if the first is done, the savages will be more careful how they offend in time to come; if the latter takes place, there is every human probability to believe it will end in the destruction or expulsion of them in such a manner as that none shall be left to make us afraid.

“Governor St. Clair arrived here last Wednesday.”

We learn from North Carolina, that the convention of that state have not absolutely rejected the new constitution—but have proposed a bill of rights, and amendments to the most exceptionable and ambiguous parts of the same—which they conceive ought to be laid before congress and the states, previous to the ratification of the new constitution on the part of the state of North Carolina. The bill of rights and amendments are nearly the same as those proposed by Virginia, except in two instances, which we are informed are local to North Carolina; but this locality does not militate against the interest of any other state. The new constitution was discussed, clause by clause, in a committee of the whole convention, and the report of the committee was a bill of rights

and amendments, previous to the ratification, which was agreed to by the convention, by a majority of 102—yeas 184—nays 82. It was the opinion of that convention, that the congress will call a general convention to consider the proposed amendments; that the deliberations of that convention will be submitted to conventions in the several states; and that their state not having rejected the constitution absolutely, will not be precluded from calling a convention to adopt it, should they think proper so to do. They passed two recommendations to the legislature—the one, to make the most effectual and speedy provision for the redemption of the paper money, now in circulation—the other to lay an impost, for the use of congress, on goods imported into North Carolina, similar to that which shall be laid by the new congress, on goods imported into the adopting states. These two recommendations are also to be transmitted to congress and the executives of the several states.

On the opening of the convention, a motion was made by the opposition, to put the question immediately, as it was supposed every member had made up his mind on the subject, and an immediate determination would save the state great expence; this it is thought would have been carried, had not one of the principal supporters of the government, in a most animated and excellent speech, proved the extreme impropriety of such precipitancy in so important a business: upon which the motion was withdrawn.

Through the whole of the discussion of this subject, we are informed, the convention shewed every disposition to promote the interest of the union, and were determined to be actuated by no other motives than those which might tend to promote the general welfare—but being previously instructed by their constituents, and perceiving exceptions in the new constitution, they thought themselves justifiable in postponing the ultimate decision of the important question, until it should be re-considered by the several states, and such objections removed, as might be found necessary to the preservation of the union.

Aug. 28. We hear that a number

of the principal farmers in Philadelphia county (all zealous federalists) have formed a society for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures. Richard Peters, esq. is appointed president of this society. It is said one of their first objects will be to form an association to prevent the use of spiritous liquors, within the circle of their influence in the county.

Richard Peters, esq. has three acres of scarcity-root now in a very flourishing state upon his farm, and his experience of its great increase and usefulness, justifies the encomiums that have been given of it in France and England.

*Aug. 29.* Friday last arrived at Boston, the squadron of the naval armies of his most christian majesty, under the command of the right honourable the marquis de Senneville. The squadron sailed from Cape Francois the 2d inst. and consists of seven sail, viz. the *Superbe*, of eighty guns, (the admiral's ship) the *Achilles* of seventy-four guns, commanded by the chevalier Macarty de Martegue, four frigates from thirty-two to thirty-six guns; and one twenty gun ship.

Their allies, the citizens of Boston, bid the officers and crews of the above fleet, a hearty welcome to the American shores. Experiencing, as they very often have, the civil, polite and gentlemen-like deportment of the officers, and the good order of the seamen of the squadrons which have hitherto visited them, and being still actuated by that friendship which has so long subsisted between the subjects and citizens of the two nations—they cannot but anticipate, on this opportunity, such interchanges of good offices, as must, while they strengthen that friendship and good understanding, and thereby give pleasure to both parties, evince to the commander of the squadron, that his partiality for that port, was not ill-founded.

*August 30.* Colonel Harmar writes, to his friend in Fredericksburg, (in June last) that there had 45,000 persons passed the Muskingum river, from the breaking up of the ice in the spring, to the date of his letter, from an accurate account taken at the garrison at Muskingum.

*August 31.* A society for the abolition of the slave trade, hath lately

been instituted at Paris, in imitation of those in Philadelphia and London. The society is composed of about three hundred members, and among others, in the list of names, we with pleasure see those of the marquis de la Fayette, mr. St. John de Crevecoeur, mr. de Warville, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, and merchants of distinction.

In the course of last year 229 men, 233 women and seventy two children, in all 534 have been admitted as paupers in the house of employment, and thirty four children born—forty-nine men, forty-six women, and thirty-two children died in the house this year: and from an exact average there were 117 men, 172 women, and forty-seven children, making 336 helpless indigents, maintained in the house the whole year: through the most burdensome and expensive part of it, (the late severe winter) there were mostly upwards of 400, and by the middle of March they had arisen to 460.

It is with singular pleasure that we inform the public, that a child that had been fifteen minutes under water a few days ago in our river, and was taken out apparently dead, was perfectly recovered by following the directions published by the humane society of this city.



#### *Married.*

In Baltimore.—Mr. James Toole to Mrs. Susannah Moore.

In Boston.—John Bonen Graves, esq. consil for South Carolina, from the united provinces, to Miss Sally Atwood.

#### *Died.*

On Long Island.—Mr. James Ried.

In Philadelphia.—Mr. Griffith Levering.—Mrs. Elizabeth Baynton.—William Masters, esq.

In Baltimore.—Miss Sally Griffith.—Mr. James Penniman.—Mrs. Frances Brown.

In New York.—John Pierce, esq.—Mrs. Catherine Hazard, relict of Mr. Samuel Hazard, formerly an eminent merchant, of Philadelphia.—Mr. Benjamin Hildreth.

In Virginia.—Thomas Adams, esq. On the road from Trenton to Philadelphia.—William Churchill Houston, esq.

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## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For S E P T E M B E R, 1783.

*Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London : written in the year 1785.*

## LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

THE national events that have taken place since I saw you, lead to imagine, that you have not wholly forgotten what were my political sentiments at the time when I left England. I never was enthusiastic enough to imagine myself possessed of prophetic spirit. However, with respect to the issue of the American war, if my arrow was cast at random, you are yet my witness, that it has not wide of the mark. The idea of your country's ruin had long impressed my mind. And this, when I embarked for America, made the farewell peculiarly affectionate. In whatever company or employ I was engaged, the idea of American glory was in view, until it was painted on my mind, even to a charm. And the moment I set my foot on the shore, I embraced it for my own. And as such, the public interest has ever since had my passions at command; my joy has ebbed and flowed, with the complexion of the times. Had I been a native of America, I could not have felt a longer attachment to her welfare. Sick of the manners of my country, and European fashions at large, I sought of nothing in America, but simplicity of life, industry, economy, and the noblest patriotism. This I unlookingly confess was the fruit of an over-heated imagination: for experience has since supplied the defect of reason, and taught me the mistake.

I at first landed at Philadelphia, where I was introduced to such elegance, grandeur, and opulence, as I had no idea of on this side of the Atlantic. But as I have had for many years a growing aversion to the city, I have long since been anticipating the pleasures of a rural life, I made no long stay, but soon retired to the interior

parts of the country. As I had determined by travelling to acquaint myself with the people, of whom I had formed such an idea, I conceived it a natural dictate of prudence, to accomplish this in the first stage of my American existence: that, being free from local prejudices, and having gained a more universal acquaintance, I might be better able to make a judicious choice with respect to a settlement. In prosecuting this plan, my opportunity in the study of human nature, has been considerable, and I trust not wholly unimproved. Be the improvement, however, what it may, I will risk this thesis, as the result of a careful enquiry: that human nature is the same in England and America. At this observation I doubt not you will smile, and say the man is recovered of his insanity. I readily confess my prejudice in favour of America ran high—too high for me to draw an impartial character. I have waited long to feel myself cool on the subject: but whether long enough, you will better judge from the sequel of my letters. The people of America are hospitable—they are sociable—they are brave, as what I conceived—they are sensible and discerning to admiration: which has fully convinced me, that popular governments are the most friendly to mental improvements. Freedom will raise, and bondage will sink the powers of the human mind. And the same person, in this difference of situation, will make a very different figure in the world. Witness the black and the white people in this country. The colour has not made the odds; shift their situations—let the black man be master, and the white, servant—and a few generations would turn the scale of sensibility.

The country, as to fertility, and variety of produce, fully answers my expectations. And as to extent and settlement, it exceeds my imagination, warm as it was.

The laws are generally good; but

somewhat fail in punctuality of execution. The debt contracted by the war, is not, as you imagined, any way formidable : the resources of the country, I find abundantly sufficient to discharge it. Nor does the union of the states, or disposition of the people at large, threaten a failure. If there is any deficiency in this respect, it is for want of a suitable power in congress, to call forth these resources. The people are young and vigorous : their lands are liberal in the support of life and traffic—in particular, they are exceedingly well-furnished with the materials of ship-building, at which the people are skilful. This branch of business produces a commodity so vendible in Europe, so important the world over, that, if vigorously pursued, it would of itself, in no lengthy period of time, discharge the greater part of the debt.

I was bred, like yourself, in the midst of great distinctions—where, with but the glance of an eye, might be seen the most striking contrast of wealth and poverty. In America it is not so : there is an equality here, which, to an European, would be matter of wonder. In the country, it is usual for every man to be settled on his own plantation ; and he is lord of whatever his deed covers ; he knows nothing of the exorbitant demands either of tyrant, bishop, or landlord. Notwithstanding the rise of taxes, occasioned by the war, they are yet light compared with yours. They crowd not, as in England, upon the necessaries and comforts of life ; but leave the industrious labourer in full possession of both. Back from the sea-coast, they are generally farmers ; they retire from the field at night, with an appetite created by moderate exercise ; this gives a peculiar relish to their food and drink, which are plain and wholesome, but not rich. Being strangers to intemperance and luxury, and with their senses unimpaired by the fare of high life, they appear to take all the satisfaction the world affords.

As I travel, I often from choice take lodging with this class of men, and from their table of plain diet, am more pleased and refreshed, than I should be at an entertainment of a lord in England. For here, though

it be hard to give a reason, I partake with them in the appetite and relish. Here I behold simplicity of manners, without mixture of formality—and an honest-hearted generosity without the disagreeable shew of parade. Here liberty appears to be more than a speculative ideal thing—it is a reality. It discovers itself in the behaviour and countenance of the men ; their whole deportment is different from one that has been bred fawn at a monarch's feet, or one whose interest wholly depends on keeping his landlord in humour. I trust you will not think me frantic in this observation ; for in your own speculations on human nature, you must have observed the command which the mind has over the features and deportment of the man. Does not the melancholy soul wear a wrinkled brow ? does not the thief, without speaking, confess his guilt ? and who are not the slaves of lord and monarch in like manner visible ?

From the intimacy and unreserved freedom I have had in your company you are sensible that I am no enemy to matrimonial connexions. The situation, circumstances, and manner of my country, are what have so long confined me to a celibate life. I never could feel it duty, to be instrument in introducing my own species to the world, which was so disagreeable to myself. My soul has often recoiled at the idea of being father to one who should be a tenant to a lord, or a vassal to a tyrant. But methinks these objections are removed, and I begin to feel the force of duty and inclination without opposition. You will, therefore, not be surprised, should you soon hear of my forming a very serious acquaintance with one of these farmer daughters. For on all accounts, I must prefer their education and manner of life, which is for the most part neat, frugal, and industrious. They are persons of good humour ; nor has their taste ever been corrupted by the follies and fopperies of the city, though at the same time, they are strangers to good breeding. I have many motives to this choice in particular. I consider the disposition a great measure formed by early example ; and the different callings that employ mankind, are not without

their influence in this respect. The father undergoes that shift of fortune and shift of passion to which the farmer is not exposed : hence these employments are not alike friendly to that calmness of disposition which is the main pillar in the support of congenial happiness. Let a person be brought up in a family, where the domestic affairs are conducted in a cholerical manner, and where peevishness in the heads, is frequently seen triumphant over reason, and it is a wonder if the disposition does not hence receive disagreeable tincture. And the same observation may be made with regard to other defects in human life : it is in this way that family vices are propagated, and handed down from parent to child, and from child to grandchild, not only to their own reproach, but to the great detriment of civil society. I am therefore governed in this matter, not so much with a view to my own happiness, as the good of the rising family : where the mother, as she more constantly resides, must have the principal hand in forming the children either to virtue or vice. The mother of a family I consider as the open book, from which the children take the lesson of life. And of what interesting concern is it, then, to these tender minds, that the lesson be good, founded on morality, and suited to temper the disposition, both to private happiness and public usefulness ? It would not be strange, if by this time you begin to wonder at my freedom : indeed I am surprised at it myself, especially on a subject of this delicate nature. At first I thought only to have started the idea, but have been rendered insensibly to the above observations. However, you would readily pardon me, had you been witness to that which of late has so captivated my mind. I have often, with respect to happiness of life, built castles in the air : I have often allowed my imagination to rove uncontrolled on the subject : and as often have my judgment and experience dashed the airy bubble, and convinced me that the whole was an ideal thing, not capable in its nature of being reduced to practice. Here among the farmers of America, I behold the happiness of life exemplified beyond whatever reason or observation taught me before.

For some days past, I have taken my route farther back in the country than heretofore, which has led me into a territory as yet but thinly inhabited. Here, where I am passing plains, intervals, and mountains, I meet with nothing to disturb my reflection. The soil, I observe, is exceedingly good, and in every point of view inviting to the husbandman.—Never did I feel such compassion for the vassals of lord and monarch as now. Can it be that so many millions of the human race should drag out the miserable remains of life, ignorant that there is any part of the world that will better support them ? Can there be such inhumanity in the great, as to build their grandeur, and support their luxury upon the toil of their fellow-mortals, when the wilds of America invite them to liberty, and where a few years' industry would raise them to a state of opulence and independence !

In these woods, I now and then pass a log-house, around which there are considerable improvements, proportioned no doubt to the proprietor's industry and time of settlement. I often call and enquire into their welfare, and question them on the proficiency they make on their new plantations. I came last evening to one of these habitations : it was earlier in the day than I would have wished to put up ; but fearing lest night might overtake me in the wilderness, or lest I might not find an house that promised so good accommodation, I asked for entertainment, which was readily granted. The family seemed pleased to have an opportunity of waiting on a stranger. My landlord, when he returned from the field at night, discovered the same good humour in his countenance : he bid me welcome to his house, and to his table of plain diet, which was soon made ready.—He informed me, that it was not more than six years since the first stroke was struck on his farm ; and he had then between fifty and sixty acres cleared—kept an handsome flock—raised his own wool and flax—had always, after the first year, a surplussage of grain—made his own meat—his own dairy—and his own apparel.—Indeed, the economy in the house appeared to resemble that without,—

While the father, with a little child on his knee, was giving me this account, the mother with the daughters were about their domestic employments. Each one in the family filled his own place, and contentment and satisfaction reigned through the whole. After family prayer, which was religiously attended, I retired to my lodging, with a disposition better suited to reflection than sleep. I fancied myself to have fallen upon a discovery, after which the fables of antiquity had sought in vain; and that here in the wilderness, I had found in what the greatest happiness of life consisted: for here was religion without colour of superstition—here was civil and religious liberty in perfection—here was independence, as far as the nature of human life would admit—here fullness was enjoyed with retirement—and the whole shut out from the noise and bustle of the world. After we arose in the morning, my landlord invited me to a walk in the field, where I saw the effects of industry united with the best economy. And finding him to be a very affable, sensible man, I asked him a number of questions; among the rest, whether he could give any account how far those wilds were habitable, and whether the soil in general was in any measure to be compared to the spot on which he was settled. This question introduced the following narration which he gave me: A friend of his, with two others, a few years before, set out with a determination to penetrate the western wilderness, as far as prudence should direct. They travelled fifteen days for the most part on a westerly line, without discovering the least trace of any human creature. The wild beasts would often start before them: of these, there was a great plenty and a great variety; among which their fire-arms contributed much to their amusement, as well as support. On the afternoon of the fifteenth day, when they had travelled not less than three hundred miles from any inhabitants, they unexpectedly discovered a large plantation under the best improvement. In the midst of this appeared a stately elegant building, in the English fashion. With joy they hastened to the gate of the high-yard, which surrounded this seat. The por-

ter that stood sentinel, underflood from signs their desire of admittance—carried their request, and soon returned with liberty of admission. They were received into the family, where they had all the marks of hospitality shewn them; but were not admitted that night to speak with the master of the house. In the morning, they were invited to his apartment, in an upper loft, where, in addition to their joy, they found him to be a man of the own colour, and one who spoke the own language. He sufficiently apologized for not waiting on them the evening before. The reason was, he being employed in preparing a pack for Quebec, with respect to the fur trade, over which he presided in that quarter of the world. The history of the man in a few words, is this: when a child, he was bound an apprentice to a gentleman in Albany, with whom he lived, till he was nineteen years of age; when his master's severity growing intolerable, he privately left him with a determination to seek a retreat in the wilderness, beyond the search or information of his master. On his route, he arrived at a small village of the natives, with whom he associated and with whom, after a few years, he was connected in marriage. This, with other circumstances, procured him the confidence, service, and entire obedience of that people, by whose labours he brought under improvement, a tract of land which almost bounded the eye. He was a man of no education—could neither read nor write, which proved a very material disadvantage to his trade. To remedy this defect, he sent his eldest son to Quebec, who was there furnished with an education sufficient to transact his father's business, both among French and English. His plantation furnished his numerous family with all the necessaries of life in great abundance: nor did his trade contribute less to its conveniences. Thus here in this remote part of the wilderness, was enjoyed almost every thing the world affords, and nothing, (as he observed) was wanting to complete the happiness of his situation, but a small circle of friends with whom he might use his native language, and spend the vacant hours of life. After these men had travelled upwards of a



hundred miles further, nearly in the same direction, they returned, with observing that the whole of this newly explored region was an exceedingly rich soil, and by far the most level and beautiful of any part of America that had come within their knowledge.

At the close of this conversation, I and myself possessed of a strange mixture of feelings. My pity, gratitude, and joy ran high, so as not a little to disturb that steadiness of mind, which, if possible, I would discover under all occurrences of life. I could not do less than cross the Atlantic in imagination, and drop a tear of pity on those I had left behind—many of whom were ignorant that there was any such opening as this on the globe; and, if known, have yet been so long confined in slavery, as to feel no inclination or resolution to shake off the yoke and make the noble adventure.

could not but have a grateful sense of the divine goodness, in preparing such a spacious retreat for the poor and oppressed of mankind, and discovering it in an age of the world, when it was never more needed. I could not likewise but feel a joy in the rising glory of America. What a foundation is here for a great, lasting, and happy empire ! In no part of the world, was there ever a greater number of natural circumstances, which united to promise the event ; and perhaps in no part so many of a moral kind. Here is no want of territory—or is there want of matter on which to ground the best civil policy. The history of the world is before them, the public virtues and vices of every nation are laid open to their view—their rise and fall, with the operating causes, are carefully noticed, especially those of their mother country, now on the decline, which must be fresh in mind, and I trust will ever prove a lesson of the most salutary instruction. These, among many, are some of the natural reasons that excite my joy. And with modesty may I not attempt the moralist, so far as to observe, that as this is the greatest quarter of the world and the last in discovery, we may here rationally expect the last and greatest works of the Deity ? I mean those which are to be accomplished in the golden age. From some cause or other, I am im-

resistibly inclined to believe, that this is the hemisphere on which the morning of that day will first dawn, and shine back from west to east till the light and knowledge of the Saviour shall illuminate the world. Will not this, at least in part, be a fulfilment of his own words—that the last shall be first, and the first last? And to strengthen the idea, may I not bring to view, the prophetic description of that approaching day? for is not this the wilderness and solitary place that shall be made glad, and the desert that shall blossom as the rose? But whether this be the effect of fancy or not, I leave you to judge, and subscribe myself, your most obedient, humble servant, &c.

[To be continued.]

*Letters on marriage. Ascribed to the  
rev. John Witherspoone, D. D.  
president of Princeton college.*

[Continued from page 108.]

LETTER III.

 $S \perp R,$ 

I Have not yet done with the maxims on matrimonial happiness; therefore observe,

4. That it is not by far of so much consequence, what are the talents, temper, turn of mind, character, or circumstances of both or either of the parties, as that there be a certain suitability or correspondence of those of the one to those of the other.

Those essay writers, who have taken human nature and life as their general subject, have many remarks on the causes of infelicity in the marriage union, as well as many beautiful and striking pictures of what would be just, generous, prudent, and dutiful conduct, or their contraries, in particular circumstances. Great pains also have been taken to point out what ought to be the motives of choice to both parties, if they expect happiness. Without entering into a full detail of what has been said upon this subject, I think the two chief competitors for preference, have generally been—good nature and good sense. The advocates for the first, say, that as the happiness of married people must arise from a continual interchange of kind offices, and from a number of small circumstances, that occur every

hour, a gentle and easy disposition—a temper that is happy in itself—must be the cause of happiness to another. The advocates for good sense say, that the sweetness of good nature is only for the honey-moon; that it will either change its nature, and become sour by long standing, or become wholly insipid; so that if it do not generate hatred, it will at least incur indifference or contempt; whereas good sense is a sterling quality, which cannot fail to produce and preserve esteem—the true foundation of rational love.

If I may, as I believe most people do, take the prevailing sentiments within the compass of my own reading and conversation, for the general opinion, I think it is in favour of good sense. And if we must determine between these two, and decide which of them is of the most importance when separated from the other, I have very little to say against the public judgment. But in this, as in many other cases, it is only imperfect and general, and often ill understood and falsely applied. There is hardly a more noted saying than that a man of sense will never use a woman ill, which is true or false according to the meaning that is put upon the phrase, using a woman ill. If it be meant, that he will not so probably beat his wife, as a fool, that he will not scold or curse her, or treat her with ill manners before company, or indeed that he will not so probably keep a continual wrangling either in public or private, I admit that it is true. Good sense is the best security against indecours of every kind. But if it be meant, that a man of sense will not make his wife in any case truly miserable, I utterly deny it. On the contrary, there are many instances in which men make use of their sense itself, their judgment, penetration, and knowledge of human life, to make their wives more exquisitely unhappy. What shall we say of those, who can fling them with reflexions so artfully guarded that it is impossible not to feel them, and yet almost as impossible with propriety to complain of them?

I must also observe, that a high degree of delicacy in sentiment, although this is the prevailing ingredient when men attempt to paint refined felicity

in the married state, is one of the most dangerous qualities that can be mentioned. It is like certain medicines that are powerful in their operation but at the same time require the utmost caution and prudence, as to time and manner of their being applied. A man or woman of extreme delicacy is a delightful companion for a visit or a day. But there are many other characters which I would greatly prefer in a partner, or a child, or other near relation, in whose permanent happiness I felt myself deeply concerned. I hope no body will think me so clownish as to exclude sentiment altogether. I have already declared my opinion upon this subject and also my desire that the woman should be the more refined of the two. But I adhere to it, that carrying this matter to an extreme is of the most dangerous consequence. Your high sentimentalists form expectations which it is impossible to gratify. The gallantry of courtship, and the *bien-séance* of general conversation in the *beau monde*, seem to promise what the downright reality of matrimony cannot afford.

I will here relate a case that fell within my own observation. A person of noble birth had been some years married to a merchant's daughter of immense fortune, by which his estate had been saved from ruin. His education had been as good as money could make it, from her infancy; so that she knew every mode of high life as well as he. They were upon a visit to a family of equal rank, intimately connected with the author of this letter. The manner of the man was distinguished and exemplary. His behaviour to his lady was with the most perfect delicacy. He spoke to her as often as to any other, and treated her not only with the same complacency, but with the same decency and reserve, that he did other ladies. To this he added the most tender solicitude about her not taking cold, about her place in the chamber, and her covering when going abroad, &c. &c. After their departure, the whole family they had left, excepting one, were two or three days expatiating on the beauty of his behaviour. One lady in particular said at last, 'Oh! how happy a married woman

ve I seen.' The single dissenter, who was an elderly lady, then said, 'Vell, you may be right; but I am a different opinion. I do not like perfect and finished a ceremonial between persons who have been married five or six years at least. I observed that he did every thing that he ought to have done, and likewise that she received his civilities with much dignity and good manners, but with great gravity. I would rather have seen him less punctual, and her more cheerful. If therefore, that lady is as happy in her heart as you suppose, I am mistaken; that is all. But if I were to take a bet upon it, I could bet as much on the tradesman and his wife, according to the common description, walking to church, one three or four yards before the other, and never looking back.' What did time discover? that nobleman and his lady parted within two years, and never reunited.

Let me now establish my maxim, that it is not the fine qualities of both either party that will insure happiness, but that the one be suitable to the other. By their being suitable, not to be understood their being both of the same turn; but that the defects of the one be supplied or submitted to by some correspondent quality of the other. I think I have seen many instances, in which gravity, severity, and even moroseness in a husband, where there has been virtue at bottom, has been so tempered with meekness, gentleness, and compliance in the wife, as has produced real and lasting comfort to both. I have also seen some instances, in which sourness and want of female softness in a woman, has been so happily compensated by easiness and good humour in a husband, that no appearance of unkindly hatred was to be seen in a whole life. I have seen multitudes of instances, in which vulgarity, and even illiberal freedom, not far from brutishness, in a husband, has been borne with perfect patience and serenity by the wife, who, by long custom, had become, as it were, insensible of the impropriety, and yet never inattentive to her own behaviour.

As a farther illustration, I will relate two or three cases from real life, which have appeared to me the most

singular in my experience. I spent some time, many years ago, in the neighbourhood of, and frequent intercourse with, a husband and his wife in the following state. She was not handsome, and at the same time was valetudinary, fretful, and peevish—constantly talking of her ailments, dissatisfied with every thing about her, and, what appeared most surprising, she vented these complaints most when her husband was present. He, on the other hand, was most affectionate and sympathizing, constantly upon the watch for any thing that could gratify her desires, or alleviate her distresses. The appearance for a while surprized me, and I thought he led the life of a slave. But at last I discovered that there are two ways of complaining, not suddenly distinguishable by common observers: the one is an expression of confidence, and the other of discontent. When a woman opens all her complaints to her husband, in full confidence that he will sympathize with her, and seeking the relief which such sympathy affords, taking care to keep to the proportion which experience hath taught her will not be disagreeable to him, it frequently increases instead of extinguishing affection.

Take another case as follows: Syrisca was a young woman the reverse of a beauty. She got her living in a trading city, by keeping a small shop, not of the millinery kind, which is nearly allied to elegance and high life, but of common grocery goods, so that the poor were her chief customers. By the death of a brother in the East Indies, she came suddenly and unexpectedly to a fortune of many thousand pounds. The moment this was known, a knight's lady in the neighbourhood destined Syrisca as a prize for Horatio, her own brother, of the military profession, on half pay, and rather past the middle of life. For this purpose she made her a visit, carried her to her house, assisted no doubt in bringing home and properly securing her fortune; and in as short a time as could well be expected, completed her purpose. They lived together on an estate in the country, often visited by the great relations of the husband. Syrisca was good natured and talkative, and there-

fore often betrayed the meanness of her birth and education, but was not sensible of it. Good will supplied the place of good breeding with her, and she did not know the difference. Horatio had generosity and good sense, treated her with the greatest tenderness, and having a great fund of facetiousness and good humour, acquired a happy talent of giving a lively or sprightly turn to every thing said by his wife, or diverting the attention of the company to another subject. The reader will probably say, he took the way that was pointed out by reason, and was most conducive to his own comfort. I say so too; but at the same time affirm, that there are multitudes who could not, or would not, have followed his example.

I give one piece of history more, but with some fear, that nice readers will be offended, and call it a caricature. However, let it go. Agrestis was a gentleman of an ancient family, but the estate was almost gone; little more of it remained but what he farmed himself, and indeed his habitation did not differ from that of a farmer, but by having an old tower and battlements. He had either received no education, or had been incapable of profiting by it, for he was the most illiterate person I ever knew, who kept any company. His conversation did not rise even to politics, for he found such insuperable difficulty in pronouncing the names of generals, admirals, countries, and cities, constantly occurring in the newspapers, that he was obliged to give them up altogether. Of ploughs, waggons, cows, and horses, he knew as much as most men; what related to these, with the prices of grain, and the news of births and marriages in the parish and neighbourhood, completed the circle of his conversation.

About the age of forty, he married Lenia, a young woman of a family equal to him in rank, but somewhat superior in wealth. She knew a little more of the strain of fashionable conversation, and not a whit more of any thing else. She was a flattern in her person, and of consequence there was neither cleanliness nor order in the family. They had many children; she bore him twins twice, a circumstance of which he was very

proud, and frequently boasted of it, a manner not over delicate, to those who had not been so fortunate in the particular. They were both good natured and hospitable; if a stranger came, he was made heartily welcome, though sometimes a little incommode by an uproar among the children and the dogs, when striving about the fire in a cold day; the noise was however little less dissonant, than the clamour of Agrestis himself, when rebuking the one, or chastizing the other, or of complaisance to his guests. The couple lived many years in the most perfect amity by their being perfectly suitable the one to the other, and am confident not a woman envied his wife, nor a man the husband, while the union lasted.

It is very easy to see from these examples, the vast importance of the temper and manner of the one being truly suitable to those of the other.

I had not given histories enough; ready, I could mention some in which each party I think could have made some other man or woman perfectly happy, and yet they never could arrive at happiness, or indeed be at peace with one another. Certainly, therefore, this should be an object particularly attended to in courtships, while marriage is on the tapis, as politicians say. If I look out for a wife I ought to consider, not whether a lady has fine qualities for which she ought to be esteemed or admired, but whether she has such a deportment as will take continual delight in, as such a taste as gives reason to think she will take delight in me; I may pitch too high, as well as too low, as the issue may be equally unfortunate. Perhaps I shall be told there lies the great difficulty; how shall we make this discovery? In time of youth and courtship, there is so much studied attention to please, from interested views, and so much restraint from fashion, and the observation of other, that it is hard to judge how they will turn out afterwards.

This I confess to be a considerable difficulty, and at the same time greatest upon the man's side. The man being generally the eldest, his character, temper, and habits may be more certainly known. Whereas there are sometimes great disappointments in

the other side, and that happily both ways. I am able just now to recollect one or two instances of giddy and foolish, nay of idle, lazy, drowsy persons, who, after marriage, felt themselves interested, and became as spirited and active heads of families, as they were before. I have known many, by whatever means, and also some of the most elegant and exemplary, who, after marriage, fell into a languid sluggishness, and contracted habits of the most indolent and disgustful kind. These instances, however, are rare, and those who will take the pains to examine, may in general obtain satisfaction. It is also proper to observe, that if a man finds it difficult to judge of the temper and character of a woman, he has a great advantage on his side, that the right of selection belongs to him. He may ask any woman he pleases, after the most mature deliberation, and need ask no other; whereas a woman must make the best choice she can, of those only who do or probably will marry her. But with these reflexions in view, what shall we say of the inconceivable folly of those, who, in the heat of courtship, are every now and then taking things in high dudgeon, and sometimes very great submissions, and sometimes very great submissions, as necessary to make up the breaches? Such persons marry, and do not agree, shall we pity them? I think not. After the most serene courtship, there may possibly be a rough enough passage through life; but after a courtship of storms, to expect a marriage to be a calm weather, is certainly more than a common presumption: therefore they ought to take the consequences.

On the whole, I think that the calamities of the married state are generally to be imputed to the persons themselves in the following proportion—three-fourths to the man for want of care or judgment in the choice, and one-fourth to the woman on the same score. Suppose a man had bought a farm, and, after a year or so, should, in conversation with his neighbour, make heavy complaints how much he had been disappointed, I imagine his friend might say to him, did you not see this land before you bought it? O yes; I saw it often. Do you not understand soils? I think so tolerably. Did you not examine with care? Not so much as I should.

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have done; standing at a certain place, it looked admirably well; the fences too were new, and looked exceedingly neat; the house had been just painted a stone colour, with paneling; the windows were large and elegant; but I neglected entirely to examine the sufficiency of the materials, or the disposition of the apartments. There were in the month of April, two beautiful springs, but since I have lived here, they have been dry every year before the middle of June. Did you enquire of those who had lived on the place, of the permanency of the springs? No, indeed; I omitted it. Had you the full measure you were promised? Yes, every acre. Was the right complete and valid? Yes, yes, perfectly good. No man in America can take it from me. Were you obliged to take it up in part of a bad debt? No, nothing like it. I took such a fancy for it all at once, that I pestered the man from week to week to let me have it. Why really, then, says his friend, I think you had better keep your complaints to yourself. Cursing and fretfulness will never turn stones into earth, or sand into loam; but I can assure you, that frugality, industry, and good culture, will make a bad farm very tolerable, and an indifferent one truly good.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

EPAMINONDAS.



*A series of letters on education.*

[Continued from page 111.]

LETTER III.

DEAR SIR,

THE theory laid down in my last letter, for establishing an early and absolute authority over children, is of much greater moment than, perhaps, you will immediately apprehend. There is a great diversity in the temper and disposition of children; and no less in the penetration, prudence, and resolution of parents. From all these circumstances, difficulties arise, which increase very fast as the work is delayed. Some children have naturally very stiff and obstinate tempers, and some have a certain pride, or, if you please, greatness of mind, which makes them think it a mean thing

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to yield. This disposition is often greatly strengthened in those of high birth, by the ideas of their own dignity and importance, instilled into them from their mother's milk. I have known a boy not six years of age, who made it a point of honour not to cry when he was beat even by his parents. Other children have so strong passions, or so great sensibility, that if they receive correction, they will cry immoderately, and either be, or seem to be, affected to such a degree, as to endanger their health or life. Neither is it uncommon for the parents in such a case to give up the point, and if they do not ask pardon, at least they give very genuine marks of repentance and sorrow for what they have done.

I have said this is not uncommon, but I may rather ask you whether you know any parents at all, who have so much prudence and firmness as not to be discouraged in the one case, or to relent on the other? At the same time it must always be remembered, that the correction is wholly lost which does not produce absolute submission. Perhaps I may say it is more than lost, because it will irritate instead of reforming them, and will instruct or perfect them in the art of overcoming their parents, which they will not fail to manifest on a future opportunity. It is surprising to think how early children will discover the weak side of their parents, and what ingenuity they will shew in obtaining their favour or avoiding their displeasure. I think I have observed a child in treaty or expostulation with a parent, discover more consummate policy at seven years of age, than the parent himself, even when attempting to cajole him with artful evasions and specious promises. On all these accounts, it must be a vast advantage that a habit of submission should be brought on so early, that even memory itself shall not be able to reach back to its beginning. Unless this is done, there are many cases in which, after the best management, the authority will be imperfect; and some in which any thing that deserves that name will be impossible. There are some families, not contemptible either in station or character, in which the parents are literally and properly obedient to their children, are forced to do things against

their will, and chidden if they discover the least backwardness to comply. If you know none such, I am I do.

Let us now proceed to the means of preserving authority, and way in which it ought to be daily exercised. I will trace this to its source. Whatever authority you exercise over either children or servants, or as a magistrate over other citizens, it ought to be dictated by conscience, and directed by a sense of duty. Fiction or resentment ought to have little place as possible, or rather, speak properly, though few can be of having arrived at full perfection, it ought to have no place at all. A proof or correction given in a rage is always considered by him to whom it is administered, as the effect of weakness in you, and therefore the demerit of the offence will be either wholly denied or soon forgotten. I have heard some parents often say, that they cannot correct their children unless they are angry; to which I have usually answered, then they ought not to correct them at all. Every one would be sensible, that for a magistrate to discover an intemperate rage in pronouncing sentence against a criminal, would be highly indecorous. Ought not parents to punish their children in the same dispassionate manner? Ought they not to be at least equally concerned to discharge their duty in the best manner, in one case as in the other?

He who would preserve his authority over his children, should be particularly watchful of his own conduct. You may as well pretend to force people to love what is not agreeable, as to reverence what is not respectable. A decency of conduct, therefore, and dignity of deportment, is highly serviceable for the purpose we have now in view. Lest I might, however, should be mistaken, I will put in a caution, that I do not mean to recommend keeping children at great a distance, by a uniform sternness and severity of carriage. That I think, is not necessary, even when they are young; and it may, to children of some tempers, be very hurtful when they are old. By and by you shall receive from me a quite contrary direction. But by dignity of

ge, I mean parents shewing themselves always cool and reasonable in their own conduct ; prudent and cautious in their conversation with regard to the rest of mankind ; not fretful or impatient, or passionately fond of their own peculiarities ; and though gentle and affectionate to their children, avoiding levity in their presence. This, probably, is the meaning of the precept of the ancients, *maxima debet pueris reverentia*. I would have them cheerful, yet serene. In short, I would have their familiarity to be only a decently an act of condescension. Believe it, my dear sir, that which best deserves esteem, will not fail to produce affection.

That this may not be carried too far, I would recommend every expression of affection and kindness to children when it is safe, that is to say, when their behaviour is such as to deserve it. There is no opposition at all between parental tenderness and parental authority. They are the best supports to each other. It is not only useful, but will be of service that parents should discover the greatest fondness for children in infancy, and make them perceive distinctly with how much pleasure they gratify all their innocent inclinations. This, however, must always be done when they are quiet, gentle, and submissive in their carriage. Some have found fault with rewarding them, for doing well, little rewards of sweet-meats and play-things, tending to make them mercenary, and leading them to look upon the indulgence of appetite as the chief good. This, I apprehend, is rather refusing so much : the great point is, that they be rewarded for doing good, and not for doing evil. When they are disobedient or froward, I would never buy peace, but force it. Nothing can be more weak and foolish, or more destructive of authority, than when children are noisy and in ill humour, to give them or promise them something to appease them. When the Roman emperors began to give pensions and subsidies to the northern nations to keep them quiet, a man might have foreseen, without the spirit of prophecy, who would be master in a little time. The case is exactly the same with children. They will soon rail themselves of this easiness in their

parents, command favours instead of begging them, and be insolent when they should be grateful.

The same conduct ought to be uniformly preserved as children advance in years and understanding. Let parents try to convince them how much they have their real interest at heart. Sometimes children will make a request, and receive a hasty or a froward denial ; yet upon reflexion the thing appears not to be unreasonable, and finally it is granted ; and whether it be right or wrong, sometimes, by the force of importunity, it is extorted. If parents expect either gratitude or submission for favours so ungraciously bestowed, they will find themselves egregiously mistaken. It is their duty to prosecute, and it ought to be their comfort to see, the happiness of their children ; and therefore they ought to lay it down as a rule, never to give a sudden or hasty refusal ; but, when any thing is proposed to them, consider deliberately and fully whether it is proper—and after that, either grant it cheerfully, or deny it firmly.

It is a noble support of authority, when it is really and visibly directed to the most important end. My meaning in this, I hope, is not obscure. The end I consider as most important is, the glory of God in the eternal happiness and salvation of children. Whoever believes in a future state, whoever has a just sense of the importance of eternity to himself, cannot fail to have the like concern for his offspring. This should be his end both in instruction and government ; and when it visibly appears that he is under the constraint of conscience, and that either reproof or correction are the fruit of sanctified love, it will give them irresistible force. I will tell you here, with all the simplicity necessary in such a situation, what I have often said in my course of pastoral visitation in families, where there is in many cases, through want of judgment, as well as want of principle, a great neglect of authority. “ Use your authority for God, and he will support it. Let it always be seen that you are more displeased at sin than at folly. What a shame is it, that if a child shall, through the inattention and levity of youth, break a dish or a pane of the window, by which you may lose

the value of a few pence, you should storm and rage at him with the utmost fury, or perhaps beat him with unmerciful severity; but if he tells a lie, or takes the name of God in vain, or quarrels with his neighbours, he shall easily obtain pardon; or perhaps, if he is reproved by others, you will justify him, and take his part."

You cannot easily believe the weight that it gives to family authority, when it appears visibly to proceed from a sense of duty, and to be itself an act of obedience to God. This will produce coolness and composure in the manner, it will direct and enable a parent to mix every expression of heart-felt tenderness, with the most severe and needful reproofs. It will make it quite consistent to affirm, that the rod itself is an evidence of love, and that it is true of every pious parent on earth, what is said of our Father in heaven: "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons: for what son is he whom the Father chasteneth not? But if ye are without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons." With this maxim in your eye, I would recommend, that solemnity take the place of, and be substituted for severity. When a child, for example, discovers a very depraved disposition, instead of multiplying stripes in proportion to the reiterated provocations, every circumstance should be introduced, whether in reproof or punishment, that can either discover the seriousness of your mind, or make an impression of awe, and reverence upon his. The time may be fixed before hand—at some distance—the Lord's day—his own birth-day—with many other circumstances that may be so special that it is impossible to enumerate them. I shall just repeat what you have heard often from me in conversation, that several pious persons made it an invariable custom, as soon as their children could read, never to correct them, but after they had read over all the passages of scripture which command it, and generally accompanied it with prayer to God for his blessing. I know well with what ridicule this would be treated by many, if publicly

mentioned, but that does not shake judgment in the least, being fully convinced that it is a most excellent method, and that it is impossible blot from the minds of children, while they live upon earth, the impressions that are made by these means, or abate the veneration they will retain for the parents who acted such a part.

Suffer me here to observe to you that such a plan as the above, requires judgment, reflexion, and great attention in your whole conduct. Take heed that there be nothing admitted the intervals that may counteract. Nothing is more destructive of authority, than frequent disputes and chiding upon small matters. This is often more irksome to children than parents are aware of. It weakens their influence insensibly, and in time mingles their opinion and judgment of little weight, if not wholly contemptible. As before I recommended dignity in your general conduct, so in a particular manner, let the utmost care be taken not to render authority cheap by too often interposing it. There is really too great a risk to be run in every such instance. If parents were to be deciding directly, and censuring every moment, it is to be supposed they will be sometimes wrong, and when this evidently appears, it will take away from the credit of the opinion, and weaken their influence even where it ought to prevail.

Upon the whole, to encourage you to choose a wise plan, and to adhere to it with firmness, I can venture assure you, that there is no doubt of your success. To subdue a youth after he has been long accustomed to indulgence, I take to be in all cases difficult, and in many impossible; but while the body is tender, to bring the mind to submission, to train up a child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, I know is not impossible: and he who hath given the command, can scarcely fail to follow it with his blessing.

I am, &c.

[ *To be continued.* ]



## THE VISITANT.

[ *Continued from page 121.* ]

No. IV. *On politeness.*

TO render an action the object of complete approbation, it must



not only be good in itself—it must likewise be performed in an handsome manner. Decency should attend virtue inseparably; and we should endeavour to verify the opinion of Cicero—that they cannot be disjoined in one another, but in idea. Every sentiment, which we feel, has a mode of expression natural to it; whether respect our voice, our words, our features, or our gestures.

The sentiment and the expression appropriated to it, are joined together in our imagination, by that principle, which produces the association of ideas. Being accustomed to see them together, we form in our minds, a connexion between them; when one appears, we expect the other to follow it; and though it does not, we still imagine it exist.

It is remarkable, that when two ideas are associated in the imagination, they communicate, to the attendant idea, the qualities of that, on which it depends. Because sceptres are borne by kings, we annex the idea of grandeur to that of a sceptre. When a carriage is used by people of quality, we think it genteel. The same fashion, when it is dropt by the quality, is taken up by the peasants, we consider as clownish and vulgar.

From these principles arises the rule of politeness; which I define to be, the natural and graceful expression of the social virtues. By means of the former principle, we look on politeness, as connected with those sentiments and dispositions, which it represents. By means of the latter, we bestow on it the agreeable qualities, of which those sentiments and dispositions are possessed.

Considered in this view, politeness is indeed amiable. It is an accomplishment, which every one should be desirous to attain. What can be more engaging, than the dispositions which it expresses? What can be more pleasing, than its manner of expressing them? Our tempers, formed for society, render us susceptible of the most exquisite delight, or of the most exquisite pain, from the conduct, which those we are conversant with, shew towards us. In proportion, therefore, as the savage wretch must be odious, who beholds our distresses with an unfeeling indifference, and

our pleasures with a fullen insensibility; in the same proportion must he be amiable, whose every action—whose every word—whose every gesture discovers that his sympathetic breast beats time with ours; and that every emotion, which is raised in us, excites a correspondent one in him. Half the miseries, which we complain of, as the unavoidable portion of human life, might be prevented—and those, which cannot be prevented, might be alleviated—our enjoyments might be multiplied—and the pleasure, which arises from them, might be increased—were we but as attentive, as we should be, to the situation of those, who are born under the same conditions with ourselves. Men are not naturally wolves to men: they were made to assist, not to devour one another.

Politeness may be practised on every occasion; and assumes different forms, according to the different circumstances of time, place, and persons. It accommodates itself to the church, to the play-house, to a ball. In company, in business, in amusement—it is never unreasonable. If conversation is instructive, politeness embellishes it; though it is trifling, politeness makes it tolerable. A man of sense, who is morose and uncomplying, is more disagreeable than a person of inferior abilities, but of elegant manners.

It is of importance to distinguish politeness from a pretender, which sometimes assumes its appearance, but arises from a very different source. The pretender, I mean, is foppery. A man of politeness expresses, in an handsome manner, the emotions he feels. A fop piques himself upon counterfeiting the natural expression of passions, of which his unfurnished soul is unsusceptible. When a polite man makes a bow, he discovers his respect—when he congratulates the fortunate, he only speaks the concurring sentiments of his own heart; when he commiserates the unhappy, he only utters the genuine declarations of compassion and humanity. A fop, on the contrary, will take an opportunity of shewing the skill of his dancing-master, by bowing to you with a studied formality, while he secretly hates you: he will pour forth the tor-

rent of congratulatory phrases, which he has taken pains to learn by rote, while he envies your success; he will lament your misfortunes in an awkward form of condolance, and will laugh at them, as soon as he is gone from your presence. He is an hypocrite in politeness; and should meet with the contempt, that all hypocrites deserve.

But in no instance is the difference between a polite man and a fop more striking, than in their conduct towards the ladies. The delicacy, the timidity, the beauty of the fair sex, require that they should be respected, protected, caressed. They were designed an help-meet for man; and every principle of honour demands that they should not be losers by those, for whom they were made—that they should be treated with all imaginable tenderness by those, to whom something would still be wanting in creation, without this last—best gift of heaven. A man of politeness is sensible of those things; and his whole behaviour to the fair discovers that he is so; but it makes this discovery in a manly and unaffected manner. He can praise a lady's beauties, without using the word—angel; and can make love to her, without expressing himself in a strain of adoration. These low arts he thinks unworthy of him; as he would the lady, who is silly enough to be captivated with them. These are the arts, however, by which the fop flourishes. He has been told, that “flames,” “darts,” “die,” “language,” are mighty pathetic words; and that they are sufficient to soften the heart of the most obdurate fair. He has been told likewise, that it reflects honour upon a man to be on good terms with the ladies. Hence that superabundance of fulsome impertinence, which the weak part of the female sex so much admire, and which the sensible part of it so much despise. The vain coquette thinks it inexpressibly pretty to be praised from morning till night: and to hear the gentlemen talk in eternal raptures of her charms. Little does she consider, that those, who address her in this manner, do so, only because they think it pleases her; and that those, who think it pleases her, must have but a very ordinary opinion of her

understanding; and, of consequence must, in reality, entertain sentiments concerning her, very different from those, which they express, and which she is weak enough to believe sincere when she hears them expressed. This will be the case, at least with a man of sense, who sometimes sports away an idle hour in her company. The fop indeed, will not make any remark on her character; for he wants discernment: but as he flattered her on to be thought well-bred, and to do himself honour—not her; he will leave her, when he has finished his tale of compliments; and will, perhaps, take the first opportunity of gratifying the ill-nature usually found in little minds, by saying as many spiteful things of her, as he can invent.

As there are some, who aim at politeness, without giving themselves any trouble to acquire and cultivate the good qualities, with which it is connected, and from its connexion with which, it derives its beauty and merit: so there are others, who possess those good qualities, and even call them forth vigorously into action, which they despise and neglect that politeness, which adorns them. An aversion to that extreme, which I have already animadverted upon, has, perhaps, produced the other, which I am now going to expose. But this is very far from being a sufficient justification of it. One may easily avoid ostentation, without falling into moroseness, and there is no necessity of commencing a cynic, in order to preserve one from the imputation of being a fop. There is a mean betwixt the disagreeable characters. This mean should be observed; and when it is observed, will be applauded.

If a man is generous, it is foolish in him to destroy the merit of his generosity: and yet I have known a favour conferred in such an ungainly manner, as to leave it in great doubt whether the person, on whom it was bestowed, ought rather to have shewn gratitude for the kindness shewn him than resentment for the indignities with which that kindness was attended. Good offices, performed in this manner, are more likely to create enemies, than to gain friends. What shall we assign as the reason of this odd conduct? Shall we account for it by

A T T I C U S.

[Continued from page 115.]

No. III. *Remarks on dissipation.*

“Look inwards, and turn over  
“yourself, for you have a lasting  
“mine of happiness at home, if you  
“will but dig for it.”

MARCUS ANTONINUS.

ing, that those, who observe it, have a mind to try what effects generosity, unassisted by the adventitious properties of complaisance, will operate upon those, in whose favour it is exercised? This will, by no means, give such conduct to be reasonable. I observed, in the beginning of this year, that our imaginations form connexion between those things, which we see usually joined. Now civility usually springs from disrepute or contempt. If, therefore, we reverse the former, what is more natural, than to infer the latter from it? And, if we are convinced of the latter, what, again, is more natural, than to resent it? The blame of such resentment, then, will fall rather on him, who occasions it, than on him who feels it. Why should we strip the virtue of her charms? why should we view her in an unamiable light? are her votaries too numerous? is their love to her too great?

On the other hand, when a person borrows his generosity with politeness—when he discovers, by his delicate manner of granting a favour, his sense of the merit of him, on whom it is conferred, and that he deserves to be placed above the reach of good offices of this nature—how must he, who is the object of so much goodness and respect, burn with love and gratitude to his kind benefactor? how must he be pleased to receive the effects of generosity, separated from the mortifications, with which it sometimes accompanied?

It would be easy to trace, and to describe politeness as it appears in the outward forms and ceremonies of behaviour; in the choice and management of conversation; and in many other instances; which I shall, perhaps, enlarge upon in some future paper. I shall, at present, content myself, with having discoursed generally of its nature; of the principles, on which it is founded; and of the beautiful lustre it reflects upon those virtues, from which it derives its merit. C.

*Philadelphia,  
February 22, 1768.*

I Was lately in a company, where several farmers were present: the conversation ran upon the folly of setting out in life, in a manner too expensive for the circumstances, or without a rational prospect of sufficient income for support. I learned from the honest countrymen, that it is a frequent practice for servants and apprentices, as soon as they are out of their time, to run in debt for a showy horse, a fine saddle, a watch, and other unnecessary things. If this was all, little need be said about it, though as health is not at their command, they might from thence take a hint to be cautious; but much worse consequences commonly attend such extravagance, besides the grievance which the horses become to the husbandman who hires the owners, as in compliance with a foolish custom, he keeps them with little or no abatement of wages for it. The young fellows are not content to have these things, without shewing them. Hence, parties of pleasure are formed, taverns and dram-houses are frequented, and the time which ought to be employed in labour to pay their debts, is wasted in contracting new ones: idleness and drinking, horse-racing, wagering, and other methods of dissipation, become habitual, and total ruin and destruction ensue. Much of the business of attorneys and justices, it seems, arises from this source, and thus many who might become valuable members of society in their stations, instead thereof, are, in several respects, public nuisances, entail beggary and misery upon their families, while themselves often rot in jails! What is the remedy? “Examples may teach, where precepts fail.” The conversation above mentioned furnished heads for describing the following cases, from which some instruction may be reaped—when or where they happened, need not to be very particularly described. One sum-

mer, two farmers, who lived at some distance from this city, came to it, and each of them purchased from on board a ship just arrived, a servant lad: the boys were nearly of the same age; and for distinction I shall call them Sam Sharp, and Thomas Wary; happily for the latter, as their acquaintance began on ship-board, it ended with leaving her, by their masters' situations being in different parts of the country.

Sam was witty and smart, without much good nature, or any principles of religion, or at least if he had any of the latter, it had not its proper effect upon his manners. His showy parts were the means of gaining him the acquaintance of several dissolute fellows in the neighbourhood, who often persuaded him from his master's business to the tavern, to be entertained with his satirical stories or idle songs. This could not long be borne by the master, with impunity; reproof and correction followed, but without the desired effect. However, Sam, somehow or other, got through his service: and when he became a free man, the advantages of a likely person, and a sprightly turn of conversation, obtained him a wife with some money, and qualities which merited a more deserving partner. He would not yet abandon his associates; they continued to revel in his company, and often at his expence. The impetuosity of his temper engaged him in several law-suits. In a short time he was reduced to be, what is very properly called, worse than nothing, that is, he was more in debt than he was worth. After trying several scandalous and wretched expedients to procure credit, he was hurried to a jail, at many miles distance from his distressed wife and helpless infants; there he plunged as deep into debauchery as he could. The poor woman, oppressed with difficulties, died (probably) of a broken heart, leaving her offspring to the humanity of her neighbours. Sam, when capable of reflection, had the stings of remorse afresh, sharpened by repeatedly hearing of the misconduct and sufferings of his children for want of the protection and assistance of their parents, and after long enduring all the miseries of a confined and guilty prisoner, he perished there.

Thomas Wary had not the brightness of capacity nor agreeableness of person with Sam Sharp, but he had common sense, which he diligently improved by such helps as situation furnished—in a word, he became a truly religious man. His liston taught him, that it was more blessed to give than to receive. This was a spur to his industry and frugality; it at the same time furnished his heart with proper motives to such acts of kindness and benevolence as were in his power. Thomas served out time with the applause of his master and the family, and when first he married a young woman with the same happy turn of mind. He rented a small farm, and with steady diligence, and great care to live within his earnings, in a few years, with the fairest character, he purchased a fine tract of land, educated a numerous posterity in the same principles, settled them respectably, and in due plenty, and died in a good old age, beloved by his acquaintance, revered by his children, and lamented by the poor, to whom he had been liberal with his advice and other necessary assistance.

From these instances, which are not produced as any thing very uncommon, my young readers may learn that the advantages of a comely person and a bright understanding, if not accompanied with religion and prudence, may only become snares to their ruin, whilst with those excellent guides, plain persons and common sense, they may attain to great usefulness and reputation: add to this, the consideration of the horror and fear looking-for of a final judgment, which perpetually haunts and follows the dissolute and wicked—and the peaceful and glorious hope of divine approbation in a future state, which ever accompanies good actions, and the examples and arguments acquire infinitely more importance.

*Philadelphia, April 5, 1767.*



*On the mischievous effects of militia laws.*

1. **THEY** draw off our citizens from agriculture and manufactures, and thereby tend to impoverish our country. It is computed that

state of Pennsylvania lost, by her militia law, three hundred thousand pounds a year, by the time employed by her citizens in militia exercises.

. They subject our citizens to a heavy expence in uniforms—side arms and in some cases—parade horses.

. They lead our young men into company where they lose their innocence, and carry home in exchange for it, the vices of swearing and drinking.

. They beget idleness in women and children, who generally crowd to militia shows.

. They produce a system of oppression to persons of tender consciences, open a door to fraud and speculation where they are enforced by fines and forfeitures.

. They cherish the spirit of war, which is always unfriendly to the arts of peace.

I know it will be said, that the only way to prevent war, is to be always prepared for it. But do militia exercises answer this purpose? Is not military knowledge acquired in this way, too much diffused to do any good? Do not these exercises exhibit the form, only, without any of the power of war? "The late American revolution (says a celebrated French officer) shews the folly of all military establishments in the time of peace—for in a few weeks, a nation of mechanics and farmers became generals, officers, and soldiers, and fully vanquished one of the oldest military nations in Europe."

Our distance from Europe will always give us notice enough of the approach of war to prepare for it. While a single copy of the history of the misfortunes and defeats of the arms of Great Britain in America, exists in the world, it is highly probable no nation in Europe will ever think of transporting soldiers across the Atlantic ocean for the purpose of bringing war upon the united states. The ocean is the only place on which America will be compelled to defend her independence, should a rage for conquest lead any of the nations of Europe to disturb her.

It is the error of our politicians to apply European maxims in war and government, to the united states. We

are a new nation. Our origin—local circumstances—principles and manners have no parallel in the history of mankind. Let us first discover who—and what—and where we are, and we shall soon be able to discover how to govern ourselves.

There is no danger of our citizens forgetting the use of arms, while we are strangers to game-laws. A youth of sixteen years of age, who has been trained by necessity or choice, to the amusement of hunting in our American woods, has a better foundation laid for his becoming an effective soldier, than a whole nation of farmers who have been educated (from the operation of game-laws) in an ignorance of fire arms. POMPILIUS.

*Philadelphia, July 26, 1738.*



*Further remarks on militia laws.  
To Pompilius.*

THERE is nothing more surprising or true, than that a man may live all his life in the most profound ignorance of many subjects, when no other reason can be assigned for such oblivion, than barely his not taking the trouble to think with a little more exertion of mind, reflexion, and liberality than is commonly bestowed on the various objects of our attention and admiration. Habits and early prejudices, unfortunately for the state of mankind, have a wonderful effect on our thoughts, and the formation of our minds, inso much that the annals of the world abound with multiplied instances, which fully evince that a bad custom, or an unorthodox point of faith, will take a thousand years to wear off.

For my part, I candidly confess, that the idea of what we call a well-regulated militia (a term made use of by every body who does not understand its nature in a republican government) has always been an object of my desire, and the thoughts of getting such a one, has administered the utmost comfort to my mind; as at first view, it appears not only to be a handmaid, but the sole support of equal liberty, as well as a natural defence to my country. And although I have been a witness to scenes of intemperance and debauchery at our master-drys, yet I never had a thought that

a greater reform could, in the nature of things, take place, than to have a better regulation in our militia law.

But, sir, on reading your few observations, and giving the subject a fair, cool, and deliberate consideration, I begin to stagger in my opinion, and doubt the necessity of militia laws: at any rate, I do not hesitate a moment in concluding, that your remarks are grounded on facts, reason, morality, and religion.

It is now become a melancholy sight, to behold the shocking scene of a battalion day. In the country, there is not an idle old man, woman, child, or negro, that does not resort to this place of rendezvous; the young men appear on the parade (just to answer and save their fines) with clubs instead of guns, and their officers dare not reprove them. You will, if the field where they pretend to exercise, is large enough, see not less than fifty booths erected, in open violation of law and good order, for the purposes of selling spiritous liquors: and you will often also see the officers sitting under them, and drinking grog, which gives no small countenance to such illicit practices.

By five o'clock in the afternoon, mostly all who are lovers of strong drink, are as full as the money and credit they brought from home, can make them; and the rest of the day and evening is taken up in horse-racing, drunkenness, profane swearing, quarrelling, and fighting. And it is a sad truth, that we see young boys, not twenty years of age, who have had the advantage of a religious education, from this shocking school of vice and immorality, turn out profligate wretches, before they arrive to a state of manhood.

There has an incredible revolution taken place in the minds of the people of this country since the late war: I can well recollect the time when the very report of an unlicensed person selling spiritous liquors by small measure, gave universal alarm: and the best men of the neighbourhood made it a business immediately to lodge informations. Also, if any men would dare to bring a few cakes and liquor to a vendue, or any other public place to sell, a magistrate, if he should

happen to be present, would go, protected by all the reputable people there and disperse them; but since the latter days, those legal schools of wickedness and immorality have been in fashion. I have seen a justice of the peace, who attempted to do his duty in a muster-field, abused and obliged to make his escape by a private retreat; nay, I observed, that even men, from whom better conduct ought to have been expected, have taken part against the officer, by saying that they ought to be allowed to regulate themselves on such occasions, and that the booths were very convenient for the men after standing under arms so that we see that the frequent sight of bad practices, by becoming familiar, even corrupts good men.

The subject which you have now entered on, is certainly worthy of being pursued farther; and I could even from my late reflexions, mention many more things in favour of your fix positions you have laid down—I decline it; the talk at present seems to be your's to enlighten the minds of those who may be mistaken or prejudiced in favour of foreign and imported ideas—therefore go on with the laudable business you have undertaken; it is too important to stop here; this is a glorious time for deliberation and reflexion—universal harmony now reigns among us—politics discard itself scarce shews its head in this peaceful land; so that there is ample time for free thought and debate: and certainly if militia laws contrary to what you assert, are necessary, they will not suffer, but grow by a liberal discussion; for there is plenty of advocates—some from principle, and more from interest, that will appear in their favour.

If you can, in the course of your reasoning on this subject, inform with any degree of certainty, how in what manner our frontiers are to be defended against the savages, and safety to the liberties of the citizens of the united states, I make no doubt but where your ideas now have an opponent, they must then have a thousand advocates.

*A militia officer*

*Philadelphia, August 12, 1788*

*memorial of the quakers of Pennsylvania, against the militia law.*

*the gen. assembly of Pennsylvania.*

ie memorial of the religious society of the people called quakers in Pennsylvania,

*Respectfully sheweth.*

THAT we think it seasonable at this time to lay before you our case of the unchristian principles and mischievous effect of the militia law, under which we, as a religious body, particularly, have been long sorely aggrieved; prompted thereto, not only by an attachment to our just right to religious freedom, but also by an unfeigned love to the true foundation of a wholesome order of civil government, which we are desirous to promote and strengthen, by every means consistent with our duty toward God and toward man.

On occasions so essential to human well-being, as well as on all other, it doubtless becomes sincere believers in Christ faithfully to adhere, both in doctrine and practice, to his holy example and precepts; and in the fear of God, to maintain the christian liberty of asserting the rights of conscience, whenever a practical observance of the peaceable principles of the gospel is made penal by human law; although, when unreasonably and cruelly oppressed by such laws, it is our duty with meekness and patience to suffer the persecutions permitted for the trial of our faith, yet it is also a duty we owe to God and man, not to suffer a slavish fear of human power and authority to suppress our christian testimony against an invasion of God's prerogative, nor must be acknowledged the alone sovereign and arbiter of conscience. Called on, therefore, by a regard to the honour of the christian name—to a desire for the happiness of the present and future generations, and a concern for the reputation of our country, wherein freedom, the common rights of men, and liberty of conscience, are so loudly professed, we hold it incumbent on us to suggest to you, who are in the exercise of the powers of government, our apprehensions how much the tenor and tendency of the militia law, enforced with much rigour for a number of

years, and continued as a sword, not for the punishment of evil doers, but in great measure, if not for the most part, in the hands of rapacious men, to the distressing a sober, inoffensive, and useful part of the community, is opposite to the nature and spirit of the christian religion, which enjoins, as a fundamental thereof, that harmless principle of good, which alone can overcome evil, and effectually promote and spread "peace on earth, and good will towards men."

Very few of the serious and religious professors of faith in Christ, we believe, will contend that such laws are reconcilable with the peaceable spirit of his divine law and government; and though some of these suffer themselves to be overcome with the specious arguments of political necessity in time of war, yet men of this character are rarely to be found willing to have any hand in the execution of such laws, which so directly strike at tender consciences, more especially, if in time of peace they should be continued as engines of oppression: hence it follows, that men, unfit to be trusted in a righteous and equal government, are invested with a very mischievous degree of power, many of whom are willing to embrace an opportunity, under colour of law, to make a prey and spoil of their unoffending neighbours, of which there are numerous and flagrant instances. These are facts too well known to need the support of more particular evidence, being the fruits naturally to be expected from the spirit and tenor of the militia law, now, or late, in force in this government; to say nothing more of its injurious tendency and operation in a political view, than as it is promotive of idleness, revelling, and a distaste for the sober and useful occupations of life, and therefore subversive of real virtue, and of course civil harmony.

We trust we are entitled to the quiet enjoyment of our civil and religious rights, equal with any other christian community, not doubting but that it will be allowed by men of impartial observation and candour, of all denominations, that no other have more uniformly contributed to the promotion and support of the public weal, or been less concerned in stirring up strife,

animosity or sedition, to the disturbance of the tranquility of any government under which, in the course of providence, we have been placed, it being our unvaried principle and practice, as a religious body, to manifest our disunion with all such disorderly conduct and proceedings: and though on this account, and for our patient adherence to our christian testimony against wars and fightings, we have been the objects of much malignant misrepresentation and abuse, it has not been our practice to retort reviling for reviling, knowing that a willingness to forgive others is the best evidence of the rectitude of our own hope of forgiveness.

In whatever light we may be viewed through the discolouring medium of human politics, having reason to believe we have never, as a people, justly forfeited our claim to the friendly and candid attention of the reasonable and well disposed among all classes and descriptions of men, we cannot doubt but we have an equal right with any other body of people among whom we live, to offer for consideration what we believe so nearly concerns the religious and civil welfare of our country, and, with due respect to the authority of government, to represent with that christian firmness, which is afforded under a religious sense of duty, how opposite a spirit of intolerance is to both.

Our predecessors, who, under severe persecutions in their native countries, had given indubitable proofs of their sincerity and stability in their christian principles, and their persevering reliance on divine protection and support therein, manifested their high estimation of liberty of conscience, by foregoing almost all other worldly comforts for the enjoyment of it in this land, then a wilderness, which they settled; and being, with others, entrusted with the powers of government, exercised the same with a consistent regard to the religious freedom of every professor of belief in "one eternal and Almighty God, Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society:" all, without distinction of names, being protected in the uninterrupted enjoyment of liberty of con-

science, whereby they gave incontestible evidence of the equity of their claim thereto, and of the universal benevolence of the spirit of government they were actuated by; an unprejudiced regard to the salutary effects which of is well worthy the recollection, cannot, we think, fail of engaging close consideration of a wise and virtuous government at this day, where we desire may be verified in the facts of your christian attention thereto, not on our account only, but because we are well assured the happiness of every branch of civil and religious community is equally interested therein.

If to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us, be really the compendium of social righteousness, if to love our neighbour as ourselves—do justly and love mercy—be admitted as certain characteristics both public and private virtue—if an equitable view be suffered to govern in a legislative enquiry into the merits of the militia law of this government, our religious society, and the people may expect to be relieved from the reasonable burden.

We therefore earnestly entreat you may so seek for the direction of wisdom, which is pure, peaceable, of mercy and good fruits, as to manifest, by a removal of this oppressive burden, your just sense, that it is impious righteousness exalteth a nation. We are, with sincere desires for your substantial honour, as rulers rightly discerning and faithfully attached to the sure means of supporting the dignity of your eminent station,

Your real friend

Signed on behalf, and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the said people called quakers, held in Philadelphia, the sixteenth day of the second month, 1786.

JOHN DRINKER, clerk.



*Address to the friends of religion, morality, and useful knowledge.*

THE united states of America, having at length escaped the impending dangers of anarchy, and having accomplished those restraining licentiousness, which are necessary to the attainment and preservation of



line liberty, the governments of the several states are left at leisure to pursue those means of internal prosperity, their respective affairs, which will bring into use and operation the various qualities and capacities of their territories and their people. An object of this nature, in our apprehensions, of the first importance to Pennsylvania, calls for the immediate and unremitting attention of her legislature, and of every friend of liberty and virtue. In a serious attempt to remove evil, and to obtain a great good, will not be supposed that any thing disrespectful can be intended towards those, whom it is the declared intention to serve. We may therefore proceed, without apprehension, to treat the subject in that plain manner which is necessary to obtain our end. The propagation of useful knowledge among the citizens of Pennsylvania, who are of German birth or extraction, has become a matter of the first necessity, and can no longer be neglected in duty to those valuable people themselves, nor to the public at large. In order perfectly to understand the magnitude of this subject, and to shew our suspended advantages in a conspicuous point of view, it will be necessary to go into some reflections on the history and present state of the nation, from which part of them have descended, and in which the remainder were born.

We are informed by the Greek and Roman historians, that the Germans, long before the birth of our Saviour, were lovers of liberty, of a martial spirit, and of singular fidelity. In later times they are described, by the accurate and judicious Tacitus, as magnanimous, beneficent, and unambitious; and though he terms them high spirited, and ardent pursuers of their just resentments, yet he assures us, they were slow to offend. Such are our earliest accounts of these people; from which it appears, that even in their primitive state, the writers of proud and hostile nations have ascribed to them qualities most glorious to a people, and most honourable to individuals.

The history of modern times, particularly of the three last centuries, convinces, that these respectable qualities of the Germans are not lost. To

the zeal and firmness of Martin Luther, Christendom is considerably indebted for the extension of the blessings of religious light and liberty. William the third, of England, a prince of German descent, wrested the sceptre of Britain from the hands of a bigot and a tyrant, effected a glorious revolution in religion and government, and laid the foundation of that perfect liberty which we now enjoy. The illustrious house of Brandenburg, through a succession of princes, were the great instruments of preserving the protestant church on the continent of Europe; and the present emperor of Germany, born a catholic, has magnanimously pursued the same design, by granting, of his own accord, to his protestant subjects, a general toleration. Such have been some of the useful exertions of the Germans, in the greatest operations in favour of religious and civil liberty.

The illustrious Frederic of Prussia, eminently distinguished in the useful arts, in elegant literature and science, stands unparalleled in arms: Puffendorf, as a great citizen of the world—and Handel, who may be considered as the genius of music in human shape, surpass every competitor in all other countries. To these we might add, a Van Swieten, a Leibnitz, an Hierfelhel, an Euler, a Gesner, a Klopstock, and a long list of names, great in divinity, morals, physic, law, literature, and every art and science.

The efforts of industry and genius in the German nation have been successfully applied to subjects of the most useful and curious nature. Among the several proofs of their disposition and capacity for such pursuits, are the invention of gun-powder, by which the superiority of the European nations over those of the other parts of the world, has been, through several centuries, principally maintained; and that of type-founding, to which, above any other cause, are owing our deliverance from ignorance and error, the revival of learning, the progress and communication of the arts and sciences—or, to sum up the whole in a few words, the present happiness and dignity of mankind. Nor have the Germans been deficient in a commercial spirit, nor in wisdom to conduct it with safety

and advantage, though possessed of fewer and less convenient seaports than any great nation of Europe which has ever been respectable for foreign trade. The Hanseatic league was the greatest, the most curious, regular, and wise combination for the promotion of commerce, that the world has ever beheld. While the cities engaged in it, obtained all the benefits of domestic and foreign trade, for which they associated, they afforded an happy asylum for religious and civil liberty, and became the masters of the ocean.

In order to judge of the inducements to the benevolent and patriotic to exert themselves in the affairs of our German fellow-citizens, let us examine their present situation in Pennsylvania, and compare it with the picture exhibited by their nation in ancient and modern Europe.

The first emigrants from that country arrived in Pennsylvania above a century ago. Being quickly rewarded for their singular industry, by the fruits of their labor accumulating under their hands, and enjoying perfect religious and civil liberty, they were constantly followed by many more, till they have become possessed of numerous and very valuable estates in every quarter of the commonwealth, and of the greater part of many townships and several counties. Having been generally drawn from the simplest and most common situations in their native country, and having emigrated, in most instances, with little, but an able body, and an industrious disposition, they have been obliged to apply immediately to laborious employments. In this situation, they had no time for education, and thought not much about it. Speaking a language different from those, who had greater advantages in regard to learning, they have been prevented from acquiring that information which every hour would otherwise have given them. Useful and necessary knowledge is indeed but little disseminated among them. A very large proportion of these valuable people are unable to compute by figures the value of their own property, or to read the laws of their country, which are all in the English language; some of them are unable to read the divine lessons or the holy scriptures, though

printed in the German language, whereby they lose a great part of the innumerable benefits of living in a tin and country blessed with religious light. If they have made good parents, dutiful children, and valuable citizens, under these great disadvantages, how excellent must be the natural qualities and dispositions, and how valuable must they prove to society, if useful knowledge should more generally diffused among them. Not depressed by adventitious circumstances the most unfavourable, as the citizens of German birth and extraction have evidently been, the history of religion, philosophy and physic, Pennsylvania, furnishes no names superior to the pious and venerable Muhlenberg, the wondrously-ingenious Rattenhouse, and the learned and judicious Kuhn.

No part of our community has manifested more valuable fixed characteristics than the body of whom we are treating. They are remarkable for genuine honesty, the most persevering and laborious industry, and the greatest frugality and simplicity in the modes of living. They are careful of their property, averse to being in debt, and therefore more free from that incumbrance than the British or Irish citizens. Of all our people, they are the least addicted to ardent distilled liquors. Endowed with a strong turn to the useful arts and manufacture they have introduced them into the districts and towns which they inhabit, particularly the northern parts of Philadelphia, Germantown, Bethlehem, Reading, and Lancaster. They are remarkable for the faithful discharge of their taxes, their obedience to government, their strict observance of morality, and their sincere attachment to religion. Frugal, and free from debauchery in their habits of living, they can marry early, and do so with constitutions unimpaired by vice or luxury, wherefore they rapidly increase and multiply.

From this slight view of the ancient and modern character of the Germans, and of the emigrants from that country, now settled among us, we must we are warranted in affirming that the Germans are a rich mine of wealth to the state of Pennsylvania. The valuable ore lies deep. It re-

res industry and skill to extract it in the bowels of the earth, and to mine it in that degree which is necessary to prepare it for the convenient, useful, and the elegant purposes which a benevolent providence evidently designed it.

The true method of promoting the prosperity of nations, is, to make every exertion which can bring into use and operation the various capacities and qualities of their people and their territories. That much may be done in this way in regard to our German fellow-citizens, must be as visible to every Pennsylvanian as the shining in his meridian. Yet it may not amiss to point out some of the advantages which will result from successful exertions to this great purpose. The lovers of mankind will enjoy the delight of seeing the mass of human happiness increased, by the induction of greater light among a large and meritorious body of their fellow creatures. As morals and religion naturally follow useful knowledge, the friends of virtue and mankind will receive that further gratification. Talents of various kinds, which now lie uselessly wrapt up, as it were in a napkin, will then be easily brought forth to bless the strong-minded German and his family, and to increase the powers and riches of the state. The innumerable treatises in their native language upon manufactures, agriculture, law, physic, divinity, the circle of the sciences, and the arts of peace and war, which enrich the empire of Germany really hoards, are now shut up to very many, whose native strength of mind, aided by the simplest education, might lead them to the most useful and important researches and discoveries. Were German reading, writing, and speaking only familiar and universal among them, a correspondence with their European relations might easily be maintained, which would tend to promote emigrations to this their land of Canaan, beyond any other measure that could be pursued. The friendly country which had received them poor, lowly, and uninformed, had had in a short time made them rich, enlightened, and powerful, could hold out abundant and irresistible temptations to their European re-

latives, connexions, and friends. The tide of emigration from Germany, that manufactory of men, which has for some time been at a stand, would begin to flow in upon us again, and would probably rise to a height far above what it had ever reached before; nor would it be in the power of the wisest and most benevolent of the German princes, by the most generous treatment and the best concerted measures, to prevent its course. They might render the situation of their subjects as comfortable as they could, but their prodigious numbers, and their consequent want of profitable employment and room, with the impossibility of their rising at home much above the condition in which they were born, would render the success and happiness of their countrymen in America powerful inducements to their emigration. But it cannot be supposed that every German prince would have wisdom enough to see, and moderation and goodness enough to pursue, the permanent interest and happiness of his state (that is, of his successors and posterity, as well as of himself) when it might require an immediate sacrifice of the revenues he enjoys, or a reduction of the expence and parade of his court. Many, no doubt, would be blind to their true interests; and many others, though they clearly perceived them, would, from personal vices, pursue their wonted course. From this suggestion of the effects that might be produced in Europe, by our cultivation of the talents of our German fellow-citizens, there arises a reflexion highly gratifying to our benevolence and our honest pride. It is next to certain, that the apprehensions of emigration in the minds of the German princes, will occasion them to reflect on this dangerous consequence of their civil and religious oppression, and that from evident policy, though not from inclination, they may extend to their innumerable subjects a portion of that tenderness, attention, and justice which they have long and cruelly denied them.

There is one more consideration of the first importance to induce the propagation of useful knowledge among the Germans in Pennsylvania. They are become so very numerous and wealthy, that they must, in all future

times, return to our legislature and to our executive offices a considerable proportion of the members. Our elections are very frequent, and by ballot, our electors free and equal, and no qualifications but local residence and citizenship are requisite in the elected. In a government so democratic, it is necessary that the citizens should possess an uncommon portion of information. It is dangerous that they should be uninformed. Their tickets may be changed at the door of the house of election, if they cannot read them. They will be constantly deceived by artful and designing men, and they must remain without that treasure of information, which is found in the newspapers of a free country. Thus far of the electors. Equally and indeed much more serious is the danger of a want of due knowledge in those who may be elected. On this we shall not enlarge. Though we have had several excellent, and very many worthy German members of our public bodies, yet there have been others not sufficiently informed, and we must not be unmindful of the real danger to liberty, property and peace, from a representative or executive officer who wants the necessary qualifications of wisdom and knowledge. Disseminate more useful knowledge among the body of Germans, and let those of them, who have abilities or property, cultivate and adorn their minds by liberal educations, and they will furnish us with as respectable and proper rulers as the descendants and emigrants from any other nation upon earth. In a future essay we may consider how we shall most advantageously pursue the delightful task of propagating necessary and useful knowledge, learning, and science, among our numerous German fellow citizens.

#### PHILANTHROPOS.



*A dialogue between a sword and a hogshcad of spirits.*

*Sword.* **SO**, mr. Spirits, I find you have lately usurped an honour, which was conferred originally upon me—that of being the first messenger of death to the human species. Pray, sir, by what arguments do you support your claims above mine? Am

I not the most ancient, and the universal destroyer of mankind? Have I not been the instrument the hands of Alexander, and Caesar, and ten thousand other military leaders, of filling up vallies and creating mountains, by means of the bones of dead men? Do I not act in a variety of ways? For whether human life is destroyed by means of a lance, a pike, a hanger, a bullet, a shell, a cannon ball, or a mine, it is all effected by my means: for the sword, a usual figure in rhetoric, is made to signify them all. Besides producing this mortality, am I not the cause of all the distress, poverty, desolation and slavery, which have appeared in every age, and in every country upon the face of the earth?

*Hogshcad of spirits.* I shall not dispute about the antiquity of our origin, mr. Sword, although I have sufficient reason to believe, as I shall say hereafter, you would gain nothing by controversy upon that point. As to the universality of your dominion over human life, I deny that it is equal to mine. You destroy men only, I destroy men, women, and children. Yes, the ladies in every part of the world yield to the seduction of spiritous liquors. I call it seduction—and I generally overcome them, by first exciting in them a love for bitters before dinner, or for remedies against choleric or low spirits, both of which are generally prepared by infusion of spirits. As for children, I destroy them, by persuading their parents to give them a dram of raw rum or whisky every morning, necessary for them every morning, to keep the fog out of their throats, and thereby to prevent their getting fever and ague. But further, you destroy life in one season of the year, and in the day time only; but I keep up a destructive campaign during every month of the year; and such is the attachment of many people to me, that after having served them as a cord during the day, I perform the office of a pillow, and administer to their destruction every hour of the night. As to the monuments you have erected in every part of the world, they do not contain half the number of dead bodies which I have from time to time conveyed, by means of coffins, to the different grave-yards.

ry part of the globe. I admit the  
ous shapes by which you have ef-  
ed the destruction of mankind; but  
answer to this, give me leave to  
ation the different names and forms  
which I have spread misery and  
h over the world. Rum, whisky,  
dy, gin, stink bus, bitter, toddy,  
; flings, and fifty other liquors,  
come under the denomination of  
its. It is your province to destroy  
suddenly, and only in one way.  
I kill gradually, and in an hun-  
d different ways. When I act by  
ns of stinkibus (alias New-Eng-  
rum) or rye-whisky, fresh from  
still, my patients generally live  
two or three years; but when I  
e choice of old Jamaica, or An-  
a, as instruments of death, they  
etimes exist seven or eight years.  
ermit this, by the bye, only to  
ad the seeds of death more exten-  
ly; for persons of slender observa-  
attribution the death of these people  
ther causes. I said that I kill in  
ndred different ways. Yes, half  
diseases of the human body are  
duced by spirits. The jaundice and  
psy, sore eyes and sore legs, a burn-  
in the soles of the feet, fits of va-  
is kinds, gout, melancholy and  
lness, want of appetite and diges-  
t, and many other complaints, for  
ch I cannot give you the technical  
es, are all brought on by my influ-  
e upon the human body. You boast  
he distress, poverty, desolation and  
ery, which you have brought upon  
kind; but what are all these to  
evils which follow in my train?  
herever I go, all the calamities you  
e mentioned, together with the  
, the wheel-barrow, and the gallows,  
uch before me for customers. Fac-  
is and rebellions originate with me,  
pecially in the united states; for  
y are both hatched in still houses,  
low taverns, before they appear in  
spapers and in mobs. I create do-  
estic broils and family disputes;  
at last, even war and murder are  
en the off-spring of spiritous liquors.  
You began, mr. Sword, by boast-  
of your antiquity. You were in-  
ited by Tubal Cain, and first used  
Nimrod. But I claim an origin  
only more ancient, but much more  
ourable. The still, the worm,  
the cooling tub, were all the in-  
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vention of a prince, more ancient than  
Adam, and more intelligent than the  
wisest man that ever lived upon the  
earth. Spiritous liquors are the cur-  
rent coin of his kingdom. They bear  
his image and interdict on. They are  
the visible marks of his invisible pow-  
er. The prince I allude to, is, the  
—DEVI L.



*Remarks on spiritous liquors.*

I Highly applaud the zeal of the  
num'rous advocates for beer and  
cyder; but I despair of their doing  
much good till they can extend the  
influence of their publications to the  
western parts of the state. In the  
neighbourhood of Pittsburgh almost  
every other farm has a still house on  
it, where the people assemble, and  
drink away their health and estates.  
All the rye made in those parts is dis-  
tilled into whisky, and wheat is often  
given in exchange for it. Plantations  
are often bought and sold for a cer-  
tain number of barrels of whisky.  
Indeed, whisky in different quan-  
tities, like Montero's cap, in Tristram  
Shandy, is the *wager*—the *gift*—and,  
in some instances, the *oath* of three-  
fourths of the inhabitants of our west-  
ern counties. In returning from that  
country, I passed through several of  
our German settlements in Lancaster  
and Berks counties, where I was sur-  
prised to find some German farmers  
infected with the pernicious custom  
of using whisky in their families.—  
Every morning a dram was handed  
round to each man, woman and  
child in the house, and so much have  
some of them become attached to it,  
that they mix it with cucumbers for  
their breakfast. I wish some steps  
could be taken to convince these peo-  
ple of the destructive tendency of these  
practices. If this cannot be done,  
let a duty of seven shillings and six-  
pence be laid upon every gallon of  
spirits, whether made in America or  
imported from the West-Indies.—  
Great-Britain has wisely banished na-  
tional drunkenness from the island, by  
a duty of eight or nine shillings ster-  
ling upon every gallon of spirits.—  
Hence one cause of her industry,  
wealth and power. Unless we can  
imitate her in this respect, our nation  
must be extinct, or the human species  
D

degenerate among us, into creatures, that will unite in them all the bad qualities of men and beasts.

*A Traveller.*



*Evil effects of the great consumption of spiritous liquors in America.*

WHEN every person is complaining of the scarcity of cash, burden of taxes, and extravagance of living, permit an individual to state a fact which ought to make a nation blush. It appears by the returns of the excise collectors into the pay table office, that the people of Connecticut pay excise for almost 400,000 gallons of rum in a year! Every gallon of West India rum, which constitutes fourteen fifteenths of the whole that is drank, costs the consumer four shillings, consequently this state pays for rum annually about eighty thousand pounds. This calculation is founded on fact—and makes no allowance for vast quantities of spirit which are drank without excise, in evasion of the law. The interest of our national debt amounts to about sixty thousand pounds a year: our rum, therefore, a single useless article, costs us one quarter more than the interest of our domestic debt. For shame then, my countrymen, say no more about taxes! there are two gallons of distilled spirits to one soul, consumed in this state annually. Other states consume in the same proportion, and the greatest misery of the whole, is, that the poor people consume more than the rich. A labouring man must have his half pint or pint, every day, and at night takes half his wages in rum.

But the expence is not the only grievance; the injury to health and morals is certain—it is great—it is irreparable! Ask any candid physician, and he will tell you, that scarcely a man dies, whose life is not shortened by the use of this pernicious article. Go to a tavern, or a dram shop, and view a crowd of poor people, whose families are starving and freezing at home, draining their pockets of the last penny to purchase a gill of rum. This is no uncommon sight: it happens every day, and in every town. In vain are we told that spirit is sometimes necessary. It is not necessary in the ordinary labour of life—it is

generally pernicious even in fat Men, during the war, underwent fatigue of harvest, and enjoyed a perfect health without a drop of rum, than they now enjoy with as much as they can drink. Spirit is necessary sometimes, I allow. It is necessary a medicine; just like opium, or jessamine bark, and ought to be used with some caution.

In vain are we told that rum does us nothing but old horses, and cash—this is the declaration of ignorance. Horses fetch money in West Indies; and the money which comes into the country, to pay taxes, purchase farms, &c. were not left to procure that curse of curses, spirits. We have no way to get cash but by the West Indies. Articles we can send to Europe and the northern states, will furnish a considerable supply of money. If old horses, therefore, our beef, pork, and our lumber, are all our dependence for cash, what folly, what stupidity, what political and moral madness, is it, to consume all the profits of those articles in the brutal gratification of an appetite that disgraces a savage—in the purchase of an article which in general is of no use, which impairs reason, preys upon the heart, and sinks that dignified animal, man, to a brute!

Our country supplies us with liquors, which are good enough for common use. Our cyder and malt liquors might render all spirits unnecessary.

In England, rum is six or seven shillings sterling a gallon. It pays a duty of four shillings, consequently few can buy it. The people therefore drink beer, which is a manufacture of their own—this is a healthy liquor furnishes poor people with employment—and all classes of people drink it—this is English policy, and it is good. We might do the same had we any continental power to impose uniform duties on imports. We might make spirit too dear for people to purchase—we might encourage, by bounties, the manufacture of malt liquors—we might thus raise revenue to the public—supply ourselves with cash from the West Indies—save the morals, the health, the lives, and estates of the inhabitants.

his cannot be done without a  
of measures in the states; for  
lities in one state alone, throw all  
ade into the hands of her neigh-  
. In short, this and all other  
evils may be traced to this one  
, a want of federal power. Let  
hurling patriots clamour about  
y, and spout their jealousy of a  
mental government, until the hard-  
of poverty and distress shall  
them, until the demands of our  
creditors become serious, and  
ten a civil war, or a foreign inva-  
until dire experience shall force  
sion to their minds. But let  
remember what I now tell them;  
we cannot exist long in confede-  
without a power over the con-  
t, sufficient to silence the clashing  
ests of the different states, and  
et them to one uniform system of  
ures. A great state, composed  
any parts, never did exist with-  
power to controul the whole,  
never can exist until God Al-  
ty shall regenerate the whole hu-  
race, and elvate them above the  
ent rank of mortals.

Every man complains that his wife  
daughters impoverish him by the  
hase of gauzes, of feathers and  
ids. But where is the man that  
s his mouth against the use of  
ous liquors? Gauzes and all the  
gaws which ladies wear, are trifles,  
i compared with the consumption  
m\*. Let the ladies imitate the  
ges, if they please, in sticking up-  
their heads feathers and flowers.  
ir Indian finery may be a proof of  
bad taste: but the expence of it  
rifle compared with the enor-  
s use of spiritous liquors. What  
we but a race of polished savages?

## NOTE.

This is not said to reflect upon  
economical association, or to in-  
ate that there is no necessity for  
females to retrench their expen-  
se. They may do much to alleviate  
distresses, and we admire the no-  
example set us by the association.  
with permanent improvement of  
among the ladies. We believe  
he is room for it. But the forego-  
remarks are meant to draw a com-  
son between male and female ex-  
pences.

A Tuscarora will barter a township of  
land for a few beads and feathers, and  
a country girl among us will labour  
hard a week for a bunch of flowers.  
A tribe of Indians will barter all their  
territories and their furs for a keg of  
brandy: and there are many people in  
our gospel land who will sell the bread  
out of their mouths for a pint of rum.  
Alas! my friends! I wish reforma-  
tion to you. Z.

Newhaven, Dec. 7, 1786.



*Speech of his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey, to the legislature of that state, in the year 1777.*

Gentlemen,

HAVING already laid before the  
assembly, by messages, the se-  
veral matters that have occurred to  
me, as more particularly demanding  
their attention during the present ses-  
sion; it may seem less necessary to  
address you in the more ceremonious  
form of a speech. But conceiving it  
my duty to the state, to deliver my  
sentiments on the present situation of  
affairs, and the eventful contest be-  
tween Great Britain and America,  
which could not, with any propriety,  
be conveyed in occasional messages,  
you will excuse my giving you the  
trouble of attending for that purpose.

After deploring with you, the de-  
solation spread through this state by  
an unrelenting enemy, who have in-  
deed marked their progress with a  
devastation unknown to civilized na-  
tions, and evincive of the most impla-  
cable vengeance—I heartily congratu-  
late you upon that subsequent series  
of success, wherewith it hath pleased  
the Almighty to crown the American  
arms; and particularly on the impor-  
tant enterprize against the enemy at  
Trenton—and the signal victory  
obtained over them at Princeton, by  
the gallant troops under the command  
of his excellency general Washington.

Considering the contemptible fi-  
gure they make at present, and the  
disgust they have given to many of  
their own confederates amongst us,  
by their more than Gothic ravages—  
(for thus doth the great Disposer of  
events often deduce good out of evil)—  
their irruption into our dominion will

probably redound to the public benefit. It has certainly enabled us the more effectually to distinguish our friends from our enemies. It has winnowed the chaff from the grain. It has discriminated the temporising politician, who, at the first appearance of danger, was determined to secure his idol, property, at the hazard of the general weal, from the persevering patriot—who, having embarked his all in the common cause, chooses rather to risk—rather to lose that all, for the preservation of the more estimable treasure, liberty, than to possess it—(*enjoy it he certainly could not*)—upon the ignominious terms of tamely resigning his country and posterity to perpetual servitude. It has, in a word, opened the eyes of those who were made to believe, that their impious merit, in abetting our persecutors, would exempt them from being involved in the general calamity. But as the rapacity of the enemy was boundless—their havoc was indiscriminate, and their barbarity unparalleled. They have plundered friends and foes. Effects capable of division, they have divided. Such as were not, they have destroyed. They have warred upon decrepit age—warred upon defenceless youth. They have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion—against public records, and private monuments, and books of improvement, and papers of curiosity, and against the arts and sciences. They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarter; mangled the dying, weltering in their blood; refused to the dead the rites of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women; disfigured private dwellings, of taste and elegance; and, in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned and prostrated edifices dedicated to Almighty God.

And yet there are amongst us, who, either from ambitious or lucrative motives—or intimidated by the terror of their arms—or from a partial fondness for the British constitution—or deluded by insidious propositions—are secretly abetting, or openly aiding their machinations, to deprive us of that liberty, without which man is a beast, and government a curse.

Besides the inexpressible baseness of wishing to rise on the ruins of country—or to acquire riches at the expence of the liberties and fortune of millions of our fellow-citizens—how soon would these delusive dreams upon the conquest of America, end in disappointment? For where is found to recompence those retainers of the British army? Was every estate in America to be confiscated, converted into cash, the produce would not satiate the avidity of their insatiable dependents; nor furnish adequate repa] for the keen appetites of their own ministerial beneficiaries. Instead of gratuities and promotions, these unhappy accomplices in tyranny, would meet with supercilious looks and cold disdain; and, after tedious attendance, be finally told their haughty masters, that they had indeed approved the treason, but detested the traitor. Insulted, in fine, their pretended protectors, but betrayers—and goaded with the stings of their own consciences—they would remain the frightful monuments of human contempt and divine indignation, and linger out the rest of their days in self-condemnation and remorse—and in weeping over the ruin of their country, which themselves had been instrumental in reducing to desolation and bondage.

Others there are, who, terrified by the power of Britain, have persuaded themselves that she is not only formidable, but irresistible. That her power is great, is beyond question; that she is not to be despised, is the dictate of common prudence. But then we ought also to consider her, as weak in council, and ingulphed in debt—reduced in her trade—reduced in her revenue—immersed in pleasure—enervated with luxury—and, in dissipation and venality, surpassing all Europe. We ought to consider her as hated by her potent rival, her natural enemy, a particularly exasperated by her unbecoming conduct in the last war, as well as her insolent manner of commencing it; and thence inflamed with resentment, and only watching a favourable juncture for open hostilities. We ought to consider the amazing expence and difficulty of transporting troops and provisions above three thousand miles, with the impossibility of



sitting their army at a less distance, we only with such recreants, whose conscious guilt must at the first approach danger, appal the stoutest heart. Those insuperable obstacles are known and acknowledged by every virtuous and impartial man in the nation. Even the author of this horrid war is incapable of concealing his own confusion and distress. Too great to be wholly pressed, it frequently discovers itself in the course of his speech—a speech terrible in word, and fraught with contradiction—breathing threats, and betraying terror—a motley picture of magnanimity and consideration—of grandeur and abatement. With troops invincible, he dreads a defeat, and wants reinforcements. Victorious in America, and triumphant on the ocean, he is an humble dependent on a petty prince; and apprehends an attack upon his own metropolis; and, with full confidence in the friendship and alliance of France, trembles upon his throne, at her secret designs and open preparations. With all this, we ought to contrast the numerous and hardy sons of America, inured to toil—seasoned alike to heat and cold—bale—robust—patient of fatigue—and, from their ardent love of liberty, ready to face danger or death—the immense extent of continent, which our insatuated enemies have undertaken to subjugate—the remarkable unanimity of its inhabitants, notwithstanding the exception of a few apostates and deserters—their unshaken resolution to maintain their freedom, or perish in the attempt—the fertility of our soil in all kinds of provisions necessary for the support of war—our inexhaustible internal resources for military stores and naval armaments—our comparative economy in public expences—and the millions we save by having probated the farther exchange of our valuable staples for the worthless trinkets and finery of English manufacture. Add to this, that in a cause just and righteous on our part, we have the highest reason to expect the blessing of heaven upon our glorious conflict. For who can doubt the interposition of the supremely Just, in favour of a people forced to recur to arms in defence of every thing dear and precious, against a nation deaf to

our complaints—rejoicing in our misery—wantonly aggravating our oppressions—determined to divide our substance—and by fire and sword to compel us into submission?

Respecting the constitution of Great Britain, bating certain royal prerogatives, of dangerous tendency, it has been applauded by the best judges; and displays, in its original structure, illustrious proofs of wisdom and the knowledge of human nature. But what avails the best constitution, with the worst administration? For what is their present government—and what has it been for years past, but a pensioned confederacy against reason, and virtue, and honour, and patriotism, and the rights of man? What were their leaders, but a set of political craftsmen, flagitiously conspiring to erect the babel, despotism, upon the ruins of the ancient and beautiful fabric of law—a shameless cabal, notoriously employed in deceiving the prince, corrupting the parliament, debasing the people, depressing the most virtuous, and exalting the most profligate—in short, an insatiable junto of public spoilers, lavishing the national wealth, and, by peculation and plunder, accumulating a debt already enormous? And what was the majority of their parliament, formerly the most august assembly in the world, but venal pensioners to the crown—a perfect mockery of all popular representation—and at the absolute devotion of every minister? What were the characteristics of their administration of the provinces? The substitution of regal instructions in the room of law; the multiplication of officers to strengthen the court interest; perpetually extending the prerogatives of the king, and retrenching the rights of the subject; advancing to the most eminent stations, men without education, and of the most dissolute manners; employing, with the people's money, a band of emissaries to misrepresent and traduce the people; and, to crown the system of mis-rule, sporting with our persons and estates, by filling the highest seats of justice, with bankrupts, bullies, and blockheads.

From such a nation (though all this we bore, and should perhaps have borne for another century, had they

not avowedly claimed the unconditional disposal of life and property) it is evidently our duty to be detached. To remain happy or safe in our connexion with her, became thenceforth utterly impossible. She is moreover precipitating her own fall, or the age of miracles is returned—and Britain a phenomenon in the political world, without a parallel.

The proclamations to ensnare the timid and credulous, are beyond expression disingenuous and tantalizing. In a gilded pill they conceal real poison: they add insult to injury. After repeated intimations of commissioners to treat with America, we are presented, instead of the peaceful olive-branch, with the devouring sword: instead of being visited by plenipotentiaries to bring matters to an accommodation, we are invaded by an army, in their opinion, able to subdue us—and upon discovering their error, the terms propounded amount to this, "If you will submit without resistance, we are content to take your property, and spare our lives: and then (the consummation of arrogance!) we will graciously pardon you, for having hitherto defended both."

Considering then their bewildered councils, their blundering ministry, their want of men and money, their impaired credit, and declining commerce, their lost revenues, and starving islands, the corruption of their parliament, with the effeminacy of their nation—and the success of their enterprise is against all probability. Considering farther, the horrid enormity of their waging war against their own brethren, expoliating for an audience, complaining of injuries, and supplicating for redress, and waging it with a ferocity and vengeance unknown to modern ages, and contrary to all laws, human and divine; and we can neither question the justice of our opposition, nor the assistance of heaven to crown it with victory.

Let us not, however, presumptuously rely on the interposition of providence, without exerting those efforts which it is our duty to exert, and which our bountiful Creator has enabled us to exert. Let us do our part to open the next campaign with redoubled vigour; and until the united

states have humbled the pride of Britain, and obtained an honourable peace, cheerfully furnish our proportion for continuing the war—a war founded on our side on the immutable obligation of self-defence and support of freedom, of virtue, and every thing tending to ennoble our nature, and render a people happy on their part, prompted by boundless avarice, and a thirst for absolute sway, and built on a claim repugnant to every principle of reason and equity—a claim subversive of all liberty, natural, civil, moral, and religious, incompatible with human happiness, and usurping the attributes of Deity, degrading man, and blaspheming God.

Let us all, therefore, of every rank and degree, remember our plighted faith and honour, to maintain the cause with our lives and fortune. Let us inflexibly persevere in prosecuting to a happy period, what has been so gloriously begun, and hitherto so prosperously conducted. And let those in more distinguished station use all their influence and authority to rouse the supine; to animate the irresolute; to confirm the wavering, and to draw from his lurking hole, the skulking neutral, who, leaving to others the heat and burden of the day, mean in the final result to reap the fruits of that victory, for which he will not contend. Let us be peculiarly assiduous in bringing to condign punishment those detestable parricides who have been openly active against their native country. And may we, in all our deliberations and proceedings, be influenced and directed by the great Arbitrator of the fate of nations, by whose empires rise and fall, and who will not always suffer the sceptre of the wicked to rest on the lot of the righteous, but in due time avenge an injured people on their unfeeling oppressors, and his bloody instruments.

*Haddonfield, Feb. 25, 1777.*



*Characteristics of a good assemblyman. Ascribed to his excellency William Livingston, Esquire, Governor of New-Jersey.*

**T**HOUGH I am an old man that cannot render my country any active services, I am willing to contribute my mite to its prosperity.

the only way in which I can be useful to it. Having lost that vigour and vivacity which is peculiar to youth, and necessary for the more busyness of life, I am retired from the bustle of the world, resolved to spend the remainder of my days, not as an idle spectator of the struggle in which we are engaged, but with a resolution conveying to the public, such hints and observations on our internal policy, as I think may be salutary to the use of liberty and virtue.

We have, by the blessing of Providence, established a glorious fabric of freedom and independence; but lest that fabric is supported by the true spirit of patriotism by which it is reared, I am afraid that it will not be of long duration. Whenever public virtue decays, our government, which owes its origin to, and is founded upon, public virtue, will languish; and upon the total extinction of the former (which heaven avert from ever proving our case) the latter will crumble to pieces, and be totally demolished. It requires great virtue in the people, and great wisdom and activity in their rulers, to prevent the constitution from degenerating into anarchy and confusion. I will, therefore, from time to time, publish my sentiments, as well on the errors of the people at large, as on the failings of those who are placed over us, either as legislators or magistrates, and that with the freedom becoming a subject of a free government, but at the same time with the reverence and decorum due to superiors. For the present I submit my thoughts on the duty of representatives, which are honestly meant, and I hope will be candidly received.

*Characteristics of a good assemblyman.*

I. To accept his delegation with a sincere desire, and for the sole purpose of rendering his country all the service in his power.

II. Seriously to consider what measures will be most beneficial; industrious in collecting materials for framing them; and prompt to hear all in, especially the most judicious, on the state of his country; and the regulations proposed to render it more happy and flourishing.

III. To make conscience of doing

his proper share of business in the house, without leaving it to others to do his part, by which they must necessarily neglect their own; every member being bound in honour to do as much as he can.

IV. Candidly and impartially to form his own judgment for himself, yet to be always open to conviction, and, upon cogent arguments for that purpose, ready to change, and frankly to confess the change of, his sentiments.

V. To detach himself from all local partialities, and county-interests, inconsistent with the common weal; and, ever considering himself as a representative of the whole state, to be assiduous in promoting the interest of the whole, which must ultimately produce the good of every part.

VI. Never to grudge the time he spends in attending the sessions, though his private affairs may suffer, since the loss he may thereby sustain, will be amply recompensed by the delightful testimony of his conscience, in favour of his disinterested patriotism; while no pleasure, arising from the advancement of his fortune, to the neglect of a superior obligation, can balance the upbraidings of that faithful monitor.

VII. In every vote he gives, to be solely directed by the public emolument; and never influenced in his suffrage by motives merely selfish or lucrative.

VIII. To give no leave of absence to a fellow-member on trifling occasions, in hopes of the same indulgence in return; but to be strenuous in supporting the rules and orders of the house (which are the life of business) though he may thereby disoblige an irregular, or disappoint an homesick individual.

IX. Inflexible in his resolution of acting agreeably to the dictates of his conscience—to be utterly regardless of the applause or censure, that may ensue upon the discharge of his duty.

X. Never to be instrumental in promoting to any office or trust, his dearest connexions or intimacies, whom he believes not qualified for the department; nor ever to oppose the promotion of any that are, from personal pique or resentment.

XI. As the best calculated laws will be found ineffectual to regulate a

people of dissolute morals; he will recommend by his conversation and example, virtue and purity of manners; and discountenance all irreligion and immorality, as equally fatal to the interests of civil society and personal happiness.

XII. Serenely to enjoy the praises of merit, as an additional testimony to the approbation of his own hear, of the rectitude of his conduct; but from public clamour and obloquy, to retire within himself; and there to stand on his own virtue, without seeking to retaliate the ingratitude of unreasonable men, save only by pushing their malevolence to the blush, by fresh and more extensive service to his country.

*Jan. 1778.*



*General Washington's farewell orders to the armies of the united states.*

*Rocky Hill, near Princeton,  
November 2, 1783.*

THE united states in congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services—having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned—it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that, for the last time, to the armies of the united states (however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects—of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself

under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the accomplishments, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interposition of providence in our feeble conduct were such as could scarcely escape attention of the most unobserving while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the united states through almost every possible suffer and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which, in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the details of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must not console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and to witness astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor could they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed, by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps, by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, secured by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the fruits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry a certain road to competence. To these hardy foldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the united states will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts—so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no reproof, or any instance of intemperate conduct—let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the united states has promised the just reward, and given the

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merited applause—let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them, to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprise, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost forever: yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interelling a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours, to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences—and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel

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on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command—he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

*Edward Hand, adj. gen.*



*Answer to the preceding "farewell orders."*

*To his excellency general Washington, commander in chief of the armies of the united states.*

**WE**, the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received your excellency's serious and farewell address to the armies of the united states. We beg your acceptance of our unfeigned thanks for the communication,

and your affectionate assurances of violable attachment and friendship. your attempts to insure to the armies the just, the promised rewards of the long, severe, and dangerous service have failed of success, we believe has arisen from causes not in your excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such labours. But while we thank your excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place; and that even the timate ingratitude of the people (what that possible) would not shake the triumph of those who suffer by. Still, with pleasing wonder, and with grateful joy, shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labours, that merit in the revolution, which under the auspices of heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will justice; and the sons will blush, who fathers were their foes. Most glad would we cast a veil over every which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with its dishonour even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the union planned—measures which alone could recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the states—measures which are essential to the justice, the honour and interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame; and, regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair science lift her head with all the arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and throw aside the restraints which confined to the narrow bounds of country.

embraced the world. Such were fond hopes, and with such delight-prospects did they present us. Nor we disappointed. Those animating PROSPECTS are now changed and giving to REALITIES; and active-ness have contributed to their production, is our pride—our glory. But JUSTICE alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. All we hope that the prejudices of the informed will be removed, and the effect of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, deeded: for in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just decision. We trust the disingenuousness of a few will not fully the reputation, the honour, and dignity of great and respectable majority of states.

We are happy in the opportunity presented, of congratulating your excellency on the certain conclusion of the DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE. Relieved at length from all suspense, our warmest wish is to turn to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and will be our highest ambition to become useful ones. To your excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing; for while at the head of armies, urged by patriot virtues and unanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and disappointment, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country—our heart panted for the tranquil elements of peace. We cordially rejoice with you, that the period of inging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence—the rich price of our years hardy adventure—past sufferings will be forgotten; or, if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be yours; and that when you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the UNERRING JUDGE the rewards of valour, merited to save the oppressed—of patriotism, and disinterested virtue.

West Point, Nov. 15, 1783.

*General Washington's address to congress, on the resignation of his commission.*

*Mr president,*

THE great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty—and pleased with the opportunity afforded the united states of becoming a respectable nation—I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations: and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family, should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body,

under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

G. WASHINGTON.

City of Annapolis, Dec. 23, 1783.

*Answer of congress.*

S I R,

THE united states in congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and a doubtful war.

Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you.

You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes; you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these united states, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel, oppression—you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command: it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming

a happy and respectable nation and for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care: that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which the world cannot give.

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*Letter relative to the Hessian fly, from the vice-president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania to the president of the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture.*

IN COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1788

S I R,

A PROCLAMATION was issued on the twenty-fifth of July last by his Britannic majesty, prohibiting the entry of wheat, the growth of any of the territories of the united states, into any of the ports of Great Britain: and as there is reason to believe that the said proclamation has been occasioned by some misinformation respecting the insect called Hessian fly:

Council therefore request your faithful society to investigate and report them, as soon as convenient, the nature of the Hessian fly, particularly as to the manner of its being propagated, and the effects of it on the crop of wheat; and to ascertain with all possible precision, whether the loss of crops is not occasioned by the destruction of the plant; and whether a small quantity of wheat produced from a field infected with the fly, is good grain, or otherwise. Likewise, the most successful method that has hitherto been discovered for preventing the effects of this insect.

I am, sir,

with great respect,

your very humble servant

P. MUHLENBERG, v.

*Samuel Powell, Esq. president of the Agricultural Society.*

*Answer.*

S I R,

THE Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, before whom I had the honour of laying the enquiries addressed to them by the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania on the subject of the Hessian fly, have directed me to assure your honour



ward, that from every communication made to them on that subject, they are decidedly of opinion, that it is the plant the wheat, alone, that is injured by this destructive insect—that what grain happens to be produced from such plants, is found and good—and that this insect is not propagated by sowing wheat which grew on fields infected with it.

For the best information relative to these other enquiries, the society beg leave to refer your honourable board to the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of June 14, Sept. 14, 1787, and July 1, 1788\*, and to the *Pennsylvania Packet* of Aug. 21, 1788†.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAMUEL POWELL, *Pres.*

*Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1788.*

*on. Peter Muhlenberg, esq. }  
vice-president of the state of }  
Pennsylvania.*



As the destruction of the wheat by the Hessian fly, as it is called, in some of the neighbouring governments for several years past, and its penetrating so far into this state, previous to the last harvest, are alarming circumstances, and especially to the farmers, the following remarks on that interesting subject, we flatter ourselves, will be agreeable to the public, and probably convey some useful information, which may conduce towards alleviating or lessening so great a calamity; if they should in some measure serve this good purpose, the end we have in view will be answered.

JAMES VAUX,  
JOHN JACOBS.

*Providence, Montgomery county,  
Pennsylvania, eighth mo. 16, 1788.*

ON the 7th of the present month we left home, on a tour to Jer-

#### NOTES.

\* The three publications, here alluded to, are productions of col. Morgan, of Princeton; and may be seen in the *American Museum*, vol. I. page 526; vol. II. page 298; and vol. IV. page 48.—C.

† This is the publication which follows Mr. Powell's letter, and is signed by James Vaux and John Jacobs.—C.

fey, and Long-Island in New-York government, to enquire into the effects of that destructive insect, and what remedy had been found to prevent its baneful consequences in those parts; likewise to make enquiry of some of the most sagacious and intelligent practical farmers, who have declined sowing wheat, what mode of cropping they had adopted in lieu of wheat crops, to make annual returns of cash; and in an especial manner to ascertain the true species of bearded wheat, which has been found by experience effectually to withstand the attacks of the fly, and to procure samples of the same. The following remarks, in consequence of said enquiry, were noted for our own satisfaction, and are now offered for general information. We find the fly passes itself between the outer straw or hulk and the stalk of the wheat, until it reaches near the first or lower joint, and there, somewhat like a caterpillar on a twig, fixes its eggs on the stalk, in number from six or eight to fifty; by the growing of them, the stalk becomes so compressed with the adhesion of the cluster, and weakened to such a degree, as not to support its own weight, consequently falls to the ground, and the crop is irremediably lost.

We must leave to naturalists to develop and describe the history of this insect; but to us it appears unlikely that any means, within the bounds of human wisdom, will be found to destroy it, or to tincture the wheat stalks with any noxious quality sufficient to prevent the fly from preferring the common wheat stalks to deposit its eggs for the continuance of its species. We therefore conclude, from the experience of the most intelligent farmers and millers with whom we conversed, that none but uninformed or obstinate men will attempt sowing the common wheat in the neighbourhood of the fly, unless compelled thereto by necessity. But this need not intimidate the farmers in the least from proceeding in a regular course of wheat crops, as the fatherly care of the Supreme Being, in the course of his providence, even in this instance, where the wisdom of his dependent creatures evidently proves insufficient, has interposed and made provision for man's subsistence with-

out obliging him to deviate from his usual practice of tillage, or his sustaining much loss or even disappointment, but only requires his timely application of the proffered remedy; which seems to consist of seed wheat of a peculiar species, which ought to be procured in due time.

Isaac Underhill, of Long Island, state of New York, had his wheat destroyed by the fly, consequently had not any for seed; but being a miller, took some out of his mill, which had been purchased from on board a ship at New York, in the year 1780 or 1781; this he sowed, and reaped therefrom upwards of twenty bushels per acre, when few, if any of his neighbours, for some miles round, had any to reap, it being destroyed by the fly. Being an observing man, he immediately concluded that this wheat must possess some peculiar quality, and therefore caused his whole crop to be threshed out, and disposed of it to his neighbours in small quantities for seed. This wheat they have now sowed for six or seven years past, and Isaac has never reaped less than ten bushels from the acre, in the most unfavourable season, but generally from twenty to thirty bushels. It is a yellow, plump, full grain, with a white beard and white chaff, weighing from fifty-nine to sixty-three pounds the bushel.

The millers, Isaac and Andrew Underhill, informed us, that it was, in their opinion, equal to the best red wheat; and to us, who observed it with a farmer's eye, it appears a perfect grain, much like the yellow skip-pack wheat, so highly esteemed by our millers. The fly will reside in the fields where this wheat is sown, and deposit its eggs in the straw, but hardly ever materially injures the crop. The only instance we heard of was, a widow woman procured one single bushel of this yellow bearded wheat, and sowed it in the same field with the common sort; it was a very small quantity in proportion to the whole field; when the fly had destroyed the common, they attacked the bearded in very great numbers; the crop was much hurt; yet she reaped five or six bushels from the one bushel sown. A man at some distance from the widow's, sowed a field with the yellow bearded wheat; the fly destroyed all the neigh-

bouring fields of the common sort, and seemed to collect in his plentiful from the appearance he concluded crop would be destroyed; but he reaped about twenty bushels per acre. We found it to be the general opinion there, that this wheat stands the winter better, and escapes the mildew more than the common sort, and that it ought not to be sowed earlier than the second, third, or fourth week of the next month, according to the progress the fly has made in the neighbourhood where it is to be sown; it has been found, by observation, that the fly deposits its eggs in the fall; and if the wheat grows into stalk before the cold weather pinches the insect, the plant, even of the yellow bearded kind, is too tender to resist the spear of the fly, if it has any, or to bear the compression of the eggs. Or perhaps the eggs, deposited at that early period, are most likely to injure the stalk in the spring, before it has acquired sufficient degree of firmness. The yellow bearded wheat has nearly the same kind of straw as rye, and is no more liable to injury from the fly than the grain. The farmers, in the neighbourhood of this insect generally raise good crops of rye, if the land and season prove good. The fly, still abundant on Long Island as rise as ever, yet we do not understand any material injury to be done by it, save to the common wheat only.

Isaac Underhill lives near Flushing, on Long Island, is a farmer and miller, and a person worthy of having the fullest credit given to his opinion in the present case. He was the first person who discovered the peculiar benefit of sowing this kind of yellow bearded wheat; he has taken considerable pains to spread the beneficial effects around him; and at this time his philanthropy induces him to promote the general introduction of this invaluable grain. Andrew Underhill lives in the city of New York, is esteemed a man of veracity, is concerned in several mills, took methods early to introduce the bearded wheat for seed in the neighbourhoods from which his mills had used to be supplied; the consequence has been, he has had a full quantity for his use ever since, and his wish is, that the public generally may be supplied with seed. W

our information from many persons on the spot, especially from the mentioned, and from them we have the promise of sixty bushels of wheat for ourselves, the present season, are happy to inform our neighbours, that they have promised to produce what is in their power for any person, who, from inclination or urgent necessity, may be induced to try for it.

We found no instance of any far-substituting other crops in lieu of wheat; and but one, of any having been sown wheat, so as constantly to stand the fly. The method he used was, to cover it with sea-weed, raw, soon after it came up. It appears in this case, as in all others, there is no general rule without exception; some injury having been done to the bearded wheat, though so late; as not to have the least weight of a person of reflection; as, on the other hand, some spots of the other wheat has been preserved in the neighbourhood of the fly, but this has been so seldom, that a prudent farmer will hardly run the risk, when he may, with great probability, and at all additional expence, propose to himself a crop equal to what kind of produce has been pleased heretofore to bestow on him with.



Hampton, in Bucks county,  
5th Aug. 1788.

S I R,

FOR the information of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, I communicate to you the success I have experienced this summer, of an experiment made to evade the destructive effects of the insect, commonly called the Hessian fly.

About the middle of Sept. last, I sowed one bushel of the yellow bearded wheat, which I had procured from Long Island, on part of a piece of ground which had been manured with dung, and had yielded a crop of Indian corn, and one of flax. The quantity of ground occupied with this wheat, was one acre, one quarter, and seven perches, the produce of which was somewhat over thirty bushels of wheat, equal to about twenty-five bushels to the acre, whilst the ground adjoining, of the same quality,

produced about eight bushels to the acre, of the common wheat.

The bearded wheat, as well as the other kind, had been much injured by the severity of the winter, so that many spots were entirely destroyed; yet what remained in the spring grew up as wheat used to do, and did not appear to be injured by the fly, or any wise obstructed in its growth. The common wheat adjoining, from the luxuriance of the soil, and uncommon fertility of the season, appeared struggling hard to get forward, but the bug so impeded its growth, that apparently, not more than one third of the original stalks could come to perfection, and of those, great part dragged down before harvest, so as to render its gathering extremely difficult.

From the success of this experiment, and many others of the same kind made in my neighbourhood, I am fully convinced, that the yellow bearded wheat, notwithstanding this destructive insect, may be raised to great perfection upon good land, provided it can be preserved in the fall.

This wheat, during the fall, and in its tender state, doth not appear to be more secure against the fly than any other kind, and as we have not yet discovered any certain method, whereby to render it offensive to the insect in that state, it will be necessary that the farmer be not only attentive to the improvement of his soil, but that the grain be sowed late in the fall, or not until the fly disappears.

With the greatest esteem, I am  
your very humble servant,

HENRY WYNKOP.

Samuel Powell, esq. president  
of the agricultural society. }



*Advantage of sheering lambs.*

Mr. Printer,

LAST month I had fourteen lambs taken promiscuously from my flock, shorn, in order to try how far this mode might be profitable. I had 23lb. 10 ounces of good wool, for which I have been offered 2/6 per lb. None of the lambs were more than of the middling size; they now look better than those unshorn.

JOHN HOLMES.

Cape May, Aug. 16, 1788.

*The customary method of making pot-ash used in the state of New York.*

**A**FTER having got together a quantity of ashes, and having made the convenient vessels for extracting the lye, and fixed two large kettles of cast iron containing about ninety gallons, on a furnace, or in masonry, you begin by filling them with lye, which runs out of the tubs, in which, in the first instance, the ashes were put. Afterwards, by the assistance of a fire, which must be kept up by continually feeding it, it produces a gradual evaporation, which carries off the watry parts, and leaves a saline substance in the bottom of the kettles. In order to obtain a large quantity of these salts, you continue filling the kettles during the space of one or two days. There is, however, no limited time, the quantity of saline substance depending entirely on the strength of the lye and the goodness of the ashes. The custom I pursued, was to stop as soon as I thought there was about two hundred pounds weight, which occupied about one fourth of the kettle. As soon as you have got things thus far, you must lessen the fire, and stir up the salts as much as you can, in order that the remainder of the boiling may be entirely dried; then fill the furnace with dry split wood, which ought to be prepared for the purpose to such a degree as to heat the bottom of the kettle red hot: this excessive heat will quickly inflame the vegetable oil, which is found mixed with the salts. This you soon perceive, for, from the deep black which they were, they become a greyish brown. As soon as this shade or appearance is become general, you lessen the fire; the matter becomes cold; and you then put it in barrels.

It is necessary that these barrels should be made of staves of the best quality of white oak, thicker than is made use of for common purposes, containing thirty-six gallons, and bound with eighteen or twenty hoops; those which I formerly made use of, weighed about fifty pounds. These salts being thus carefully placed in very tight barrels, may afterwards be taken out, and put any where you please, except in a cellar, without fear of the air's dissolving them. In

this state, the pot-ash is sent to market. Your cooper cannot be too careful in the choice of his materials, as well in the shape of the barrels; for if admit the air, the salts will dissolve and run out through the crevices. Each barrel ought to weigh about two hundred and fifty or three hundred pounds; this difference proceeds from the pieces which you take out of the kettle being large or small. This is the method of making, what is called in this country, pot-ash. Some time after the peace, this article was at a much higher price than when it goes by the name of pearl-ash. The greatest care must be taken in the choice of your kettles, i. e. they must be of the best quality, that they may not crack during the violence of the last operation. You must be equally careful of not filling them full of lye, that they may not be suddenly cold. The smallest deviation from these directions will ruin them, and of course render them useless.

*The method of making pearl-ash.*

The process of this is exactly the same as pot-ash; that is to say, by the above mode of boiling you must endeavour to get as much salt in each of the kettles as you possibly can. When they have begun to thicken, diminish the fire by degrees, taking care to keep it so much alive as to dry the remains in the kettles; then take them out, and put it in an oven, of the construction described below, in order to purify it, by means of the flames of all its heterogeneous or impure parts, and to make it as white as snow. This thing is more simple than this process, when the oven and its little furnace are properly constructed.

*Some ideas respecting the oven and furnace for drying and purifying the pot-ash.*

It is composed of two parts; the lower part is an arch of four feet and a half, and eighteen inches wide. The lengthways of this lower part, or furnace, you place bars of iron at a little distance from each other, in order to support the wood that is to be burnt. The upper part is an oven of an oblong shape, narrower at the mouth than at the back, the top of the ceiling of which is made as low

sible, that is to say, from ten to thirteen inches. There is in the bottom of this oven, a communication with the part below, (which is not more than eight or nine inches distant) leading to the throat, the size of which is by four inches. This must be contracted towards the middle part of the thickness; by this means, the flames, drawn by the current of air, precipitate themselves directly towards the passage, the bottom part of which is formed like a funnel: through this the air passes into the upper part, and ascending upwards in the furnace, is repelled by the low sloping shape of the ceiling, upon the salts, before they can escape at the mouth, through which the salts were put in. This does not fail to destroy the impure matter, which rises of different colours, and is carried off in a black smoke. During this operation, the man, with a large iron rake, keeps continually raking and stirring up the flames, in order to expose every part to the flames. Three quarters of an hour are sufficient for each baking or burning. The wood which you make use of, ought to be split very small, and rendered as inflammable as possible, in order to produce a strong and powerful flame. As soon as the furnace is a little cooled, you take out the pearled pot-ash, with a shovel, and lay it on a large stone plate, at the time you put it in the barrels, the length and solidity of which require as much care as those for the pot-ash. The difficulty of contracting this furnace lies only in giving a proper shape to the throat or passage, and to the arched ceiling. The first is destined to take in as large a body of flames as possible, and to force them by means of the compression, to spread upwards in the oven; the second, to repel them equally on the salts, before they escape again through the mouth.

The pearl-ash is much heavier than the pot-ash, because of its being consolidated by the baking, and decreased in size; wherefore you may put a much greater weight of it in each bar-

The furnace, or lower part, ought to be built of the best qualified bricks, they can be procured, and the bottom of the upper part, or oven, to be covered with a plate of cast iron, sur-

rounded with a border or edge three inches high, where it can be got or afforded.

### *General observations.*

It is unnecessary to say any thing of the method of extracting the lye from the ashes. Let tubs be made of white pine staves, each large enough to contain twenty-five bushels of ashes: it will be well to use a false bottom full of holes, placed about four inches above the real bottom, on which you may put some hay or straw, before you lay the ashes on it. The best ashes are those made of green wood. The finer you split your wood, the greater is the quantity of salt to any certain number of bushels. You may generally compute five or six hundred to produce a ton of pot-ash, two thousand two hundred and forty pounds to a ton. The ashes made of wood that is resinous or pitchy, not only produce nothing, but prevent the coalition and thickening of the salts. Your collection of ashes ought to be put on planks as you gather them, without which the dampness of the earth will extract its strength. In some places, in order to extract the lye, they make use of large square places, made of pine boards, like cisterns; but tubs are to be preferred, because it is the nicest and most certain way.

Such is the method which a careful and judicious person has followed during three years, and in which he has the most perfect confidence from experience.



*Extract from a masonic discourse on I St. John, 3, 10, 11, delivered in Christ Church, Dover, Dec. 27th, 1780, before the general communication of free and accepted masons of the Delaware state:*

To his excellency general WASHINGTON.

S I R,

OF myself, I would not have presumed to offer this address.—In admiration and love arising almost to rapture, I have long contemplated your excellency's character: yet still, to do so, in retirement and silence, appeared to become me best;—or, at the most, not to pass out of the circle of a

select few, imparting and increasing this our refined enjoyment.

But the brethren have imboldened me to step a little farther ; and should it be deemed unseasonable intrusion, they take to themselves the blame. They have honoured me with their particular instructions, to inscribe this sermon to your excellency ; whereby an opportunity is given, not only to them, but to me, of declaring in a public manner, that every species of veneration, and consummate gratitude, is the tribute unquestionably due to consummate merit : that in the present age, our world beholds a more than usual blessing—the hero, and the man of virtue, in the same personage, to a charm, united ; that now we have the pleasure, with consenting millions, of revering great endowments conjoined with good. They direct me to tell, that they glory in having communion with so very illustrious a brother—and master.

The author of the following little performance, wishes it was more worthy of your excellency's patronage. It may be said, in a degree, to be extemporaneous, having been drawn up in such unavoidable haste ; neither would correction have brought it nearer to the splendour of the subject, unless the whole plan were altered.

Your excellency being no stranger to the sentiments here attempted to be set forth, hath felt through a life most useful, what it is to be pre-eminent in kind affection and philanthropy ; and knoweth well, that to be “ a child of God,” as much transcends the pretended dignity of being a son of Jupiter, of Mars, or of Apollo, as the new Jerusalem of St. John excels in glory the elysium of Homer, Virgil, or of Plato.

I am, sir,  
your excellency's most obedient servt.  
SAMUEL MAGAW.

Dover, March 27, 1781.

**Q**UALITIES, whether natural or moral—dispositions, tempers, actions, and characters may be seen, and discriminated, very often, to most advantage, by setting them in contrast, with their opposites : at least, their exhibition seems to strike most sensibly, when they happen to be mentioned together, or placed pretty near each other—so it is in regard to light

and darkness ; wisdom and error strength and weakness ; beauty and deformity ; order and irregularity ; the harmony of modulated sounds, and the jarring of discords—so it is with respect to the features and description of these two classes, comprehending that is good, and all that is evil, in the human kind, “ the children of God and the children of the devil.”

This contrariety and dissimilitude of figures and ideas reciprocally tending to communicate, the one to the other a clearer visibility, and more forcible effect, is what we meet with frequently in the language of holy scripture : there are some remarkable instances of it to be found in this author ; one hath been just now recited in the beginning of the text.

All the circumstances attending the introduction and progress of moral and physical evil among the works of God we are not acquainted with ; a few of them only do we know.

From his omnipotent controlling power, and the unbounded glory of his nature, we are assured, that out of confusion he will bring forth order and will force partial evil to be for ever subservient to universal good.

The grand apostate angel appears to have been the origin of sin in this system. A fallen spirit—envy fills his mind ; and a propensity wild as the colour of his state to make the new inhabitants of earth apostates like himself : and always since, he lives at works within “ the children of disobedience.”

It is by confounding his devices—breaking his bonds asunder—and bringing us once more into the elements of heaven, that our redeeming ALPH and OMEGA unites us to his everlasting temple, and constitutes us pillars that shall go no more out.

For this purpose the son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil, and raise the fabric of undecaying grandeur, “ built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets—himself being the chief corner-stone”——

With respect then to being “ the children of God,” this is a relation founded in, and arising from, a very illustrious part of “ the restitution of all things.”

Having recourse to fundament

principles—throwing out a number of inious aphorisms—our apostle, in the epistles, helps us to understand the subject distinctly and fully.

The inseparable connection between good faith and sound morality, appears to be his capital object; and, of course, he gives us several thoughts of charity or love, which one would most take to be the sketches of an angel, and not of man. The idea he gives us of the all-glorious being—an angel received from the heaven of heavens, is, that he is the very height, perfection, and source unfathomable of light and love:—"God is light"—"God is love." With this eternal light and love, even those who had been astray, upon their true repentance and effectual return, enjoy an union and participation.

Now, how can it be otherwise, than that "the children of God" should be manifested? and distinguished as early from those of an opposite character, as noon from the midnight?

That which they have heard from the beginning remaining in them, they continue in the son, and in the Father." In the purifying radiance of the infinite I AM, they live, and move, and have celestial being. Knowing that he delights in harmony, proportion, and everlasting order, through his works, they contemplate the same with pleasing wonder, and strive incessantly to have their wills and actions brought to a sweet accordance.

The ground I shall now advance is the following, That the principles of this most ancient society, directed by its members, through the whole system of their labours, to manifest, that they are the children of God, and not the children of the devil.

I know, an objection ariseth in the hearts of some, immediately, "if these brethren have so excellent an institution, and principles so pure, how is it that they do not generally shine as lights in the world?" 'tis pity this should carry with it so much plausibility; but it falls short of its intention. Let those, however, blush, whom the objection indeed affecteth; the system they profess stands spotless and unimpaired.

A veneration for the eternal architect of nature, and nature's operations, the love of him, who in number,

weight and measure, hath arranged all things, and poured a rich profusion of beauty and blessing through his works—the liveliest sensibility of his power and presence—an attention deep and watchful, in regard to every intimation of his will—a delight in due proportion, not barely in things inanimate, but in the mind and actions—a general love of human kind, and study to advance their happiness—and yet, a special closer sympathy—a reciprocity of sentiments, peculiarly fraternal, among a select number associated in the bonds of cordial pledged affection—while withal, no preceding nor subsequent obligation is in the least infringed—these appear to have been the original, and are the standing, and the abiding principles of masonry—

The thoughtful and inquiring taking a retrospect towards the birth of things, have found the lodge almost co-eval with creation. Illustrious men, good and true, looking abroad, and looking often upwards, beholding the sun rolling in his glory—the moon conducting the night—and the stars gilding the hemisphere around her—contemplating the grand adjustment and order of things—were led to see the mighty builder God. They pondered and adored—the deeper their researches, the more the inspiration they received—the more they saw and felt a symmetry around them and within them. Some choice congenial souls, to brighten and assist each other, mature their deep conception more effectually, and draw there from such science and improvements as the state of man required, united with each other in fellowship both deep and faithful.

Whatever is sublime and beautiful in arts, from the time that Enoch erected his famed pillars, until the modern day, is deemed to take its rise, and borrow its support from this original.

But, what we are now attending to especially, are mental qualities—the order of the soul—the harmony of pure affections—the proportions of a well spent life—the sublime and beautiful of doing good.

Now, these every wise brother hath, from the beginning, looked upon as the main business, and the glory of the craft.

The liberal bosom of the lodge hath

all along received its members out of every nation ; its constitutions requiring only, that they be men fearing God, and working righteousness ; but still requiring this as indispensable.

Religion, pure and undefiled, hath ever been one and the same ; and the morals, connected with it, are as invariable : but its dispensations have differed ; that is, a greater share of light hath been enjoyed by some people, than by others ; and at one time, than at another : the means of heavenly communication have differed ; and so have the symbols of the divine and saving operation upon the heart.

But in all ages and times, they who availed themselves of such privileges as were allowed them—who, in simplicity and sincerity walked in their present light—pursuing after the still rising glories of the reign of God—were accepted of him. They felt the power of redemption, in their measure and degree, though many of them heard not of the redeemer's name.

As the dispensation brightened, men's obligations brightened with it. In this respect the privileges and blessings of our day are rich and inestimable. “ The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light : and on them that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, doth the illustrious light of Emanuel shine.” We are invited to glory, honour, and immortality, through the reception of the light—the light, more fully than heretofore, displayed ; and in an answerable patient continuance in well doing.

You, therefore, first, having heard the voice proceeding as it were, from the excellent glory—and knowing that Christ Jesus is revealed as the way, the truth, and the life—by whom only you can be built up a spiritual house—you, I say, undoubtedly must feel the ties you are under to triumph in, and live the holy gospel. Your principles direct you to rejoice in the truth, and seek it more than for the gold of Ophir. Here is the truth, and the truth that shall make you free indeed. Here are the plans that adorn and embellish life : that, faithfully, observed, will make you good, and great, and happy. Here is the law of purity enforced, and the law of love. Here is the golden rule, or square held up, of doing to others, as you would wish

they should do to you. Here peace is recommended in all its honour—content of spirit, meekness, sobriety, strict abstinence from all excess, unwearied diligence in business, a feeling heart, and a relieving hand.

Solemnly have you bound yourself to draw from these fountains, and cultivate these venerable practices. Solemnly have you sworn to the true and living God, that on these grounds and after this pattern, will you construct the fabric of your labours.

In a word, from true religion, illustrated by Jesus, your science takes its main and sure supports. On this foundation can no man lay, than hath already laid : and every faithful brother reflects back the simplicity of the truth, the loveliness of that religion in his whole conversation.

An impious, or an immoral man, your fraternity, is what the constitutions of your order disallow ; such one can be no other than an hindrance to your works and communication, and a blot in your feasts of charity.

From these hints may be very plainly inferred, that the principles of this society direct its members, through the whole system of their labours, to manifest themselves to be “ the children of God,” and not “ the children of the devil.”

Previous now to the enforcing “ that message which you heard from the beginning,” addressed to your “ business and bosoms,” as men, and Christian brethren—some thoughts may be suggested explanatory of its connection and conducive to its influence and effect.

There subsisteth among men a strong and close relation in respect of one another, founded in nature—pointed out by their very frame, and a great variety of circumstances ; as also obligations and numerous important duties resulting from that relation, and those circumstances ; all which are not illustrated, and admirably adorned by the beams of heavenly grace.

Created at first in a nearness to God—each human being, while it exists continued, must have invariably felt a tendency supreme towards him as a holy, living aspiration. Meanwhile, among themselves, the share of his common bounty, endued with his divine similitude—they could



revere and love even this reflected  
ellency, and be drawn, for his sake,  
sympathy divine, still nearer and  
nearer to each other. But estrange-  
ment from God would necessarily  
se immediate estrangement with re-  
son to one another. It did so—re-  
conciliation, therefore, and peace must  
e place in the former respect, be-  
it can obtain in the latter. It is,  
n, after being made children of  
d by adoption and grace, or, in the  
of being so made and constituted,  
t we become brethren indeed, united  
ether in love. The same message  
t proclaims “glory to God in the  
hest,” and publisheth peace and fa-  
ir descending from heaven to men—  
clares withal, men’s everlasting u-  
on, and bounden mutual fellowship,  
equal heirs of the great salvation.

On such sure footing, and on these  
nciples, our favourite apostle grounds  
lessons of philanthropy ; and here  
es an infallible criterion for us, by  
hich to estimate our standing as to  
ure everlasting prospects ; by which  
ost clearly to discover the gracious,  
ungracious disposition of our souls.  
bjection to any sin is certain aliena-  
on from the household of God ; ‘tis  
erly remote from the spirit of the  
ce, and incompatible with every  
ivilege of the accepted. An heart,  
of avarice like Esau’s—an heart unhal-  
wed, knows not God ; nor can its  
wner claim the blessing of celestial  
nship : as little can the soul continu-  
g unendued with the power and feel-  
gs of fraternal love. “Whosoever  
eth not righteousness is not of God,  
neither he that loveth not his brother.”

Now as to this sweet charge, “that  
e should love one another,” permit  
e, in conclusion, to press it a few  
oments.

It is eminently important in itself ;  
is highly interesting in all its cir-  
umstances—one of the great com-  
andments also, supporting the law  
d the prophets—the commandment  
eculiarly enjoined by our heavenly  
aster ; it is “the kind message which  
ou heard from the beginning.” It  
the test of true discipleship : the evi-  
ence, when complied with, of our  
eing “the children of God ;” by  
his shall all men know, that you are  
y disciples.” “We know that we  
ave pass’d from death unto life, be-  
ause we love the brethren.”

O spirit of love, descend upon us !  
love is the element of heaven—the very  
nature of the blessed God—the delight  
of angels—the glory of all the good  
and just.

Ra sed by its attraction to that be-  
ing superlatively kind, who “pours  
eth down his benefits upon us,” and  
feeling all that is dissonant within us,  
attuned into harmony celestial—may  
the same active, generous, glowing  
principled spouse us to take by the hand,  
and to take to our hearts, every fellow  
traveller through the world’s wilder-  
ness ; every pariaher of our common  
nature, and co-heir of our common  
inheritance. “Beloved, if God so  
loved us, we ought also to love one  
another.”

But on the present occasion, to  
your business more especially do I  
mean to apply this sublime doctrine.

“This is the message which you  
have heard from the beginning, that  
you should love one another.” A  
message dignified by the highest autho-  
rity ; flowing full and clear through  
the vast stream of time ; strengthening  
your various labours ; grounding, set-  
tling, and encircling the pillars of your  
temple called beautiful.

A farther illustration of it you do  
not want—I can hardly question but  
your heads are right on the subject ; I  
with your hearts to be equally so.

A system merely theoretic, it would  
not be worth your while to profess.  
Benevolence unfelt, though clothed  
in amplest form, and uttered in most  
liberal, “honoured sentences,” is no  
benevolence at all. I long to find  
the heart-produced, the generous, mu-  
tual wish among you—of doing good ;  
and making each other happy. Let  
this have free course and employment  
—its efficacy will soon extend abroad ;  
and (give me leave to say) will shine  
and be glorified. There are occasions  
not a few—there are objects affection-  
ately moving ; call into exercise the  
tender sensibilities of the soul ; bring  
them forth to action : to feel them, is  
to be men ; to follow and obey them,  
is to be *paulo minus ab Angelis*—a  
very little lower than the angels.

Alas ! the complexion of such times  
as the present, and the interfering pas-  
sions of mankind do sadly interrupt  
one’s expectation ; they carry an un-  
favourable aspect to genuine sociabil-

ity, and all the friendly offices. The "love of many hath waxed cold." The minds of the people have drank deep into a worldly bitter spirit. Fair charity hath few admirers; and concord's shrines are seldom now frequented. The genius, too, of your temple is not a little tossed and afflicted—the temple itself immoveable—yet injured. The honours of the lodge must suffer, when brethren are either false, or lukewarm. Come, then, with generous emulation, stop the increasing evil; oppose it by the weight of an exemplary disinterested goodness. Be incorruptible; be amiably beneficent and true. Maintain an inviolable self command. Preserve a constant susceptibility of tender, kind impressions. Whatever is illiberal or unfriendly, whether it might affect a brother, or a stranger, perpetually avoid it. Invincibly upright, pure hearted, and humane to others—court not their praise; fear not their blame. Whenever unto any you give commendation, let candour and ingenuity be shewn; constrained, at times, to disapprove—forget not charity; towards each other, in every meeting and communication, and at all times, you will be gracefully and kindly affectioned.

Keep, and work within the compass of unfeigned benevolence. Delight in, and improve that sweet equality you call the level.

Be courteous, obliging, tender hearted, profitable, as far as in you lies, to men of every kindred, nation, or description.

If any thing be conducive to human utility, or be of human concern, let that be sufficient to interest and engage your attention therein.

In fine—do you not keep a steady eye—I know you do, in hope delighted, and expectation jovous—towards the approaching, mild, completed glories of the land we live in: nay, farther—and farther still—to the sublime era of things, when around the world, benevolence, and truth, and light shall reign; when the universal fabric being laid of "stones with fair colours, and its foundations with sapphires," all the people shall be brethren, and all the brethren be instructed by one grand master, and their communications be one.

To the eternal most blessed being, the source where truth, purity, and goodness, have an unchangeable residence in elevations infinite, and dimensions unbounded—to father, son, and holy spirit, be glory, dominion, and thanksgiving, throughout the universe for ever! amen!



*Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.*

[Continued from page 138.]

LETTER III.

THE writer of this address hopes that he will now be thought disengaged from the objections against the part of the principle assumed, concerning the power of the people that he may be excused for recurring to his assertion, that—"the power of the people pervading the proposed system, together with the strong confederation of the states, will form an adequate security against every danger that has been apprehended."

It is a mournful, but may be a useful truth, that the liberty of single republics has generally been destroyed by some of the citizens, and of confederated republics, by some of the associated states.

It is more pleasing, and may be more profitable to reflect, that the tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of their government for protecting the worthy against the licentious.

As in forming a political society each individual contributes some of his rights, in order that he may, from a common stock of rights, derive greater benefits, than he could from merely his own; so, in forming a confederation, each political society should contribute such a share of their rights as will, from a common stock of rights, produce the largest quantity of benefits to them.

But what is that share? and, how to be managed? Momentous questions! Here, flattery is treason—an error, destruction.

Are they unanswerable? No. Our most gracious Creator does not condemn us to sigh for unattainable blessings: but one thing he demands—that we should seek for it in his way and not in our own.

Humility and benevolence must take place of pride and overweening selfishness. Reason rising above these passions, will then discover to us, that we cannot be true to ourselves, without being true to others—that, to be solitary, is to be wretched—that to love our neighbours as ourselves, is to love ourselves in the best manner—that to give, is to gain—and, that we never consult our own happiness more actually, than when we most endeavour to correspond with the divine designs, by communicating happiness, in such a manner as we can, to our fellow-creatures. Inestimable truth! sufficient, they do not barely ask what it is, to melt tyrants into men, and to soothe the inflamed minds of a multitude into docility. Inestimable truth! which our Maker, in his providence, enforces upon us, not only to talk and write about, but to adopt in practice of vast extent, and of instructive examples. Let us now enquire, if there be not one principle, simple as the laws of nature in other instances, from which, if we derive from a source, the many benefits of society are deduced.

We may with reverence say, that our Creator designed men for society, and cause otherwise they could not be happy. They cannot be happy without freedom; nor free without security; that is, without the absence of fear; nor thus secure, without society. The conclusion is strictly syllogistic—but men cannot be free without society. Of course, they cannot be equally free without society, which freedom produces the greatest happiness.

As these premises are invincible, we have advanced a considerable way in our enquiry upon this deeply interesting subject. If we can determine, what share of his rights, every individual must contribute to the common stock of rights in forming a society; for obtaining equal freedom, we determine, at the same time, what share of their rights each political society must contribute to the common stock of rights in forming a confederation, which is only a larger society for obtaining equal freedom: for if the proportion be not proportioned to the magnitude of the association in the former case, it will generate the same mischief among the component parts

of it, from their inequality, that would result from a defective contribution to association in the former case, among the component parts of it, from their inequality.

Each individual, then, must contribute such a share of his rights, as is necessary for attaining that security that is essential to freedom: and he is bound to make this contribution by the law of his nature: that is, by the command of his creator; therefore, he must submit his will, in what concerns all, to the will of the whole society. What does he lose by the submission? The power of doing injuries to others—the dread of suffering injuries from them—and the inconveniences of mental or bodily weakness. What does he gain by it? The aid of those associated with him—protection against injuries from them or others—a capacity of enjoying his undelegated rights to the best advantage—a repeal of his fears—and tranquility of mind—or, in other words, that perfect liberty better described in the holy scriptures, than any where else, in these expressions—“When every man shall sit under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid.”

The like submission, with a correspondent expansion and accommodation, must be made between states, for obtaining the like benefits in a confederation. Men are the materials of both. As the largest number is but a junction of units—a confederation is but an assembly of individuals. The sanction of that law of his nature, upon which the happiness of a man depends in society, must attend him in confederation, or he becomes unhappy; for confederation should promote the happiness of individuals, or it does not answer the intended purpose. Herein there is a progression, not a contradiction. As man, he becomes a citizen; as a citizen, he becomes a federalist. The generation of one, is not the destruction of the other. He carries into society his naked rights: These thereby improved, he carries into confederation. If that sacred law before mentioned, is not here observed, the confederation would not be real, but pretended. He would confide, and be deceived.

The dilemma is inevitable. There

must either be one will, or several wills. If but one will, all the people are concerned ; if several wills, few comparatively are concerned. Surprising ! that this doctrine should be contended for by those, who declare, that the constitution is not founded on a bottom broad enough ; and though the whole people of the United States are to be trebly represented in it, in three different modes of representation, and their servants will have the most advantageous situation and opportunities of acquiring all requisite information for the welfare of the whole union, yet insist for a privilege of opposing, obstructing, and confounding all their measures taken with common consent for the general weal, by the delays, negligences, rivalries, or other selfish views of parts of the union.

Thus, while one state should be relied upon by the union for giving aid, upon a recommendation of Congress, to another in distress, the latter, might be ruined ; and the state relied upon, might suppose, it would gain by such an event.

When any persons speak of a confederation, do they, or do they not acknowledge, that the whole is interested in the safety of every part—in the agreement of parts—in the relation of parts to one another—to the whole—or, to other societies ? If they do—then, the authority of the whole, must be co-extensive with its interests—and if it is, the will of the whole must and ought in such cases to govern ; or else it will have an interest without an authority to manage it.

If they do not acknowledge that the whole is thus interested, the conversation should cease. Such persons mean not a confederation, but something else. As to the idea, that this superintending sovereign will must, of consequence, destroy the subordinate sovereignties of the several states, it is begging a concession of the question, by inferring that a manifest and great usefulness must necessarily end in abuse ; and not only so, but it requires an extinction of the principle of all society : for, the subordinate sovereignties, or, in other words, the undelegated rights of the several states, in a confederation, stand upon the very same foundation with the undelegated rights of individuals in a society, the

federal sovereign will being composed of the subordinate sovereign wills of the several confederated states. If some persons seem to think, a bill of rights is the best security of rights, the sovereignties of the several states have this best security, by the proposed constitution, and more than this best security, for they are not barely declared to be rights, but are taken into it as component parts, for their perpetual preservation by themselves. In short, the government of each state is, and is to be, sovereign and supreme in all matters that relate to each state only. It is to be subordinate only in those matters that relate to the whole, and it will be their own fault, if the several states suffer the federal sovereignty to interfere in things of their respective jurisdictions. An instance of such interference, with regard to any single state, will be a dangerous precedent as to all, and therefore will be guarded against by all : as trustees or servants of the several states will not dare, if they retain their senses, so to violate the independent sovereignty of their respective states, that justly daring object of American affections, to which they are responsible, besides being endeared by all the charities of life.

The common sense of mankind agrees to the devolution of individual wills in society ; and if it has not been as universally assented to in confederation, the reasons are evident, and worthy of being retained in remembrance by Americans. They want of opportunities, or the loss of them, through defects of knowledge and virtue. The principle however has been sufficiently vindicated in imperfect combinations, as their prosperity has generally been commensurate to its operation.

How beautifully and forcibly does the inspired apostle saint Paul argue upon a sublimer subject, with a train of reasoning strictly applicable to the present ? His words are, “ If the head shall say, because I am not the head, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? ” and if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? ” As plainly inferring, could be done in that allegorical manner, the strongest censure of such j-

discontents and dissensions, especially, as his meaning is enforced by his description of the benefits of union in these expressions—"but, though they are many members, yet but one body; and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor can the head to the feet, I have no need of you."

When the commons of Rome upon capture with the senate, seceded in the forum upon the mons sacrus, Menenius Agrippa used the like allusion to the human body, in his famous apologue of the quarrel among some of the members. The unpolished but honest-hearted Romans of that day, understood him, and were appeased. They returned to the city, and—the world was conquered. Another comparison has been made of statesmen and the learned, between a natural and a political body; and no wonder indeed, when the title of the former was borrowed from the resemblance. It has therefore been justly observed, that if a mortification takes place in one or some of the limbs, and the rest of the body is sound, remedies may be applied, and not only the contagion prevented from spreading, but the diseased part or parts saved by their connection with the body, and restored to former usefulness. When general putrefaction prevails, death is to be expected. History, sacred and profane, tells us, that corruption of manners is the very basis of slavery.

F A B I U S.



*Speech of the hon. Charles Pinckney, Esq. delivered at the opening of the convention of South Carolina, May, 14. 1788.*

Mr. President,

AFTER so much has been said with respect to the powers possessed by the late convention to form and propose a new system—after so many observations have been made on leading principles, as well in the case of representatives, as the constitutions of other states, whose proceedings have been published—it will be unnecessary for me again minutely to examine a subject which has been thoroughly investigated, as it would be difficult to carry you into a field that has not yet been sufficiently explored.

Having, however, had the honour of being associated in the delegation from this state, and presuming upon the indulgence of the house, I shall proceed to make some observations which appear to me necessary to a full and candid discussion of the system before us.

It seems to be generally confessed, that of all sciences, that of government or politics is the most difficult—in the old world, as far as the lights of history extend, from the earliest ages to our own, we find nations in the constant exercise of all the forms with which the world is at present furnished—we have seen among the ancients, as well as the moderns, monarchies, limited and absolute—aristocracies—republics of a single state, and federal unions. But notwithstanding all their experience, how confined and imperfect is their knowledge of government—how little is the true doctrine of representation understood—how few states enjoy what we term freedom! how few governments answer those great ends of public happiness, which we seem to expect from our own!

In reviewing such of the European states as we are the best acquainted with, we may with truth assert, that there is but one among the most important, which conforms to its citizens their civil liberties, or provides for the security of private rights—but as if it had been said, that we should be the first perfectly free people the world had ever seen—even the government I have alluded to, withholds, from a part of its subjects the equal enjoyment of their religious liberties. How many thousands of the subjects of Great Britain at this moment labour under civil disabilities, merely on account of their religious persuasions! to the liberal and enlightened mind, the rest of Europe affords a melancholly picture of the depravity of human nature, and of the total subversion of those rights, without which we should suppose no people could be happy or content.

We have been taught here to believe that all power, of right, belongs to the people—that it flows immediately from them, and is delegated to their officers for the public good—that our rulers are the servants of the people, amenable to their will, and created for

their use. How different are the governments of Europe! There the people are the servants and subjects of their rulers—there, merit and talents have little or no influence—but all the honours and offices of government are swallowed up by birth, by fortune, or by rank.

From the European world are no precedents to be drawn for a people who think they are capable of governing themselves. Instead of receiving instruction from them, we may, with pride, affirm, that new as this country is in point of settlement—inexperienced as she must be upon questions of government—she still has read more useful lessons to the old world—she has made them more acquainted with their own rights, than they had been otherwise for centuries. It is with pride I repeat, that old and experienced as they are, they are indebted to us for light and refinement upon points of all others the most interesting.

Had the American revolution not happened, would Ireland enjoy her present rights of commerce and legislation? would the subjects of the Emperor in the Netherlands have presumed to contend for and ultimately to secure the privileges they demanded? would the parliaments of France have resisted the edicts of their monarch, and justified their proceedings in a language that would do them honour to the freest people? nay, I may add, would a becoming sense of liberty, and of the rights of mankind, have so generally pervaded that kingdom, had not their knowledge of America led them to the investigation?—undoubtedly not; let it be therefore our boast, that we have already taught some of the oldest and wisest nations to explore their rights, as men, and let it be our prayer, that the effects of the revolution may never cease to operate, until they have unshackled all the nations that have firmness enough to resist the fetters of despotism. Without a precedent, and with the experience of but a few years, was the convention called upon to form a system for a people differing from all others we are acquainted with.

The first knowledge necessary for us to acquire, was a knowledge of the people for whom this system was to be

formed; for unless we were acquainted with their situation, their habits, opinions, and resources, it would be impossible to form a government on adequate or practicable principles.

If we examine the reasons which have given rise to the distinctions of rank that at present prevail in Europe we shall find that none of them do in all probability ever will, exist in the union.

The only distinction that may take place is that of wealth. Riches, doubt, will ever have their influence, and where they are suffered to increase to large amounts in a few hands, they may become dangerous to the public—particularly when from cheapness of labour, and the scarcity of money, a great proportion of people are poor. These, however, are dangers, that I think we have little to apprehend, for these reasons: one is from the destruction of the right of primogeniture—by which the estates of intestates are equally divided among all their children—a provision no less consonant to principles of a republican government than it is to those of general equity and parental affection. To endeavour to raise a name, by accumulating property in one branch of a family, at the expence of others, equally related and deserving, is a vanity, no less unbecoming and cruel, than dangerous to the interest of liberty—it is a practice no free state will ever encourage or tolerate. In the northern and eastern states, distinctions among children are seldom heard of. Laws have been long since passed in all of them, destroying the right of primogeniture; and as they never fail to have a powerful influence upon the manners of a people, we may suppose that in future an equal division of property among children will in general take place in all the states—and thus one means of amassing immoderate wealth in the hands of individuals be, as it ought, forever removed.

Another reason is that in the southern and northern states, the landed property is nearly equally divided—very few have large bodies, and there are few that have not small tracts.

The greater part of the people are employed in cultivating their lands—the rest in handicraft and com-

ce. They are frugal in their manner of living. Plain tables, clothing, furniture prevail in their houses; expensive appearances are avoided. Among the landed interest, it may be truly said, there are few of them rich, and few of them very poor: nor while the states are capable of supporting so many more inhabitants than they contain at present—while so vast a territory on our frontiers remain uncultivated and unexplored—while the means of subsistence are so much within every man's power, are those dangerous distinctions of fortune to be expected, which at present prevail in other countries.

The people of the union may be divided as follows.

Commercial men, who will be of consequence or not in the political system, as commerce may be made an object of the attention of government.

As far as I am able to judge, and prising that proper sentiments will ultimately prevail upon this subject, does not appear to me that the commercial line will ever have much influence in the politics of the union. Foreign trade is one of the enemies which we must be extremely guarded—more so than against any other, as none will ever have a more favourable operation. I consider it as the root of our present public distress—as the plentiful source from which our future national calamities must flow, unless great care is taken to prevent it. Divided as we are from the old world, we should have nothing to do with their politics, and as little as possible with their commerce—they can never improve, but will inevitably corrupt us.

Another class is that of professional men, who, from their education, and pursuits, must ever have a considerable influence, while your government retains the republican principle, and its affairs are agitated in assemblies of the people.

The third, with whom I will connect mechanical are the landed interest—the owners and cultivators of the soil—the men attached to the best interests of their country, from those motives, which always bind and secure the affections of a nation: in these consist the great body of the

people, and here rests, and I hope ever will continue, all the authority of our government.

I remember once to have seen in the writings of a very celebrated author upon national wealth, the following remark. “Finally,” says he, “there are but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth, the first is by war, as the Romans did in plundering their conquered neighbours—this is robbery. The second is by commerce, which is generally cheating. The third is by agriculture the only honest way: wherein a man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life and virtuous industry.”

I do not agree with him so far as to suppose that commerce is generally cheating—I think there are some kinds of commerce not only fair and valuable, but such as ought to be encouraged by government—I agree with him in this general principle, that all the great objects of government should be subservient to the increase of agriculture and the support of the landed interest, and that commerce should only be so far attended to, as it may serve to improve and strengthen them: that the object of a republic is to render its citizens virtuous and happy: and that an unlimited foreign commerce can seldom fail to have a contrary tendency.

These classes compose the people of the union: and fortunately for their harmony, they may be said in a great measure to be connected with and dependent upon each other.

The merchant is dependent upon the planter, as the purchaser of his imports and as furnishing him with the means of his remittances. The professional men depend upon both for employment in their respective pursuits, and are in their turn useful to both. The landholder, though the most independent of the three, is still in some measure obliged to the merchant for furnishing him at home with a ready sale for his productions.

From this mutual dependence, and the statement I have made respecting the situation of the people of the union—I am led to conclude, that mediocrity of fortune is a leading fea-

ture in our national character; that most of the causes which lead to destructions of fortune among other nations being removed, and causes of equality existing with us, which are not to be found among them, we may with safety assert that the great body of national wealth is nearly equally in the hands of the people, among whom there are few dangerously rich, and few miserably poor, that we may congratulate ourselves with living under the blessings of a mild and equal government, which knows no distinctions, but those of merit or of talents—under a government whose honours and offices are equally open to the exertions of all her citizens, and which adopts virtue and worth for her own, wheresoever she can find them.

Another distinguishing feature in our union is its division into individual states, differing in extent of territory, manners population, and products.

Those who are acquainted with the eastern states—the reason of their original migration, and their present habits and principles, well know that they are essentially different from those of the middle and southern states—that they retain all those opinions respecting religion and government, which first induced their ancestors to cross the atlantic, and that they are perhaps more purely republican in habit and sentiment—than any other part of the union. The inhabitants of New York, and the eastern part of New Jersey, originally Dutch settlements, seem to have altered less than might have been expected in the course of a century: indeed the greatest part of New York may still be considered as a Dutch settlement, the people in the interior country generally using that language in their families, and having very little varied their ancient customs. Pennsylvania and Delaware are nearly one half inhabited by quakers, whose passive principles upon questions of government—and rigid opinions in private life render them extremely different from either the citizens of the eastern or southern states. Maryland was originally a roman catholic colony, and a great number of their inhabitants, some of them the most wealthy and

cultivated, are still of this persuasion: it is unnecessary for me to state the striking difference in sentiment and habit which must always exist between independents of the east—the calvins and quakers of the middle state and the roman catholics of Maryland: but striking as this is—it is not to be compared with the difference there is between the inhabitants of northern and southern states. When I say southern I mean Maryland, and the states to the southward of her: here we may truly observe, that nature has drawn as strong marks of distinction in the habits and manners of people, as she has in their climate and productions. The southerner beholds with a kind of surprise the simple manners of the east, and is too often induced to entertain unserved opinions of the apparent pride of the quaker—while they in turn seem concerned at what they term the extravagance and dissipation of their southern friends; and reprobate as an unpardonable, moral and political evil, the dominion they lay over a part of the human race. The inconveniencies which too frequently attend these differences in habits and opinions among the citizens that compose the union, are not a little increased by the variety of their state governments: for as I have already observed the constitutions or laws under which a people live, never fail to have a powerful effect upon their manners. We know that all the states have adhered in their forms to the republican principle, though they have differed widely in their opinions of the means best calculated to preserve it.

In Pennsylvania and Georgia the whole powers of government are lodged in a legislative body, of a single branch over which there is no control—nor are their executives or officials, from their connexion and necessary dependence on the legislature, capable of strictly executing their respective offices. In all the other states, except Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York, they are so far improved as to have a legislature with two branches, which completely involve and swallow up the powers of their government: neither of these, are the judicial executive placed in that firm or inde-



endent situation which can alone secure the safety of the people or the best administration of the laws. In Maryland, one branch of their legislature is a senate, chosen for five years, the electors chosen by the people. The knowledge and firmness which this body have upon all occasions displayed, not only in the exercise of their legislative duties, but in withstanding and defeating such of the projects of the other house as appeared to them founded in local and personal motives, have long since convinced me the senate of Maryland is the best model of a senate that has yet been offered to the union: that it is capable of correcting many of the vices of the other parts of their constitution, and in a great measure atoning for those defects, which, in common with the rest I have mentioned, are but too evident in their execution—the want of stability and independence, in the judicial and executive departments. In Massachusetts, we find the principle of legislation more improved by the revisionary power which is given to their governor and the independence of their judges.

In New-York the same improvement in legislation has taken place as in Massachusetts; but here, from the executive's being elected by the great body of the people—holding his office for three years, and being re-eligible, from the appointment to offices being taken from the legislature, and placed in a select council, I think their constitution is, upon the whole, the best of the union—its faults are want of permanent salaries to their judges, and owing to their executive the nomination to offices, which is in fact giving him the appointment.

It does not, however, appear to me, at this, can be called a vice of their system, as I have always been of opinion that the insisting upon the right to nominate was an usurpation of the executive, not warranted by the letter or meaning of their constitution.

These are the outlines of their various forms, in few of which are their executive or judicial apartments wisely constructed, or that solid distinction adopted between the branches of their legislative, which can alone provide for the influence of different principles in their operation.

Much difficulty was expected from the extent of country to be governed. All the republics we read of, either in the ancient or modern world, have been extremely limited in territory. We know of none a tenth part so large as the united states. Indeed we are hardly able to determine, from the lights we are furnished with, whether the governments we have heard of under the names of republics, really deserved them, or whether the ancients ever had any just or proper ideas upon the subject—of the doctrine of representation, the fundamental of a republic, they certainly were ignorant. If they were in possession of any other safe or practicable principles, they have long since been lost, and forgotten to the world. Among the other honours therefore that have been reserved for the American union, not the least inconsiderable of them is, that of defining a mixed system, by which a people may govern themselves, possessing all the virtues and benefits, and avoiding all the dangers and inconveniencies of the three simple forms.

I have said that the ancient confederacies, as far as we are acquainted with them covered but an inconsiderable territory.

Among the moderns, in our sense of the words, there is no such system as a confederate republic—there are, indeed, some small states, whose interior governments are democratic, but these are too inconsiderable to afford information. The Swiss cantons are only connected by alliances. The Germanic body is merely an association of potentates, most of them absolute in their own dominions, and as to the United Netherlands, it is such a confusion of states and assemblies, that I have always been at a loss what species of government to term it: according to my ideas of the word, it is not a republic: for I conceive it as indispensable in a republic, that all authority should flow from the people: in the United Netherlands the people have no interference either in the election of their magistrates, or in the affairs of government. From the experiment, therefore, never having been fairly made—opinions have been entertained and sanctioned by high authorities, that republics are only suited to small societies. This opinion has

its advocates among all those, who, not having a sufficient share of industry or talents to investigate for themselves, easily adopt the opinions of such authors as are supposed to have written with ability upon the subject. But I am led to believe other opinions begin to prevail—opinions more to be depended upon, because they result from juster principles.

We begin now to suppose that the evils of a republic—dissension, tumult, and faction, are more dangerous in small societies, than in large confederate states. In the first, the people are easily assembled and inflamed—are always exposed to those convulsive tumults of insatiation and enthusiasm, which often overturn all public order. In the latter, the multitude will be less imperious, and consequently less inconstant, because the extensive territory of each republic, and the number of its citizens, will not permit them all to be assembled at one time, and in one place: the sphere of government being enlarged, it will not easily be in the power of factious and designing men to infect the whole people—it will give an opportunity to the more temperate and prudent part of the society, to correct the licentiousness and injustice of the rest. We have strong proofs of the truth of this opinion in the examples of Rhode-Island and Massachusetts—instances which have perhaps been critically afforded by an all-merciful providence, to evince the truth of a position extremely important in our present enquiries. In the former, the most contracted society in the union, we have seen their licentiousness so far prevail as to seize the reins of government, and oppress the people by laws the most infamous that have ever disgraced a civilized nation. In the latter, where the sphere was enlarged, similar attempts have been rendered abortive by the zeal and activity of those who were opposed to them.

As the constitution before you is intended to represent states as well as citizens I have thought it necessary to make these remarks, because there are no doubt, a great number of the members of this body, who, from their particular pursuits, have not had an opportunity of minutely investigating them, and because it will be impossi-

ble for the house fairly to determine whether the government is a pro-one or not, unless they are in some degree acquainted with the people and the states for whose use it is instituted.

For a people thus situated is a government to be formed—a people who have the justest opinions of their civil and religious rights, and who have risked every thing in asserting and defending them.

In every government, there necessarily exists a power from which there is no appeal, and which for that reason may be termed absolute and uncontrollable.

The person or assembly in which this power resides, is called the sovereign or supreme power of the state with us the sovereignty of the union is in the people.

One of the best political and moral writers\* I have met with, enumerates three principal forms of government which he says, are to be regarded rather as the simple forms, by so combination and intermixture of which all actual governments are composed than as any where existing in a pure and elementary state. These forms are:

1st. Despotism, or absolute monarchy, where the legislature is in a single person.

2. An aristocracy, where the legislature is in a select assembly, the members of which either fill up by election, the vacancies in their own body, or succeed to it by inheritance, property, tenure of lands, or in respect of some personal right or qualification.

3d. A republic, where the people at large, either collectively or by representation, form the legislature.

The separate advantages of monarchy, are unity of counsel, decision, celerity, and dispatch: the military strength and energy resulting from these qualities of government—the exclusion of popular and aristocratic contentions—the preventing, by a known rule of succession, all competition for the supreme power, thereby repressing the dangerous hopes and intrigues of aspiring citizens.

The dangers of a monarchy are, anarchy, expence, exaction, military

\* Paley a deacon of Carlisle. volume 174 and 175.

mination, unnecessary wars, ignorance in the governors of the interest and accommodation of the people, and a consequent deficiency of salutary regulations—want of constancy and uniformity in the rules of government, and proceeding from thence—insecurity of person and property.

The separate advantage of an Aristocracy is, the wisdom which may be expected from experience and education. A permanent council naturally possesses experience, and the members will always be educated with a view to the stations they are destined by birth to occupy.

The mischiefs of an Aristocracy are, dissensions in the ruling orders of the state—an oppression of the lower orders by the privilege of the higher, and laws partial to the separate interests of the law makers.

The advantages of a republic are, liberty—exemption from needless restrictions—equal laws—public spirit—parsimony to war—frugality—above all, the opportunities afforded to men of every description, of producing their abilities and councils to public observation, and the exciting to the service of the common wealth the faculties of the best citizens.

The evils of a republic are, dissensions—tumults—faction—the attempts of ambitious citizens to possess power—the confusion and clamour which are the inevitable consequences of multiplying questions of state to the discussion of large popular assemblies—the delay and disclosure of the public councils—and too often the imbecility of the laws.

A mixed government is composed of the combination of two or more of the simple forms above described: and in whatever proportion each form enters into the constitution of a government, in the same proportion may both the advantages and evils which have been attributed to that form be expected.

The citizens of the United States would reprobate with indignation the idea of a monarchy. But the essential qualities of a monarchy—unity of council, vigour—secrecy—and dispatch, are qualities essential in every government.

While, therefore, we have reserved to the people, the fountain of all power,

er, the periodical election of their first magistrate—while we have defined his powers, and bound them to such limits as will effectually prevent his usurping authorities dangerous to the general welfare—we have at the same time endeavoured to infuse into this department that degree of vigour which will enable the president to execute the laws with energy and dispatch.

By constructing the senate on rotative principles, we have removed, as will be shewn upon another occasion, all danger of an aristocratic influence; while, by electing the members for six years, we hope that we have given to this part of the system all the advantages of an aristocracy—wisdom, experience, and a consistency of measures.

The house of representatives, in which the people of the union are to be biennially elected by them. Those appointments are sufficiently short to render the member as dependent as he ought to be upon his constituent.

They are the moving spring of the system. With them all grants of money are to originate: on them depend the wars we shall be engaged in—the fleets and armies we shall raise and support—the salaries we shall pay: in short, on them depend, the appropriation of money, and consequently all the arrangements of government. With this powerful influence of the purse, they will be always able to restrain the usurpations of the other departments, while their own licentiousness will in its turn be checked and corrected by them.

I trust that when we proceed to review the system by sections—it will be found to contain all those necessary provisions and restraints, which, while they enable the general government to guard and protect our common rights as a nation—to restore to us these blessings of commerce and mutual confidence which have been so long removed and impaired—will secure to us those rights, which as the citizens of a state, will make us happy and content at home—is the citizens of the union respectable abroad.

How different Mr. President, is this government constructed from any we have known among us.

In their individual capacities as citizens, the people are proportionably represented in the house of representa-

tives—here they who are to pay and to support the expences of government, have the purse strings in their hands—here the people hold and feel that they possess an influence sufficiently powerful to prevent every undue attempt of the other branches—to maintain that weight in the political scale, which, as the source of all authority they should ever possess—here too the states, whose existence as such we have often heard predicted as precarious, will find in the senate, the guards of their rights as political associations.

On them, I mean the state systems, rests the general fabric!—on their foundation is this magnificent structure of freedom erected—each depending upon supporting and protecting the other: nor, so intimate is the connection, can the one be removed without prostrating the other in ruin: like the head and the body, separate them, and they die.

Far be it from me to suppose that such an attempt should ever be made: the good sense and virtue of our country forbid the idea—to the union we will look up, as to the temple of our freedom—a temple founded in the affections, and supported by the virtue of the people—here we will pour out our gratitude to the author of all good, for suffering us to participate in the rights of a people who govern themselves.

Is there, at this moment, a nation upon earth that enjoys this right—where the true principles of representation are understood and practised—and where all authority flows from, and returns at stated periods to, the people? I answer there is not! can a government be said to be free where these rights do not exist? It cannot! on what depends the enjoyment of these rare, tho' inestimable privileges?—on the firmness, on the power, of the union to protect and defend them.

How grateful, then, should we be, that, at this important period—a period important, not to us alone, but to the general rights of mankind, so much harmony and concession should prevail throughout the states—that the public opinion should be so much actuated by candor, and an attention to their general interests—that disdaining to be governed by the narrow mo-

tives of state policy, they have literally determined to dedicate a part of their advantages to the support of the government, from which they receive them; to fraud—to force, or accident all the governments we have owed their births. To the philosophic mind how new and awful an instance do the united states at present exhibit in the political world: To exhibit, sir, the first instance of a people, who, being dissatisfied with their government—unattached by foreign force, and undisturbed by domestic easiness—coolly and deliberately, resort to the virtue and good sense of their country, for a correction of their public errors.

It must be obvious, that without superintending government, it is possible the liberties of this country can long be secured.

Single and unconnected, how weak and contemptible are the largest of states? how unable to protect themselves from external or domestic insult? how incompetent to national purposes, would even partial union, how liable to intestine wars and confusion? how little able to secure blessings of peace?

Let us therefore be careful in strengthening the union—let us remember that we are bound by vigilance and attentive neighbours—who view us with a jealous eye, our rise to empire.

Let us remember that we are bound in gratitude to our northern brethren to aid them in the recovery of the rights which they have lost in obtaining for us an extension of our commerce, and the security of our liberties—let us not be unmindful, that those who are weak, and may expect support, must in their turn be ready to fort it.

We are called upon to execute an important trust—to examine the principles of the constitution before you and in the name of the people to receive or reject it.

I have no doubt but we shall do this with attention and harmony, and flatter myself, that at the conclusion of our discussions, we shall find, that it is not only expedient, but safe and honourable to adopt it.

*full of the proceedings of the convention of the state of North Carolina, appointed to consider the constitution, proposed by the late federal convention.*

In convention, August 2, 1788.

**RESOLVED**, that a declaration of rights, asserting and securing in encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most dignified and exceptionable parts of the said constitution of government, ought to be laid before congress, or convention of the states that shall may be called for the purpose of ending the said constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the constitution aforesaid, on the part of the state of North Carolina.

*Declaration of rights.*

I. That there are certain natural rights, of which men, when they form a social compact, cannot deprive or wrest their posterity, among which are the enjoyment of life, and liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates, therefore, are their trustees, and agents, and at all times amenable to them.

III. That government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people; and that the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.

IV. That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which not being vendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge, or any other public office, to be hereditary.

V. That the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of government should be separate and distinct: and, that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feel-

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ing and participating the public burdens, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into the mass of the people; and the vacancies be supplied by certain and regular elections; in which, all or any part of the former members to be eligible or ineligible, as the rules of the constitution of government, and the laws shall direct.

VI. That elections of representatives in the legislative ought to be free and frequent, and all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community, ought to have the right of suffrage: and no aid, charge, tax, or fee, can be set, rated, or levied upon the people without their own consent, or that of their representatives, so elected, nor can they be bound by any law, to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good.

VII. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws by any authority without the consent of the representatives of the people, in the legislature, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence, and be allowed counsel in his favour, and to a fair and speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty (except in the government of the land and naval forces) nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself.

IX. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or dis seized of his freehold, liberties, privileges, or franchises, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land.

X. That every freeman, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to a remedy to enquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same, if unlawful; and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

XI. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is one of the greatest securities to

the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

XII. That every freeman ought to find a certain remedy by recourse to the laws for all injuries and wrongs he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely without sale, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay; and that all establishments, or regulations contravening these, are oppressive and unjust.

XIII. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XIV. That every freeman has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches, and seizures of his person, his papers, and property: all warrants, therefore, to search suspected places, or seize any freeman, his papers, or property, without information upon oath (or affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an oath) of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive; and all general warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person, without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous, and ought not to be granted.

XV. That the people have a right, peaceably to assemble together, to consult for the common good, or to instruct their representatives; and that every freeman has a right to petition or apply to the legislature for redress of grievances.

XVI. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments; that the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and ought not to be violated.

XVII. That the people have a right to keep and bear arms; that a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state. That standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances and protection of the community will admit; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

XVIII. That no soldier in time of peace ought to be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, in such manner only as the laws direct.

XIX. That any person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, ought to be exempted, upon payment of an equivalent to employ another to bear arms in his stead.

XX. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men have an equal, natural, and unalienable right, to the exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favoured or established by law in preference to others.

*Amendments to the constitution*

I. That each state in the union shall, respectively, retain every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the federal government.

II. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand persons according to the enumeration or census mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or increased, as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the constitution, by apportioning the representatives to each state to some greater number of people from time to time, as population increases.

III. When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state, according to the census herein directed; which is proposed to be thereby reduced: and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by Congress, the taxes and excises laid by Congress shall not be collected in such state.

IV. That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the author-

the united states, during the time which they shall, respectively, be tied.

V. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof, relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in its judgment may require secrecy.

VI. That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of the public money shall be published at least once in every year.

VII. That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate: and no treaty, ceding, contracting, or retaining, or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the united states, or of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigating the American rivers, shall be made, but in cases the most urgent and extreme necessity; nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively.

VIII. That no navigation law, or law regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

IX. That no standing army or regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

X. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

XI. That each state, respectively, shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining its own militia whenever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service in time of war, invasion or rebellion: and when not in actual service of the united states, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties and punishments, as shall be dictated or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

XII. That congress shall not de-

clare any state to be in rebellion, without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses.

XIII. That the exclusive power of legislation given to congress over the federal town and its adjacent district, and other places, purchased, or to be purchased by congress, of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

XIV. That no person shall be capable of being president of the united states for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

XV. That the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such courts of admiralty, as congress may from time to time ordain and establish in any of the different states. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the united states; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the united states shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different states. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction: in all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction as to matters of law only, except in cases of equity, and of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in which the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the congress shall make. But the judicial power of the united states shall extend to no case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this constitution, except in disputes between states about their territory: disputes between persons claiming lands under the grants of different states, and suits for debts due to the united states.

XVI. That in criminal prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accus-

tomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

XVII. That congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled, by invasion or rebellion, to prescribe the same.

XVIII. That those clauses, which declare that congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever to extend the powers of congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers where this shall be the case; or otherwise, as inserted merely for greater caution.

XIX. That the laws, ascertaining the compensation of senators and representatives for their services, be postponed in their operation, until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof, that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

XX. That some tribunal, other than the senate, be provided for trying impeachments of senators.

XXI. That the salary of a judge shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office, otherwise than by general regulations of salary which may take place, on a revision of the subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such salaries shall be first ascertained by congress.

XXII. That congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

XXIII. That no treaties, which shall be directly opposed to the existing laws of the united states in congress assembled, shall be valid until such laws shall be repealed, or made conformable to such treaty; nor shall any treaty be valid which is contradictory to the constitution of the united states.

XXIV. That the latter part of the fifth paragraph \* of the ninth section

of the first article be altered to read thus—"nor shall vessels bound to particular state, be obliged to enter pay duties in any other; nor wh bound from any one of the states, obliged to clear in another."

XXV. That congress shall not directly or indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money already emitted, and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of the states: but each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations for the above purposes, as they shall think proper.

XXVI. That congress shall not introduce foreign troops into the united states without the consent of two thirds of the members present of both houses.



*Proceedings of the late meeting  
Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania.*

*Harrisburg, Sept. 3, 1788.*

A CREEABLE to a circular letter which originated in the county of Cumberland, inviting to a conference such of the citizens of this state who conceive that a revision of the federal system, lately proposed for the government of these united states, necessary; a number of gentlemen from the city of Philadelphia, a counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northumberland, Bedford, Fayette, Washington, Franklin, Dauphin and Huntingdon, assembled at this place for the said purpose, viz.

Hon. George Bryan, esq.  
Charles Pettit,  
Blair McClenahan,  
Richard Backhouse,  
James Hanna,  
Joseph Gardner,  
James Mercer,  
Benjamin Blyth,  
Robert Whitehill,  
John Jordan,  
William Sterrett,  
William Rodgers,  
Adam Orth,  
John Rodgers,  
Thomas Murray,  
Robert McKee,

#### NOTE.

\* In the constitution, this paragraph runs thus: "Nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another."—C.



John Kean,  
William Petricken,  
Jonathan Hoge,  
John Bishop,  
Daniel Montgomery,  
John Lytle,  
John Dickey,  
Hon. John Smilie,  
Albert Gallatin,  
James Marshall,  
Benjamin Elliott,  
Richard Baird,  
James Crooks,  
John A. Hanna,  
Daniel Bradley,  
Robert Smith,  
James Anderson.

Blair M'Clenahan, esq. was unanimously elected chairman, and John A. Hanna, esq. secretary.

After free discussion, and mature deliberation had upon the subject before them, the following resolutions and propositions were adopted.

The ratification of the federal constitution having formed a new era in the American world, highly interesting to all the citizens of the united states, it is not less the duty than the privilege of every citizen, to examine with attention the principles and probable effects of a system, on which the happiness or misery of the present, as well as future generations, so much depends. In the course of such examination, many of the good citizens of the state of Pennsylvania have found their apprehensions excited, that the constitution, in its present form, contains in it some principles, which may be perverted to purposes injurious to the rights of free citizens, and some ambiguities which may probably lead to contentions incompatible with order and good government : in order to remedy these inconveniences, and to avert the apprehended dangers, it has been thought expedient that delegates, chosen by those who wish for early amendments in the said constitution, should meet together for the purpose of deliberating on the subject, and uniting in some constitutional plan for obtaining the amendments which they may deem necessary.

We, the conferees, assembled for the purpose aforesaid, agree in opinion :

That a federal government only, can preserve the liberties and secure the

happiness of the inhabitants of a country so extensive as these united states : and experience having taught us, that the ties of our union, under the articles of confederation, were so weak as to deprive us of some of the greatest advantages we had a right to expect from it, we are fully convinced that a more efficient government is indispensably necessary ; but although the constitution, proposed for the united states, is likely to obviate most of the inconveniences we laboured under ; yet several parts of it appear so exceptionable to us, that we are clearly of opinion considerable amendments are essentially necessary : in full confidence, however, of obtaining a revision of such exceptionable parts, by a general convention, and from a desire to harmonize with our fellow citizens, we are induced to acquiesce in the organization of the said constitution.

We are sensible that a large number of the citizens both of this and the other states, who gave their assent to its being carried into execution, previous to any amendments, were actuated more by fear of the dangers that might arise from delays, than by a conviction of its being perfect ; we therefore hope they will concur with us in pursuing every peaceable method of obtaining a speedy revision of the constitution in the mode therein provided ; and when we reflect on the present circumstances of the union, we can entertain no doubt that motives of conciliation, and the dictates of policy and prudence, will conspire to induce every man of true federal principles, to give his support to a measure, which is not only calculated to commend the new constitution to the approbation and support of every class of citizens, but even necessary to prevent the total defection of some members of the union.

Strongly impressed with those sentiments, we have agreed to the following resolutions :

I. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the people of this state to acquiesce in the organization of the said government ; but although we thus accord in its organization, we by no means lose sight of the grand object of obtaining very considerable amendments and alterations, which we consider essential to preserve the

peace and harmony of the union, and those invaluable privileges for which so much blood and treasure have been recently expended.

II. *Resolved*, That it is necessary to obtain a speedy revision of said constitution by a general convention.

III. *Resolved*, That in order to effect this desirable end, a petition be presented to the legislature of this state requesting that honourable body to take the earliest opportunity to make application for that purpose, to the new congress.

The petition proposed, is as follows:

To the honourable the representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met :

*The petition and representation of the subscribers,*

HUMBLY SHEW,

THAT your petitioners possess sentiments completely federal: being convinced that a confederacy of republican states, and no other, can secure political liberty, happiness and safety, throughout a territory so extended as the united states of America. They are well apprized of the necessity of devolving extensive powers to congress, and of vesting the supreme legislature with every power and resource of a general nature; and consequently they acquiesce in the general system of government framed by the late federal convention; in full confidence, however, that the same will be revised without delay: for, however worthy of approbation the general principles and outlines of the system may be, your petitioners conceive that amendments in some parts of the plan are essential, not only to the preservation of such rights and privileges as ought to be reserved in the respective states, and in the citizens thereof, but to the fair and unembarrassed operation of the government in its various departments. And as provision is made in the constitution itself, for the making such amendments as may be deemed necessary—and your petitioners are desirous of obtaining the amendments which occur to them as more immediately desirable and necessary, in the mode admitted by such provision:

They pray that your honourable house, as the representatives of the people in this commonwealth, will, in the course of your present session, take such measures, as you, in your wisdom shall deem most effectual and proper to obtain a revision and amendment of the constitution of the united states, in such parts, and in such manner, as have been or shall be pointed out by the conventions or assemblies of the respective states; and that such revision be, by a general convention of representatives from the several states in the union.

Your petitioners consider the amendments pointed out in the propositions hereto subjoined as essentially necessary; and as such, they suggest them to your notice, submitting to your wisdom the order in which they shall be presented to the consideration of the united states.

*The amendments proposed are as follow—viz.*

I. THAT congress shall not exercise any powers whatever, but such as are expressly given to that body by the constitution of the united states; nor shall any authority, power, or jurisdiction, be assumed or exercised by the executive, or judiciary departments of the union under colour or pretence of construction or fiction: but all the rights of sovereignty, which are not by the said constitution expressly and plainly vested in the congress, shall be deemed to remain with, and shall be exercised by the several states in union, according to their respective constitutions: and that every reserve of the rights of individuals, made by the several constitutions of the states in union, to the citizens and inhabitants of each state respectively, shall remain inviolate, except so far as they are expressly and manifestly yielded or narrowed by the national constitution.

Article 1, section 2, paragraph 3.

II. That the number of representatives be for the present, one for every twenty thousand inhabitants, according to the present estimated number in the several states, and continue in that proportion until the whole number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; and then to be so proportioned and modified as not to exceed that number, until the proportion

one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants, shall amount to the said number of two hundred.

### Section 3.

III. That senators, though chosen for six years, shall be liable to be recalled, or superseded by other appointments, by the respective legislatures of the states at any time.

### Section 4.

IV. That congress shall not have power to make or alter regulations concerning the time, place, and manner of electing senators and representatives, except in case of neglect or refusal by the state to make regulations for the purpose: and then only for such time as such neglect or refusal shall continue.

### Section 8.

V. That when congress shall require supplies, which are to be raised by direct taxes, they shall demand from the several states their respective quotas thereof, giving a reasonable time to each state to procure and pay the same; and if any state shall refuse, neglect, or omit to raise and pay the same within such limited time, then congress shall have power to assess, levy, and collect the quota of such state, together with interest for the same, from the time of such delinquency, upon the inhabitants and estates therein, in such manner as they shall by law direct: provided that no poll-tax be imposed.

### Section 8.

VI. That no standing army of regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of both houses in congress.

### Section 8.

VII. That the clause respecting the exclusive legislation over a district not exceeding ten miles square, be qualified by a proviso that such right of legislation extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good order thereof.

### Article 1. section 8.

VIII. That each state respectively shall have power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia thereof, whensoever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, but when in actual service, in time of war, inva-

sion, or rebellion: and when not in the actual service of the united states, shall be subject to such fines, penalties, and punishments only, as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state: nor shall the militia of any state be continued in actual service longer than two months under any call of congress, without the consent of the legislature of such state, or, in their recess, the executive authority thereof.

### Section 9.

IX. That the clause respecting vessels bound to or from any one of the states, be explained.

### Article 3. section 1.

X. That congress establish no court other than the supreme court, except such as shall be necessary for determining causes of admiralty jurisdiction.

### Section 2. paragraph 2.

XI. That a proviso be added at the end of the second clause of the second section, of the third article, to the following effect, viz. Provided, that such appellate jurisdiction, in all cases of common law cognizance, be by writ of error, and confined to matters of law only: and that no such writ of error shall be admitted, except in revenue cases, unless the matter in controversy exceed the value of three thousand dollars.

### Article 6. paragraph 2.

XII. That to article 6, clause 2, be added the following proviso, viz. Provided always, that no treaty which shall hereafter be made, shall be deemed or construed to alter or affect any law of the united states, or of any particular state, until such treaty shall have been laid before and assented to by the house of representatives in congress.

Resolved, That the foregoing proceedings be committed to the chairman for publication.

*Blair M'Clenachan, chairman.*

*Attest. John A. Hanna, sec.*



*Statement of a cause decided in the court of common pleas of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, September, 1781.*

A Foreign attachment was issued against the commonwealth of Virginia, at the suit of Simon Nathan: and a quantity of clothing, im-

ported from France, belonging to that state, was attached in Philadelphia. The delegates in congress from Virginia, conceiving this a violation of the laws of nations, applied to the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, by whom the sheriff was ordered to give up the goods.

The council for the plaintiff, finding that the sheriff suppressed the writ, and made no return of his proceedings, obtained, September 20, 1781, a rule that the sheriff should return the writ, unless cause was shewn.

They contended that the sheriff was a ministerial officer; that he could not dispute the authority of the court out of which the writ issues, but was bound to execute and return it at his own peril. 6 Co. 54.

That those cases in England, where the sheriff was not compelled to return writs issued against ambassadors or their retinue, depended upon the stat. 7 Ann. c. 12. which did not extend to this state.

The attorney general, on the part of the sheriff, and by direction of the supreme executive council, shewed cause, and prayed that the rule might be discharged.

He premised, that though the several states, which form our federal republic, had, by the confederation, ceded many of the prerogatives of sovereignty to the united states, yet these voluntary engagements did not injure their independence on each other; but that each was a sovereign, "with every power, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly given up."

He then laid down two positions. First: that every kind of process, issued against a sovereign, is a violation of the laws of nations; and is in itself null and void. Secondly: that a sheriff cannot be compelled to serve or return a void writ.

The first point he endeavoured to prove, by considering, first, the nature of sovereignty; and, secondly, the rules of law, relative to process issued against ambassadors, the representatives of sovereigns.

He said, that all sovereigns are in a state of equality and independence, exempt from each other's jurisdiction, and accountable to no power on earth, unless with their own consent.

That sovereigns, with regard to

each other, were always considered as individuals in a state of nature, when all enjoy the same prerogatives, when there could be no subordination to supreme authority, nor any judge to define their rights, or redress the wrongs.

That all jurisdiction implies superiority over the party, and authority in the judge to execute his decrees: but there could be no superiority, when there was a perfect equality—no authority, where there was an entire independence.

That the king of England, as sovereign of the nation, is said to be independent of all, and subject to none but God: and his crown is stile imperial, on purpose to assert that he owes no kind of subjection to any potentate on earth. No compulsory action can be brought against him, even in his own courts.

That a sovereign, when in a foreign country, is always considered by civilized nations, as exempt from its jurisdiction, privileged from arrests, and not subject to its laws.

Hence this inference was drawn that the court having no jurisdiction over Virginia, all its process against that state, must be *ceram non judicio* and consequently void. 1 Vatt. p. 133 2 Vatt. 158. 1 Blackst. 141. Bac. 450.

It was then observed, that there being no instance in our law books, of any process against a sovereign, it was proper to consider the rules of law relative to process against their representatives.

The statute of Ann was read, with the history of the outrage that gave birth to it; which act declares that a process against the person, or goods or domestics of an ambassador shall be null and void, and all concerned in issuing or serving it, should be punished as infractors of the laws of nations.

That this statute was not introductory of any rule, but barely declaratory of the laws of nations. That there was nothing new in it, except the clause prescribing a summary mode of punishment. That it was a part of the common law of the land before and consequently extended to Pennsylvania. 4 Blackst. 67. 3 Burr. 1480 4 Burr. 2016.

Hence it was concluded, that

process against an ambassador be null and void, *a fortiori*, shall it be void if issued against a sovereign.

That the true reason of the minister's exemption from process is the independence and sovereignty of the person he represents. And although by engaging in trade, he may so far divest himself of his public character, as to subject these goods to attachment, yet in every case where he represents his master, his property is sacred. But a sovereign cannot subject himself by implication: he must do it expressly.

That though the goods of a sovereign, as well as of an individual, might be liable for freight, or duties, or subject to forfeiture; yet in those cases, there was a lien on the goods: they were answerable, and the process was *in rem*: in this case, it was *in personam*; and the goods were attached merely to compel the party's appearance to answer the plaintiff's demand. And no sovereign would submit to the indignity of doing this.

Hence it was inferred that the writ was a mere nullity.

II. Upon the second point, authorities were read to explain the case produced by the plaintiff's council, and to shew a distinction between an erroneous and a void writ. That the sheriff was bound to execute and return the writ, although erroneous, if the court had jurisdiction. But when the court had no jurisdiction, the writ was void, and the sheriff was a trespasser if he dared to obey it; a void authority being the same as none. That in England, the sheriffs were never obliged to return a writ, if, upon shewing cause, it appeared that the defendant was a public minister, or one of his domestics. 5 Bac. 431. Salk. 700. 2 Barnes. 1 Will. 20.

That suppressing the writ was not making the sheriff judge, because he was obliged to assign a reason for so doing: and on the legality of that reason the court was now to determine.

He added, that if the sheriff had attached the goods, he was liable to punishment, and to compel him to return his proceedings, was to oblige him to put his offence upon record, and to furnish testimony against himself.

He finally observed, that the writ was void, or it was not. If void, the sheriff need pay no attention to it: if not void, he was obliged to execute it at all events; and if so, these inconveniencies would follow. That any disaffected person, who happened to be a creditor of the united states, might injure our public defence, and retard or ruin the operations of a campaign; that he might issue an attachment against the cannon of general Washington, or seize the public money designated for the payment of his army. That the states united or several, would never submit to put in special bail (which must be done to prevent judgment) and to answer before the tribunal of a sister state.

That the plaintiff was under no peculiar inconvenience. Every creditor of this state or of the united states lay under the same. If his demand was just, Virginia would, upon application, do what was right: if not, and flagrant injustice was done him, he might (if a subject of this state, and entitled to its protection) complain to the executive power of Pennsylvania.

He concluded with observing on the importance of suppressing such measures as the present, at their first appearance, and of preserving the rights of sovereign states inviolate—and prayed that the rule might be discharged.

The counsel for the plaintiff insisted, that though Virginia was a sovereign state, yet this ought not to exempt her property in every case from the laws and jurisdiction of another state. That sovereignty should never be made a plea in bar of justice: and that the true idea of prerogative, was the power of doing good, and not, as it had sometimes been expressed, "the divine right of doing ill."

That every person, and all property within this state, was subject to its jurisdiction, by so being within it, except a sovereign power, and the representative of a sovereign power, with his domestics and effects, which he holds as representative.

That if an ambassador engages in trade, his property so engaged, is liable to attachment, Vat. B. IV. sect. 114. and if a sovereign state turns merchant, and draws or accepts bills of exchange, its property ought in like

manner to be subject to the law-merchant, and answerable in the state where it happens to be imported.

That sovereignty is better represented by persons than things: and as any or all the citizens of Virginia would be amenable to the jurisdiction of this state, if they were to come within its bounds, so there is no reason why property brought here should not be attached as well as the citizen arrested.

That one sovereign may lay duties upon the goods of another: and this appears to have been the sense of congress, by their expressly stipulating in the articles of confederation, that no duties should be laid by one state, on the property of another.

That the goods, which were attached, were certainly liable for their freight: so if they had been imported contrary to law, they were subject to forfeiture: process against them might issue out of this court, and jurisdiction over them be exercised, the sovereignty of Virginia notwithstanding.

That if a vessel belonging to Virginia, should be taken, as prize retaken, and libelled here, Virginia must submit her claim to the decision of the admiralty of Pennsylvania, and could not claim an exemption, on account of her sovereignty.

That a sovereign state may waive its rights—and by the very act of importing merchandize, it subjects itself to the jurisdiction of the country.

That all property in this state is under the protection of the government, and therefore should be answerable in its turn, and amenable to its laws.

That the statute of Ann, though declaratory, is only declaratory of the ideas which that parliament entertained of the laws of nations. These were often erroneous, and could not be binding on us.

That whatever might be the case with regard to foreign ministers, by the articles of confederation, the delegates from Virginia were privileged only in their persons, and not in their goods: and as they represent the state, it was to be presumed, they enjoy every exemption that their sovereign expected or claimed.

They said, that whether Virginia was subject to, or exempt from, the jurisdiction of this state, in the present

instance, was not the point now in question: it was only, whether the sheriff should or should not obey the command of the court.

That by the writ, he was directed to return it to the court, and he was not to withhold the process in contempt of this order, and to stifle the proceedings in their birth.

That the sheriff was to act under the judgment of the court, and if he had any doubt about the validity of the writ, he ought to return it. Then the court might, if cause was shewn, qualify it as illegal.

That his not being obliged to return process against ambassadors, was owing to the statute of Ann: and this exemption was singular, and not to be extended here.

That though a writ might be void where the court had no jurisdiction of the cause, or issued a writ, which they had no authority to issue; yet the cause here was trespass upon the case, of which the court may hold plea, and the process was a foreign attachment, which they certainly had authority to issue.

That to suffer the sheriff to suppress writs at pleasure, was establishing a dangerous precedent, which in future would be greatly abused.

That the questions upon which this cause depended, were important, and deserved the fullest consideration, and that an appeal from one tribunal to another, was the right and the security of the subject. But if the writ was now to be suppressed, there could be no record to be removed, and the plaintiff was left without remedy.

They finally observed, that this mode of applying to a court of judicature, to decide on the justice of the plaintiff's demand, was every way preferable to that proposed by the attorney general, of sending him to complain to the executive power, who could give him no redress, but by appealing to arms, and involving the state in a war.

They therefore prayed, that the rule might be made absolute.

The court held the matter some day under advisement—and at their next meeting, the president delivered it as the judgment of the court:

That the rule made upon the sheriff, to return the writ issued against

*Cart versus Lion.*

The defendant's counsel having established his first ground, the court were clearly of opinion on that point, and agreed, "*per curiam totam*"—that the indorser of a bond is ultimately liable, but the indorsee must first sue the original obligor, and he must prove insolvent before the indorser is liable.

THE sole question to be tried was, whether the plaintiffs, who are wholesale grocers and tea-dealers in the city, with whom the defendant had dealt for several years, were entitled to interest on the amount of the goods sold, computed upon the end of three months after the sales, (being the usual credit in the plaintiffs' trade) which was decided in favour of the plaintiffs, who consequently obtained a verdict for the interest and costs.

AS the present year is one of the most abundant in apples ever re-

The apples, when ripe, are gathered and thrown into a large heap, where they lie as long as the season will permit, being covered, to prevent any injury from the frost. The later the cyder is made, the better, as the juices are more perfectly ripened, and there is less danger to apprehend from fermentation. Great care is taken to separate the fruit anywise rotten from the rest. The apples are ground very close, so that the seeds are all broken; this gives the juice an agreeable bitter—the pumice is then pressed through hair bags, and the juice strained through two sieves, the uppermost of hair, the lowermost of muslin. After this the cyder is put into casks, when great attention is necessary to discover the exact time in which the pumice, still remaining in the juice, rises on the top, which happens from the third to the tenth day, according to the greater or less heat of the weather. This body does not remain on the top more than two hours, consequently care should be taken to draw off the cyder before it sinks; this may be done by means of a plug, observing not to attempt to skim off the pumice, as it is thereby precipitated to the bottom. When drawn off, the cyder is put into casks. Particular attention is again required to prevent the fermentation, when the least inclination towards it is discovered: this may be done, by means of a small quantity of cyder spirits, to be regulated by the state of the cyder, but not to exceed one gallon per 112 gallons of cyder. In the month of March, the cyder is again drawn off, when all risk of fermentation ceases. It is then put into good casks, and in three years from that time, is thought fit for bottling. Old wine casks are preferred; those which have contained rum, are always avoided.

*A friend to agriculture.*

Philadelphia, September 7.

*A British prophecy!!!*

**N**ORTH-AMERICA, broken off from the British empire, in other words, become independent, begins to be a kind of vacuum in the system of politics; a remote region unattended to by the European powers. And if Great Britain will but punish those revolted colonies with a total disregard, and perfect indifference, they will soon grow as light as chaff in the great scale of power and consequence among nations. Already they find a necessity of adopting the Turkish mode of negotiating peace with their inland neighbours, by sending ambassadors of peace guarded with an armed force!—This may do for the Turkish empire, great and potent as it is; but for congress, a government without substantial power, without money, and without property, it will never do long! A slippery false peace it will be, kept by the Indians only while the peace makers and their warlike retinue are in sight or within call. Even now the new states, boasted to be in future the greatest empire in the world, begin, like wolves, to worry and devour one another, for want of a superintending governing power, to hold an equal regulating hand over them all: and most grievously will they lament the loss of their dependence on Great Britain.

—Europ. Mag. Nov. 1784—p. 339.

*Origin of the island of Nantucket.**An Indian tradition.*

**O**N the west end of Martha's Vineyard, are high cliffs of variegated coloured earths, known by the name of Gayhead. On the top of the hill is a large cavity, which has the appearance of the crater of an extinguished volcano, and there are evident marks of former subterraneous fires. The Indians, who live about this spot, have a tradition, that a certain deity resided there before the Europeans came into America; that his name was Manshop; that he used to step out on a ledge of rocks, which ran into the sea, and take up a whale, which

he broiled for his own eating on the coals of the aforesaid volcano, and often invited the Indians to dine with him, or gave them the relics of his meal. That once to shew their gratitude to Manshop for his very great kindness to them, they made an offering to him of all the tobacco which grew upon the island for one season. This was scarcely sufficient to fill his great pipe, but he received the present very graciously, smoaked his pipe, and turned out the ashes of it into the sea, which formed the island of Nantucket. Upon the coming of the Europeans into America, Manshop retired in disgust, and has never since been seen.

*Anecdote.*

**O**F all the vices incident to the originals of this country, that of lying is not the least. Some years since, one Tom Hyde, an Indian famous for his cunning, came into a tavern at Brookfield, and after a little talk, told the landlord he had been hunting, and had killed a fine fat deer, and that if he would give him a quart of rum, he would tell him where it was. The landlord did not wish to let slip so good an opportunity to obtain his venison, and immediately measured the Indian his rum—Wells says Tom, do you know where the great meadow is?—Yes—Well, you know the great marked maple tree, that stands in it? Yes. Where there lies the deer. Away posted the taverner, with his team, in quest of his purchase—he found the meadow, and the tree, it is true; but his searchings after the deer were in vain, and he returned no heavier, but in a grin, than he went. Some days after he meets the Indian, and violently accuses him of the deception—I have heard him out—and, with the coolness of a philosopher, replied—Did you not find the meadow, as I said?—Yes—and the trees? Yes—and the deer? No. Very good, continues he: you found two truths to one lie, which was very well for an Indian.



*Exports from Charleston, S. C. of the crops of the years 1784 and 1785.*

	crop of 1784.		crop of 1785.	
Barrels of rice,	-	60,442	-	61,879
Half barrels of ditto,	-	6,542	-	7,957
Hogheads of tobacco,	-	2,303	-	3,929
Bales of indigo,	-	1,789	-	2,163
Hogheads of deer skins,	-	540	-	325
Bales of ditto,	-	290	-	404
Barrels of pitch,	-	3,719	-	3,789
Barrels of tar,	-	6,737	-	5,056
Barrels of turpentine,	-	6,545	-	6,628
M. feet of lumber,	-	1,072	-	1,758
M. shingles,	-	3,097	-	3,104
M. staves,	-	403	-	836
Bushels of corn,	-	19,510	-	6,585
Barrels of butter,	-	352	-	594
Hds. of pink, snake, and ginseng root,	-	4	-	9
Barrels of ditto,	-	44	-	41
Tons of salafra,	-	-	-	80
Hogheads of safaparilla,	-	-	-	11
Bundles of ditto,	-	-	-	50
Green hides,	-	239	-	} 2297
Dried ditto,	-	59	-	
Sides of leather,	-	1,968	-	2,517
Tons of bees wax,	-	3	-	-
Hogheads of ditto,	-	-	-	2
Barrels of ditto,	-	-	-	16
Barrels of beef and pork,	-	-	-	738



*Enumeration of the vessels wherein was exported the crop of South Carolina of the year 1784.*

Ships,	86
Snows,	8
Brigs,	154
Sloops,	234
Schooners,	295
Cutter,	1

Total, 778 vessels, burden 47,320 tons.

*The crops of 1785 and 1786 were exported in the following vessels.*

	1785.		1786.	
	vessels.	tons.	vessels.	tons.
American,	566	34,412	735	41,431
British,	168	16,858	148	16,787
Spanish,	37	1,251	44	1,073
Danish,	3	1,037	1	164
French,	13	1,112	8	715
Bremen,	3	524	1	193
Irish,	4	305	2	319
Dutch,	4	539	5	799
Austrian,	1	127	1	127
Altona,	1	130	1	280
Hamburg,	-	-	1	130
Total,	800	56,305	947	62,118

*Exports of Georgia, of the crops of 1755, 1760, 1765, 1770, and 1772.*

	1755.	1760.	1765.	1770	1772
Barrels of rice,	2,299	3,283	12,224	22,129	23,510
Pounds of indigo,	4,508	11,746	16,019	22,336	11,882
Lbs. deer skins,	49,995	65,765	200,695	284,840	213,475
Lbs. beaver skins,	120	2,298	1,800	1,469	632
Lbs. raw silk,	438	558	711	290	485
Lbs. tanned leather	3,250	34,725	34,575	44,539	52,126
M. Feet of timber,	387	283	1,879	1,806	2,163
Lbs. of tobacco,				13,447	176,732
M. flaves,	203	80	661	466	988
M. shingles,	240	581	3,722	2,897	3,525
Oars & handspikes		1,112	528	96	
Lbs. of hemp,				1,860	259
Bbls. turpentine,				103	40
Barrels of pitch,				80	364
Barrels of tar,	45	425	486	105	298
Barrels of pork,	20	8	394	521	628
Barrels of beef,	40	14	141	639	555
Hogs and shoats,	76		1,360	605	574
Bushels of corn,	600		7,805	13,598	11,444
Lbs. of flour,					1,000
Bushels rough rice,	237	208	3,113	7,064	2,627
Bushels of pease,	400		300	601	140
Lbs. fago powder,				18,405	14,435
Gals. orange juice,				605	284
Lbs. of tallow,			100	1,079	
Lbs. of bees and } myrtle wax, }	960	3,910	2,170	4,058	1,951
Horses,	48		209	345	257
Mules,				30	10
Siccers and cows,	16		69	25	136

*Value, in sterling money, of the exports of Georgia, for eighteen years.*

	£.		£.		£.
1755,	15,744	1761,	15,870	1767,	67,09
1756,	16,776	1762,	27,021	1768,	92,28
1757,	15,649	1763,	47,551	1769,	86,48
1758,	8,613	1764,	55,025	1770,	99,38
1759,	12,694	1765,	73,426	1771,	106,38
1760,	20,852	1766,	81,228	1772,	121,67

*Statement of the number of vessels cleared out of Georgia, from 1755 to 1772.*

Square rigged	Sloops	tons.	Square rigged	Sloops	tons.
1755,	9	43	1764,	36	79
1756,	7	35	1765,	54	94
1757,	11	33	1766,	68	86
1758,	4	17	1767,	62	92
1759,	13	35	1768,	77	109
1760,	7	30	1769,	87	94
1761,	9	36	1770,	73	113
1762,	22	35	1771,	64	121
1763,	34	58	1772,	84	133

*Exports from New York, between July 5, 1765, and July 5, 1766.*

			£.	s.	d.
hshs of grain,	109,666	at 5s. 3d.	28,787	6	6
arrels of flour,	70,644	at 15s. per cwt.	119,211	15	0
arrels of bread,	17,660	at 15s. per cwt.	16,546	0	0
arrels of beef and pork,	2,941	at 70s.	10,293	10	0
ogsheds of flaxseed,	11,037	at 70s.	38,629	10	0
rkins of butter,	1,198	at 40s.	2,396	0	0
egs of lard,	617	at 20s.	617	0	0
ases, bundles, &c. furs & skins,	172	at 30l.	5,160	0	0
ons of pot and pearl ash,	102	at 25l.	2,550	0	0
ons of bar iron,	532	at 26l.	13,832	0	0
ons of pig iron,	500	at 7l. 10s.	3,750	0	0
ons of copper ore,	80	at 100l.	8,000	0	0
alks of cheese,	80	at 9l. 10s.	760	0	0
boxes of soap and candles,	2,398	at 25s.	2,997	10	0

£. 243,230 11 6

Besides the above articles, there were exported, during the same period. 187 cwt. of naval stores; 281lbs. of indigo; 27,786 cwt. of fustic, Nicaragua, and logwood; 3,730 casks of fish; 116 casks of rice; cordage and w vessels; provisions for ships; lumber of different kinds, &c.

*Exports from America to the British West India islands, in 1771, 1772, 1773-*

	1771	1772	1773
l. feet of lumber,	21,271	27,138	28,591
l. shingles,	16,483	26,936	23,351
l. slaves,	15,546	21,160	21,319
hshs of corn,	418,307	365,300	220,806
hshs of pease,	20,140	20,304	26,779
arrels of bread and flour,	140,198	131,342	138,506
hshs of oats,	9,680	6,136	7,407
arrels of oil,	1,342	960	1,507
arrels of tar,	4,864	7,760	4,407
orses,	2,170	2,220	2,798
haken hhds. and water casks,	16,264	17,211	20,563
arrels of rice,	24,780	13,133	23,567
arrels of beef and pork,	13,511	12,575	18,890
hshs. of fish,	16,144	21,185	16,771
arrels of do.	15,143	17,740	15,780
quintals of do.	9,240	10,940	16,028

*Exports from Philadelphia in the years 1765, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1784, 1787.*

	1765	1771	1772	1773	1784	1787
hshs of wheat,	367,522	51,699	92,012	182,391	24,490	32,957
arrels of flour,	148,887	252,744	284,872	265,967	201,365	193,720
arrels of bread,	34,736	38,320	50,504	48,183	28,525	26,953
l. slaves and heading,	4,270	6,188	5,867	5,141	4,083	4,333
l. shingles,	2,114	1,937	1,765	5,254		
hshs of Indian corn,	60,206	259,441	159,625	179,217	73,527	193,943
ons of iron,	1,695	2,358	2,205	1,564	1,144	1,197
boxes of soap,	1,644	2,936	3,231	3,743	1,733	1,544
l. hoops,	97	195	978	1,245		319

	1765	1771	1772	1773	1784	1785
Hhds of tobacco,	16					4,18
M. boards and scantling,	783	1,724	4,075	3,309	3,098	2,15
Barrels of beer,	1,288	1,236	1,798	1,394		
Kegs of flarch,	238	349	1,033	700		
Bushels of flaxseed,	87,681	110,412	85,794	68,681	71,592	98,1
Packages of fur and skins,	64					
Pounds of do.		902	1,200	40		
Barrels of bees wax,	35					
hogheads of ditto,						
Pounds of ditto,		29,261	50,140	64,546	46,585	1,7
Firkins of lard,	199	399	734	732	507	2,1
Firkins of butter,	1,501					
Barrels of beef and pork,	7,254	5,050	3,849	8,587	2,354	4,2
Barrels of hams,		778	782	1,062		1,2
Barrels of naval stores,		6,050	6,989	7,662		13,2
Walnut logs,		62	204	79		
Tons of lignumvitæ,		24	42	30		
Feet of mahogany,		108,441	142,962	63,255		
Tons of logwood,		169	425	195		
Chests of deer skins,		95	162	37		
Tons of pot ash,		161	65	12	6	
Tons of pearl ash,		136	25	57		
Cwt. brown sugar,		1,185	5,198	2,578		
Pounds of loaf sugar,		79,116	51,408	84,240		9,0
Gallons of melasses,		52,611	19,681	39,403		
Tons of wine,		24	118	68		
Gallons of oil,		5,544	10,584	4,536		1,0
Gallons of rum,		204,456	247,635	277,693		
Barrels of fish,		5,128	5,776	6,430		
Boxes spermaceti candles,		682	1,004	514		
Boxes of tallow candles,	1,202	875	1,078	1,165	1,288	
Boxes of chocolate,		479	385	306		9
Cwt. of coffee,		501	296	1,639		
Bushels of salt,		64,468	42,803	39,192		
Pounds of cotton wool,		2,200	5,840	25,070		
Pounds of leather,		25,970	40,725	31,696	7,080	
Packages of ditto,						7
Sides of ditto,						0
Pounds of rice,		258,376	834,974	998,400		26105

In the year 1787, besides the above articles, the following were exported

Barrels of ship stuff,	1,443	Pounds of cheese,	29,2
Barrels of rye meal,	162	Barrels of herrings,	0
Casks of oatmeal,	23	Barrels of mackrels,	4
Kegs of bread,	25,152	Quintals dry fish,	4,8
Barrels of Indian meal,	14,710	Kegs of sturgeon,	3
Bushels of rye,	1,140	Barrels of salmon,	7
Bushels of barley,	306	Barrels of manhadden,	6
Bushels of oats,	7,421	Barrels of honey,	1
Barrels of pease and beans,	919	Kegs of oysters,	8
Barrels of apples,	2,555	Packages of cyder,	5
Barrels of dried apples,	24	Barrels of porter,	2
Bushels of potatoes,	8,656	Hogheads of country rum,	1,6
Bushels of turneps,	195	Oxen,	4
Bushels of onions,	4,373	Cows,	4
Barrels of beets,	12	Sheep,	5
Barrels of mts,	185	Hogs,	4
Barrels of cranberries,	23	Ceese,	5

boat boards,	740	Tons of steel,	63
Vindfor chairs,	5,731	Tons of castings,	16
haken hogheads,	4,775	Stoves,	66
ets of wheel timbers,	1,056	Anchors,	37
airs of wheels,	84	Stills and worms,	48
ars,	1,400	Bricks,	423,460
landspikes,	396	Bushels of lime,	468
falls and spars,	355	Barrels of glue,	15
oaches,	8	Barrels of manufactured tobacco,	78
harios,	4	Casks of snuff,	535
haetons,	9	Casks of ginseng,	1,163
arriages of different kinds,	36	Bags of sarsaparilla,	8
haifes,	40	Casks of indigo,	173
ittareens,	10	Tierces of tallow,	24
ulkeys,	7	Casks of linseed oil,	62
Vagons,	40	Casks of spirits of turpentine,	119
Wheelbarrows,	96	Boxes of hair powder,	118
rays,	4	Barrels of do.	16
oughs,	22	Bushels of bran,	10,306
arrow,	1	Packages of paper,	353
turkeys,	48	Reams of do.	2,481
oxes of mustard,	42	Packages of pasteboards,	62
arrels of ship bread,	26,953	Box of parchment,	1
umps,	4	Barrels of varnish,	5
boats,	15	Boxes of trees and plants,	20
laxseed screens,	14	Packages of seeds and plants,	47
utting boxes,	14	Pounds of sassafras,	2,000
arts,	26	Chests and casks of snake root,	34
pinning wheels,	30	Casks of pink root,	3
orn mills,	4	Boxes of essence of spruce,	250
ettes,	38	Bags of hops,	30
tutch fans,	55	Casks of clover seed,	11
asks of ship blocks,	9	Bags of do.	7
'ons of oak bark,	45	Packages of harness,	10
logsheds of ditto,	48	Calves' skins,	72
ifters,	286	Casks of horn tips,	15
ogs of hickory,	13	Sheets of iron,	16
addle trees,	247	Share moulds,	1233
'ons of nail rods,	133	A quantity of cedar and earthen ware.	

Remarks on the commerce of Philadelphia.

AS the principal object, in publishing the preceding table, is to enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of the present state of the commerce and agriculture of Pennsylvania, by a comparison with their situation at former periods, the gentleman, who favoured the printer with the list of exports for the year 1787, has added the following observations on this subject, which, it is presumed, will not be thought either unnecessary or impertinent :

IT is well known, that a considerable part of the southern states have been in the habit of receiving their supplies of foreign commodities thro' this city ; and that, of consequence,

the transportation of these articles must have formed a considerable part of the commerce of this port. Many of these articles might be ascertained with accuracy ; whilst the value and quantity of others could not, from their nature, be estimated, under our present export laws. But as the object here chiefly regards articles of American produce or manufacture, all others are excluded from the list of exports for 1787. It will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the foreign articles, from which it will appear, that the observations on this head are not ill founded. From Europe we import, among other articles, wines, brandy, geneva, salt, fruit, drugs, and dry goods of every kind ; from the West Indies, rum, sugar,

coffee, cotton, and salt; and from the East Indies, teas, spices, china ware, and dry goods; all of which articles are again exported to other parts of this continent, and the West Indies, to a very considerable amount.

On a comparison of the exports of the last year, with those of the former years in the foregoing table, it will appear, that many articles, of which a considerable value is now exported, were either not shipped at all, or to a very small amount, in those years, whilst some others are considerably short of the quantity then exported. The first of these facts may be attributed to the great improvements recently made in the agriculture and manufactures of this state, whilst the latter is in many instances to be accounted for from causes rather beneficial than injurious to the prosperity of this country.

Much of the provisions which were in the period antecedent to the late contest, shipped to foreign markets, is now consumed by the numerous hands employed in manufacturing those articles of raw materials, which were formerly shipped to Europe, and returned to us in a manufactured state. Of these may be mentioned iron, leather, barley, tobacco, and furs, which we now manufacture into nails and steel, shoes, boots, and saddlery, porter and beer, snuff and hats, in quantities more than sufficient for our own consumption: a considerable quantity of these and other articles, formerly imported, are now manufactured by our own citizens,

and form a respectable part of our exports: among these may be enumerated, as the most important, beef, pork, butter, cheese, mustard, loaf sugar, chocolate, household furniture, carriages, soap, candles, hair powder, starch, paper, and pasteboard. Upon an examination of the exports, many valuable articles will be found re-enumerated: this arises from the fact, which prevents ascertaining the amount of dry goods: namely, the impossibility of knowing either the value or contents of packages which pay no duty or inspection; consequently are only entered in general way, without any attention to their contents. Of goods under the last description, the exportation is very great; being articles particularly demanded by the southern states, several of which receive their principal supplies of these articles from this city; among them, the chief are shoes, boots, hats, gloves, printing books and other stationary, saddle copper, tin, and brass wares, and fl Chandlery.

From the importance of insuring more accurate knowledge of the exports, as well as imports, of the country, to the government, it might not amiss to oblige a more strict attention to the entry of outward cargo. Whether a duty equal to the inspection on flour, of one penny per package, would answer the end in view, is a matter submitted to the consideration of those who are more competent to decide on this question.

*Philadelphia, September 30, 1786*



*Number of vessels entered at the custom-house, Philadelphia, in the years 1786 and 1787.*

	1786.	1787
Ships,	91	81
Brigs,	196	228
Sloops,	450	380
Schooners,	163	173
Snows,	10	6
Cutters,		2
Total,	910	870

*Number of vessels entered at the custom-house, Boston.*

In 1749,	—	—	—	—	489
In 1773,	—	—	—	—	517
During six months of the year 1784,	—	—	—	—	372

*Statement of the number of taxable inhabitants in Pennsylvania, in the years 1760, 1770, 1779, and 1786.\**

	1760	1770	1779	1786
Philadelphia city } and county, }	8,321	10,455	{ 3,681 7,066	{ 4,876 4,516
ucks county,	3,148	3,177	4,067	4,273
helfer,	4,761	5,483	6,378	6,286
ancaster,	5,631	6,608	8,433	5,839
ork,	3,302	4,426	6,281	6,254
umberland,	1,501	3,521	5,092	2,939
erks,	3,016	3,302	4,662	4,732
orthampton,	1,987	2,793	3,600	3,967
edford,	-	-	1,201	2,632
orthumberland,	-	-	2,111	2,166
Westmoreland,	-	-	2,111	2,653
Vashington,	-	-	-	3,908
ayette,	-	-	-	2,041
runklin,	-	-	-	2,257
Montgomery,	-	-	-	3,725
Dauphin,	-	-	-	2,881
Luzerne,	-	-	-	†
Total,	31,667	39,765	54,683	66,925

*Number of inhabitants in New York, in the years 1756, 1771, and 1786.*

## WHITES.

	1756.	1776	1786
Males under 16,	20,660		54,807
Do. between 16 & 60,	19,825		52,927
Do. 60 and upwards,	2,767		4,731
Total males,	43,252		112,465
Females under 16,	18,984		51,766
Do. above 16,	20,997		55,765
Total females,	39,981		107,531
Total whites,	83,233	148,124	219,996

## SLAVES.

Males,	7,564		9,521
Females,	5,978		9,353
Total slaves,	13,542	19,883	18,889
INDIANS, paying taxes,			12

\* So often have the counties of this state been divided and subdivided—and the boundaries altered, that a comparison in this statement can hardly be made, except between the several totals: as, for instance, it would appear from the above table that Philadelphia county had decreased in population between the years 1779 and 1786—whereas the contrary is the case—for Montgomery county was struck off from it. The same is observable of all the counties wherein a decrease appears.—C.

† No return.

Besides the remarkable increase in population of the whites manifest by the foregoing statement, the reader will attend to the greater proportionable increase of the free beyond the enslaved. In 1756, the negroes were nearly as one to six of the whites, and in 1771, not quite as one to seven; but in 1786, the proportion varies much. The slaves to the free people are only as one to eleven. This extraordinary disparity of increase, during the second period, can only be accounted for from the opportunity which was afforded to the slaves of the city of New York; Long, and Staten Islands, and the adjoining continent, to escape from their masters, during the possession, or influence of the British troops, over the southern counties of the state.



*Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania, to the inhabitants of the British colonies. By John Dickinson, Esq.*

## LETTER I.

*My dear countrymen,*

**I** AM a farmer, settled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life; but am now convinced, that a man may be as happy without bustle, as with it. My farm is small; my servants are few, and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish for no more; my employment in my own affairs is easy; and with a contented grateful mind, undisturbed by wordly hopes or fears, relating to myself, I am completing the number of days allotted to me by divine goodness.

Being generally master of my time, I spend a good deal of it in a library, which I think the most valuable part of my small estate; and being acquainted with two or three gentlemen of abilities and learning, who honour me with their friendship, I have acquired, I believe, a greater knowledge in history, and the laws and constitution of my country, than is generally attained by men of my class, many of them not being so fortunate as I have been in the opportunities of getting information.

From my infancy I was taught love humanity and liberty. Enquiry and experience have since confirmed my reverence for the lessons then given me, by convincing me more fully their truth and excellence. Benevolence towards mankind, excites wish for their welfare, and such wishes declare the means of fulfilling them. These can be found in liberty only, and therefore her sacred cause ought to be espoused by every man, on every occasion, to the utmost of his power. As a charitable, but poor person do not withhold his mite, because he cannot relieve all the distresses of the miserable, so should not any honest man suppress his sentiments concerning freedom, however small the influence is likely to be. Perhaps "may touch some wheel," that will have an effect greater than he could reasonably expect.

These being my sentiments, I am encouraged to offer to you, my countrymen, my thoughts on some transactions, that appear to me of the utmost importance to you. Conscious of my own defects, I have waited some time, in expectation of seeing the subject treated by persons much better qualified for the task; but being then disappointed, and apprehensive that longer delays will be injurious, I venture at length to request the attention of the public, praying, that these letters may be read with the same zeal as the happiness of British America which they were wrote.

With a good deal of surprise I have observed, that little notice has been taken of an act of parliament, as injurious in its principle to the liberties of these colonies, as the Stamp act was: I mean the act for suspending the legislation of New York.\*

The assembly of that government complied with a former act of parliament, requiring certain provisions to be made for the troops in America; in every particular, I think, except the articles of salt, pepper and vinegar. In my opinion they acted imprudently, considering all circumstances, and not complying so far as would have given satisfaction, as several colonies did; but my dislike of their conduct in that instance, has not blinded

NOTE.

\* 7 Geo. 3. ch. 52.



o much, that I cannot plainly perceive, that they have been punished in a manner pernicious to American freedom, and justly alarming to all the colonies.

If the British parliament has a legal authority to issue an order, that we shall furnish a single article for the troops here, and to compel obedience to that order, they have the same right to issue an order for us to supply those troops with arms, clothes, and every necessary; and to compel obedience to that order also; in short, to lay any burdens they please upon us. What is this but taxing us at a certain sum, and leaving to us only the manner of raising it? How is this mode more tolerable than the stamp-act? Would that act have appeared more pleasing to Americans, if, being ordered thereby to raise the sum total of the taxes, the mighty privilege had been left to them, of saying how much should be paid for an instrument of writing on paper, and how much for another on parchment?

An act of parliament, commanding us to do a certain thing, if it has any validity, is a tax upon us for the expence that accrues in complying with it; and for this reason, I believe, every colony on the continent, that chose to give a mark of their respect for Great Britain, in complying with the act relating to the troops, cautiously avoided the mention of that act, lest their conduct should be attributed to its supposed obligation.

The matter being thus stated, the assembly of New York either had, or had not, a right to refuse submission to that act. If they had, and I imagine no American will say they had not, then the parliament had no right to compel them to execute it. If they had not this right, they had no right to punish them for not executing it; and therefore no right to suspend their legislation, which is a punishment. In fact, if the people of New York cannot be legally taxed but by their own representatives, they cannot be legally deprived of the privilege of legislation, only for insisting on that exclusive privilege of taxation. If they may be legally deprived in such a case, of the privilege of legislation, why may they not, with equal reason, be deprived of every other privilege?

Or why may not every colony be treated in the same manner, when any of them shall dare to deny their assent to any impositions, that shall be directed? Or what signifies the repeal of the stamp-act, if these colonies are to lose their other privileges, by not tamely surrendering that of taxation?

There is one consideration, arising from this suspension, which is not generally attended to, but shews its importance very clearly. It was not necessary that this suspension should be caused by an act of parliament. The crown might have restrained the governor of New York, even from calling the assembly together, by its prerogative in the royal governments.

This step, I suppose, would have been taken, if the conduct of the assembly of New York had been regarded as an act of disobedience to the crown alone: but it is regarded as an act of "disobedience to the authority of the British legislature\*." This gives the suspension a consequence vastly more affecting. It is a parliamentary assertion of the supreme authority of the British legislature over these colonies, in the point of taxation; and is intended to compel New York into a submission to that authority. It seems, therefore, to me, as much a violation of the liberties of the people of that province, and consequently of all these colonies, as if the parliament had sent a number of regiments to be quartered upon them, till they should comply. For it is evident, that the suspension is meant as a compulsion: and the method of compelling is wholly indifferent. It is, indeed, probable, that the sight of red coats, and the sound of drums would have been most alarming; because people are generally more influenced by their eyes and ears than by their reason. But whoever seriously considers the matter, must perceive that a dreadful stroke is aimed at the liberty of these colonies. I say, of these colonies; for the cause of one is the cause of all. If the parliament may lawfully deprive New York of any of her rights, it may deprive any or all the other colonies of their rights;

NOTE.

\* See the act of suspension.

and nothing can possibly so much encourage such attempts, as a mutual inattention to the interests of each other. To divide, and thus to destroy, is the first political maxim in attacking those, who are powerful by their union. He certainly is not a wise man, who folds his arms, and reposes himself at home, viewing, with unconcern, the flames that have invaded his neighbour's house, without using any endeavours to extinguish them. When Mr. Hampden's ship-money cause, for twenty shillings, was tried, all the people of England, with anxious expectation, interested themselves in the important decision: and when the slighted point, respecting the freedom of one colony, is agitated, I earnestly wish, that all the rest may, with equal ardour, support their sister. Very much may be said on this subject: but I hope more at present is unnecessary.

With concern I have observed, that two assemblies of this province have sat, and adjourned, without taking any notice of this act. It may, perhaps, be asked, what would have been proper for them to do? I am by no means fond of inflammatory measures. I detest them. I should be sorry that any thing should be done, which might justly displease our sovereign, or our mother country. But a firm, modest exertion of a free spirit, should never be wanting on public occasions. It appears to me, that it would have been sufficient for the assembly, to have ordered our agents to represent to the king's ministers, their sense of the suspending act, and to pray for its repeal. Thus we should have borne our testimony against it; and might therefore reasonably expect, that, on a like occasion, we might receive the same assistance from the other colonies.

*Concordia res parvae crescunt.*

Small things grow great by concord.

A FARMER.

November 5, 1767.

(To be continued.)

*The American crisis. No. II.*

(Continued from Vol. III. page 481.)

"What's in the name of lord that should fear,

"To bring my grievance to the public ear?"

Churchill.

TO LORD HOWE.

UNIVERSAL empire is the prerogative of a writer. His concerns are with all mankind, and though he cannot command their obedience he can assign them their duty. The republic of letters is more ancient than monarchy, and of far higher character in the world than the vassal court of Britain; he that rebels against reason is a real rebel, but he that defends of reason, rebels against tyranny, has a better title to "defend of the faith" than George the third.

As a military man, your lordship may hold out the sword of war, and call it the "*ultima ratio regum*," the last reason of kings; we in return can shew you the sword of justice, and call it, "the best scourge of tyrants." The first of these two may threaten or even frighten, for a while, and cause a sickly languor over an insulted people, but reason will soon recover the debauch, and restore them again to tranquil fortitude. Your lordship I find, has now commenced author and published a proclamation; I to have published a crisis; as they stand they are the antipodes of each other, both cannot rise at once, and one of them must descend: and so quick the revolution of things, that your lordship's performance, I see, has already fallen many degrees from its first place, and is now just visible on the edge of the political horizon.

It is surprising to what a pitch of infatuation blind folly and obstinacy will carry mankind, and your lordship's drowsy proclamation is a proof that it does not even quit them in their sleep. Perhaps you thought America too was taking a nap, and therefore chose, like satan to Eve, to whisper the delusion softly, lest you should awaken her. This continent sir, is too extensive to sleep all at once, and too watchful, even in its slumbers, not to startle, at the unhallowed foot of an invader. You may issue your proclamations, and we will come, for we have learned to "rev

ence ourselves," and scorn the insulting ruffian that employs you. America for your deceased brother's sake would gladly have shewn you respect, and it is a new aggravation to her feelings, that Howe should be forgetful, and raise his sword against those, who at their own charge raised a monument to his brother. But your master has commanded, and you have not enough of nature left to refuse. Surely there must be something strangely degenerating in the love of monarchy, that can so completely wear a man down to an ingrate, and make him proud to lick the dust that kings have trod upon. A few more years, should you survive them, will bestow on you the title of an old man, and in some hour of future reflection you may probably find the fitness of Wolsey's despairing penitence, "had I served my God as faithfully as I have served my king, he would not thus have forsaken me in my old age."

The character you appear to us in is truly ridiculous. Your friend, the Tories, announced your coming with high descriptions of your unlimited powers; but your proclamation has given them the lie, by shewing you to be a commissioner without authority. Had your powers been ever so great, they were nothing to us, farther than we pleased; because we had the same right which other nations had, to do what we thought was best. "The united states of America," will sound as pompously in the world or in history as "the kingdom of Great Britain;" the character of general Washington will fill a page with as much lustre as that of lord Howe; and the congress have as much right to command the king and parliament of London, to desist from legislation, as they or you have to command the congress. Only suppose how laughable such an edict would appear from us, and then, in that merry mood, do but turn the tables upon yourself, and you will see how your proclamation is received here. Having thus placed you in a proper position in which you may have a full view of folly, and learn to despise it, I hold up to you, for that purpose, the following quotation from your own lunarian proclamation. "And we (lord Howe and general

Howe) "do command, (and in his majesty's name forsooth) "all such "persons as are assembled together "under the name of general or provincial congresses, committees, conventions, or other associations, by "whatever name or names known "or distinguished, to desist and cease "from all such treasonable acts and doings."

You introduce your proclamation by referring to your declarations of the 14th July and 19th of September. In the last of these, you sunk yourself below the character of a private gentleman. That I may not seem to accuse you unjustly, I shall state the circumstance: by a verbal invitation of yours communicated to congress by general Sullivan, then a prisoner on his parole, you signified your desire of conferring with some members of that body as private gentlemen. It was beneath the dignity of the American congress to pay any regard to a message that at best was but a genteel affront, and had too much of the ministerial complexion of tampering with private persons; and which might probably have been the case, had the gentlemen who were deputed on that business, possessed that easy kind of virtue which an English courtier is so truly distinguished by. Your request, however, was complied with, for honest men are naturally more tender of their civil than their political fame. The interview ended as every sensible man thought it would: for your lordship knows, as well as the writer of the crisis, that it is impossible for the king of England to promise the repeal, or even the revival, of any acts of parliament; wherefore, on your part you had nothing to say, more than to request, in the room of demanding, the entire surrender of the continent; and then, if that was complied with, to promise that the inhabitants should escape with their lives. This was the upshot of the conference. You informed the conferees that you were two months in soliciting these powers. We ask, what powers? for, as commissioner, you have none. If you mean the power of pardoning, it is an oblique proof, that your master was determined to sacrifice all before him; and that you were two months in

dissuading him from his purpose. Another evidence of his savage obstinacy ! From your own account of the matter, we may justly draw these two conclusions : first, that you serve a monster : and secondly, that never was a commissioner sent on a more foolish errand than yourself. This plain language may perhaps sound uncouthly to an ear vitiated by courtly refinements : but words were made for use, and the fault lies in deserving them, or the abuse in applying them unfairly.

Soon after your return to New-York, you published a very illiberal and unmanly hand bill against the congress ; for it was certainly stepping out of the line of common civility, first to screen your national pride by soliciting an interview with them as private gentlemen, and in the conclusion to endeavour to deceive the multitude by making an hand bill attack on the whole body of the congress ; you got them together under one name, and abused them under another. But the king you serve, and the cause you support, afford you so few instances of acting the gentleman, that out of pity to your situation, the congress pardoned the insult by taking no notice of it.

You say in that hand bill, “ that they, the congress, disavowed every purpose for reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant and inadmissible claim of independence.” Why, God bless me ! what have you to do with our independence ? we asked no leave of yours to set it up ; we ask no money of yours to support it ; we can do better without your fleets and armies than with them ; you may soon have enough to do to protect yourselves without being burdened with us. We are very willing to be at peace with you, to buy of you and sell to you, and, like young beginners in the world, to work for our own living ; therefore, why do you put yourselves out of cash, when we know you cannot spare it, and we do not desire you to run into debt ? I am willing, sir, you should see your folly in every view I can place it, and for that reason descend sometimes to tell you in jest what I wish you to see in earnest. But to be more serious with you, why do you say “ their ” independence ?

To set you right, sir, we tell you that the independency is ours, *not* theirs. The congress were authorised by every state on the continent to publish it to all the world, and in doing are not to be considered as the inventors, but only as the heralds that proclaimed it, or the office from which the sense of the people received a legal form ; and it was as much any or all their heads were worth to have treated with you, on the subject of submission, under any name whatever. But we know the men whom we have trusted ; can England say the same of her parliament ?

I come now more particularly to your proclamation of the 30th of Nov. last. Had you gained an entire conquest over all the armies of America and then put forth a proclamation offering (what you call) mercy, your conduct would have had some specious show of humanity ; but to creep by surprise into a province, and then endeavour to terrify and seduce the inhabitants from their just allegiance to the rest, by promises which you neither meant nor were able to fulfil, both cruel and unmanly : cruel in its effects ; because unless you can keep all the ground you have marched over how are you, in the words of your proclamation, to secure to your subjects “ the enjoyment of their property ? ” What are to become either of your new-adopted subjects, or your old friends the tories, in Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, Montholly and many other places, where you proudly lorded it for a few days, and then fled with the precipitation of a pursued thief ? What, I say, are to become of those wretches ? What are to become of those who went over to you from this city and state ? What more can you say to them than “ shift for yourselves ? ” Or what more can they hope for than to wander like vagabonds over the face of the earth ? You may now tell them to take their leave of America, and all that once was theirs. Recommend them, for consolation, to your master’s court : there perhaps they may make a shift to live on the scraps of some dangling parasite, and chuse companions among thousand like themselves. A traitor is the foulest fiend on earth.

In a political sense we ought to thank you for thus bequeathing estates to the continent; we shall soon, at this rate, be able to carry on a war without expence, and grow rich by the ill policy of lord Howe, and the generous defection of the tories. Had you set your foot into this city, you would have bellowed estates upon us which we never thought of; by bringing forth traitors we were unwilling to suspect. "But these men" you will say, "are his majesty's most faithful subjects;" let that honour then be to their fortune, and let his majesty like them to himself.

I am now thoroughly disgusted with them; they live in ungrateful ease, and bend their whole minds to mischief. It seems as if God had given them over to a spirit of infidelity, and that they are open to conviction in no other line but that of punishment. It is time to have done with tarring, feathering, carting, and making securities for their future good behaviour. Every sensible man must feel a conscious shame at seeing a poor fellow hawked for a shew about the streets, when it is known, that he is only the tool of some principal villain, biassed into his offence by the force of false reasoning, or bribed thereto through sad necessity. We dishonour ourselves by attacking such trifling characters, while greater ones are suffered to escape. 'Tis our duty to find them out, and their proper punishment would be to exile them from the continent for ever. The circle of them is not so great as some imagine. The influence of a few has tainted many who are not naturally corrupt. A continual circulation of lies among those who are not much in the way of hearing them contradicted, will in time pass for truth: and the crime lies not in the believer, but the inventor. I am not for declaring war against every man that appears not so warm as myself. Difference of constitution, temper, habit of speaking, and many other things, will go a great way in fixing the outward character of a man, yet simple honesty may remain at bottom. Some men have naturally a military turn, and can brave hardships and the risk of life, with a chearful face: others have not; no slavery appears to them

so great as the fatigue of arms, and no terror so powerful as that of personal danger. What can we say? We cannot alter nature; neither ought we to punish the son because the father begot him in a cowardly mood. However, I believe most men have more courage than they know of, and that a tide at first is enough to begin with. I knew the time when I thought that the whiffing of a cannon ball would have frightened me almost to death: but I have since tried it, and find I can stand it with as little discomposure, and (I believe) with a much easier conscience than your lordship. The same dread would return to me again, were I in your situation: for my solemn belief of your cause, is, that it is lawful and damnable: and under that conviction, every thinking man's heart must fail him.

From a concern, that a good cause should be dishonoured by the least disunion among us, I said in my former paper, No. I. that, "should the enemy now be expelled, I wish, with all the sincerity of a christian, that the names of whig and tory might never more be mentioned:" but there is a knot of men among us, of such a venomous cast, that they will not admit even one's good wishes to act in their favour. Instead of rejoicing that heaven had, as it were, providentially preserved this city from plunder and destruction, by delivering so great a part of the enemy into our hands, with so little effusion of blood, they stubbornly affected to disbelieve it, until within an hour, nay half an hour of the prisoners arriving: and the quakers put forth a testimony, dated the twentieth of December, signed John Pemberton, declaring their attachment to the British government. These men are continually harping on the great sin of our bearing arms: but the king of Britain may lay waste the world in blood and famine, and they, poor fallen souls, have nothing to say.

In some future paper, I intend to distinguish between the different kinds of persons who have been denominated tories: for this I am clear in, that all are not so, who have been called so, nor all men whigs, who were once thought so: and as I mean

not to conceal the name of any true friend. when there shall be occasion to mention him ; neither will I that of an enemy, who ought to be known, let his rank, station, or religion be what it may.

Much pains have been taken by some to set your lordship's private character in an amiable light : but as it has chiefly been done by men who know nothing about you, and who are no ways remarkable for their attachment to us, we have no just authority for believing it. George the third was imposed upon us by the same arts : but time has at length done him justice : and the same fate may probably attend your lordship. Your avowed purpose here, is, to kill, conquer, plunder, pardon, and enslave : and the ravages of your army, through the Jerseys, have been marked with as much barbarism, as if you had openly professed yourself the prince of ruffians. Not even the appearance of humanity has been preserved either on the march or the retreat of your troops. No general order, that I could ever learn, has ever been issued to prevent or even forbid your troops from robbery, wherever they came : and the only instance of justice, if it can be called such, which has distinguished you for impartiality, is, that you treated and plundered all alike. What could not be carried away, have been destroyed : and mahogany furniture has been deliberately laid on the fire for fuel, rather than the men should be fatigued with cutting wood. There was a time, when the whigs confided much in your supposed candour, and the tories rested themselves on your favour. The experiments have now been made, and failed : and every town, nay every cottage, in the Jerseys, where your arms have been, is a testimony against you. How you may rest under this sacrifice of character, I know not : but this I know, that you sleep and rise with the daily curses of thousands upon you. Perhaps, the misery which the tories have suffered by your profligate mercy, may give them some claim to their country's pity, and be in the end the best favour you could shew them.

In a folio general order book belonging to colonel Rahl's battalion, taken at Trenton, and now in the

possession of the council of safety &c. this state, the following barbarous order is frequently repeated : " His excellency the commander in chief orders that all inhabitants which shall be found with arms, not having an officer with them, shall be immediately taken and hung up." How many you may thus have privately sacrificed we know not ; and the account can only be settled in another world. Your treatment of prisoners, in order to distress them to enlist into your infernal service, is not to be equalled by any instance in Europe. Yet this is the humane lord Howe, and his brother, whom the tories, and the three-quarter kindred, the quakers or some of them at least, have been holding up for patterns of justice and mercy !

A bad cause will ever be supported by bad means, and bad men : at whoever will be at the pains of examining strictly into things, will find that one and the same spirit of oppression and impiety, more or less, governs through your whole party both countries. Not many days ago I accidentally fell in company with a person of this city, noted for espousing your cause ; and on my remarking to him, that it appeared clear to me, by the late providential turn of affairs, that God Almighty was visibly on our side ; he replied, we care nothing for that ; you may have him and welcome ; if we have but enough of the devil on our side, we shall do. However carelessly this be spoke matters not : 'tis still the insensible principle that directs all your conduct and will at last most assuredly deceive and ruin you.

If ever a nation was mad and foolish, blind to its own interest, and bent on its own destruction, it is Britain. There are such things as national sins : and though the punishment of individuals may be reserved to another world, national punishment can only be inflicted in this world. Britain as a nation, is, in my inmost belief, the greatest and most ungrateful offender against God, on the face of the whole earth. Blessed with all the commerce she could wish for, and furnished by a vast extent of dominion with the means of civilization both the eastern and western world

he has made no other use of both, than proudly to idolize her own 'thunder,' and rip up the bowels of whole countries, for what she could get. Like Alexander, she has made war her sport, and inflicted misery for prodigality sake. The blood of India is not yet repaid, nor the wretchedness of Africa yet requited. Of late, she has enlarged her list of national cruelties, by her butcherly destruction of the Caribbs of St. Vincent's, and in returning an answer by the sword, to the meek prayer for 'peace, liberty, and safety.' These are serious things: and whatever a foolish tyrant, a debauched court, a rascaling legislature, or a blinded people, may think, the national account with heaven must some day or other be settled. All countries have sooner or later been called to their reckoning. The proudest empires have sunk, when the balance was struck: and Britain, like an individual penitent, must undergo her day of sorrow, and the sooner it happens to her, the better. As I wish it over, I wish it to come, but withal wish that it may be as light as possible.

Perhaps your lordship has no taste for serious things. By your connexions in England, I should suppose not: therefore I shall drop this part of the subject, and take it up in a line in which you will better understand me.

By what means, may I ask, do you expect to conquer America? If you could not effect it in the summer when our army was less than yours, nor in the winter, when we had none, how are you to do it? In point of generalship, you have been outwitted, and in point of fortitude, outdone: your advantages turn out to your loss, and shew us that it is in our power to ruin you by gifts. Like a game of draughts we can move out of one square, to let you come in, in order that we may afterwards take two or three for one; and as we can always keep a double corner for ourselves, we can always prevent a total defeat. You cannot be so insensible, as not to see that we have two to one the advantage of you, because we conquer by a drawn game, and you lose by it. Burgoyne might have taught your lordship this knowledge; he has been

long a student in the doctrine of chances.

I have no other idea of conquering countries than by subduing the armies which defend them: have you done this, or can you do this? If you have not, it would be civil in you to let your proclamations alone for the present; otherwise, you will ruin more tomes by your grace and favour than you will whigs by your arms.

Were you to obtain possession of this city, you would not know what to do with it, more than to plunder it. To hold it, in the manner you hold New York, would be an additional dead weight upon your hands: and if a general conquest is your object, you had better be without the city than with it. When you have defeated all our armies, the cities will fall into your hands of themselves; but to creep into them in the manner you got into Princeton, Trenton, &c. is like robbing an orchard in the night, before the fruit be ripe, and running away in the morning. Your experiment in the Jerseys is sufficient to teach you that you have something more to do than barely to get into other people's houses; and your new converts, to whom you promised all manner of protection, and seduced into new guilt by pardoning them from their former virtues, must begin to have a very contemptible opinion both of your power and policy. Your authority in the Jerseys is now reduced to the small circle which your army occupies, and your proclamation is nowhere else seen, unless it be to be laughed at. The mighty subduers of the continent are retreated into a nutshell, and the proud forgivers of our sins, are fled from those they came to pardon; and all this at a time when they were dispatching vessel after vessel to England, with the great news of every day. In short, you have managed your Jersey expedition so very dextrously that the dead only are conquerors, because none will dispute the ground with them.

In all the wars you have formerly been concerned in, you had only armies to contend with; in this case, you have both an army and a country to combat with. In former wars, the countries followed the fate of their ca-

pitals : Canada fell with Quebec ; and Minorca, with Fort Mahon or St. Philips ; by subduing those, the conquerors opened a way into, and became masters of the country : here it is otherwise ; if you get possession of a city here, you are obliged to shut yourselves up in it, and can make no other use of it, than to spend your countrys money in. This is all the advantage you have drawn from New York ; and you would draw less from Philadelphia, because it requires more force to keep it, and is much farther from the sea. A pretty figure you and the tories would cut in this city, with a river full of ice, and a town full of fire ; for the immediate consequence of your getting here would be, that you would be cannonaded out again, and the tories be obliged to make good the damage ; and this, sooner or later, will be the fate of New York.

I wish to see the city saved, not so much from military, as from natural motives. 'Tis the hiding-place of women and children, and lord Howe's proper business is with our armies. When I put all the circumstances together which ought to be taken, I laugh at your notion of conquering America. Because you lived in a little country, where an army might run over the whole in a few days, and where a single company of soldiers might put a multitude to the rout, you expected to find it the same here. It is plain that you brought over with you all the narrow notions you were bred up with, and imagined that a proclamation in the king's name was to do great things ; but Englishmen always travel for knowledge, and your lordship, I hope, will return, if you return at all, much wiser than you came.

We may be surpris'd by events we did not expect, and in that interval of recollection you may gain some temporary advantage : such was the case a few weeks ago : but we soon ripen again into reason, collect our strength, and while you are preparing for a triumph, we come upon you with a defeat. Such it has been, and such it would be were you to try it an hundred times over. Were you to garrison the places you might much over, in order to secure their subjection, (for remember you can do it by no other means) your army would be like a

stream of water running to nothing by the time you reached from New York to Virginia, you would be reduced to a string of drops, not capable of hanging together ; while we by retreating from state to state, like a river turning back upon itself, would acquire strength in the same proportion as you lost it, and in the end be capable of overwhelming you. The country in the mean time would suffer ; but 'tis a day of suffering, and we ought to expect it. What we content for is worthy the affliction we may go through. If we get but bread to eat and any kind of raiment to put on, we ought, not only to be contented, but thankful. More than that we ought not to look for, and less than that heaven has not yet suffered us to want. He that would sell his birth-right for a little salt, is as worthless as he who sold it for porridge without salt. And he that would part with it for a gay coat, or a plain coat, ought forever to be a slave in buff. What are salt, sugar, and finery to the inestimable blessings of "liberty and safety ? Or what are the inconveniencies of a few months to the tributary bondage of ages ? The meanest peasant in America, blessed with these sentiments, is a happy man, compared with a New York tory ; he can eat his morsel without repining, and when he has done, can sweeten it with a breath of wholesome air : he can take his child by the hand and bless it, without feeling the conscious shame of neglecting a parent's duty.

In publishing these remarks, I have several objects in view. On you part, they are, to expose the folly of your pretended authority, as a commissioner—the wickedness of your cause in general—and the impossibility of your conquering us at any rate. On the part of the public, my meaning is, to shew them their true and solid interest ; to encourage them to their own good ; to remove the fear and fallacies, which bad men have spread, and weak men have encouraged ; and to excite in all men a love for union, and a cheerfulness for duty.

I shall submit one more case to you, respecting your conquest of this country, and then proceed to new observations.



Suppose our armies in every part of the continent immediately to disperse, every man to his home, or where else he might be safe, and engage to re-assemble again on a certain future day. It is clear that you would then have no army to contend with ; yet you would be as much at a loss as you are now : you would be afraid to send your troops in parties over the continent, either to disarm, or prevent us from assembling, lest they should not return : and while you kept them together, having no army of ours to dispute with, you could not call it a conquest. You might furnish out a pompous page in the *London Gazette*, or the *New York paper* : but when we returned at the appointed time, you would have the same work to do you had at first.

It has been the folly of Britain to suppose herself more powerful than she really is, and by that means have arrogated to herself a rank in the world she is not entitled to : for more than this century past, she has not been able to carry on a war without foreign assistance. In Marlborough's campaigns, and from that day to this, the number of German troops and officers assisting her, have been about equal with her own. Ten thousand Hessians were sent to England last war, to protect her from a French invasion : and she would have cut but a poor figure in her Canadian and West Indian expeditions, had not America been lavish of her men and money to help her along. The only instance, in which she was engaged singly, that I can recollect, was against the rebellion in Scotland in forty-five and forty-six, and in that, out of three battles, she was twice beaten, till by thus reducing their numbers, (as we shall yours), and taking a supply ship, that was coming to Scotland, with clothes, arms, and money, (as we have often done) she was at last enabled to defeat them.

England was never famous by land. Her officers have generally been suspected of cowardice, have more of the air of a dancing master, than a soldier ; and by the supple we have taken prisoners, we begin to give the preference to ourselves. Her strength of late has laid in her extravagance : but as her finances and her credit are

now low, her sinews in that line begin to fail fast. As a nation, she is the poorest in Europe : for were the whole kingdom, and all that is in it, to be put up to sale, like the estate of a bankrupt, it would not fetch as much as the owes. Yet this thoughtless wretch must go to war, and with the avowed design, too, of making us bralls of burden, to support her in riot and debauchery, and to assist her afterwards in distressing those nations who are now our best friends. This ingratitude may suit a tory, or the unchristian perverseness of a fallen quaker, but none else.

'Tis the unhappy temper of the English, to be pleased with any war, right or wrong, be it but successful : but they soon grow discontented with ill fortune : and it is an even chance, that they are as clamorous for peace next summer, as the king and his ministers were for war last winter. In this natural view of things, your lordship stands in a very ugly, critical situation. Your whole character is flaked upon your laurels. If they wither, you wither with them. If they flourish, you cannot live long to look at them : and at any rate, the black account hereafter is not far off. What lately appeared to us misfortunes, were only blessings in disguise : and the seeming advantages on your side, have turned out to our profit. Even our loss of this city, as far as we can see, might be a principal gain to us. The more surface you spread over, the thinner you will be, and the easier wiped away : and our consolation, under that apparent disaster, would be, that the estates of the tories would be securities for the repairs. In short, there is no old ground we can fall upon, but some new foundation rises again to support us. " We have put, sir, our hands to the plough—and cursed be he that looketh back."

Your king, in his speech to parliament, last spring, declared to them, that " he had no doubt but the great force they had enabled him to send to America, would effectually reduce the rebellious colonies." It has not—neither can it. But it has done just enough, to lay the foundation of its own next year's ruin. You are sensible that you left England in a divided distracted state of politics, and, by the

command you had here, you became a principal prop in the court party : their fortunes rest on yours : by a single express, you can fix their value with the public, and the degree to which their spirits shall rise or fall. They are in your hands as stock, and you have the secret of the alley with you. Thus situated, and connected, you become the unintentional, mechanical instrument of your own and their overthrow. The king and his ministers put conquest out of doubt, and the credit of both depended on the proof. To support them in the interim, it was necessary that you should make the most of every thing : and we can tell by Hugh Gaine's New York paper, what the complexion of the London Gazette is. With such a list of victories, the nation cannot expect you will ask new supplies ; and to confess your want of them, would give the lie to your triumphs, and impeach the king and his ministers of treasonable deception. If you make the necessary demand at home, your party sinks : if you make it not, you sink yourself. To ask it now, is too late, and to ask it before, was too soon, and unless it arrive quickly, will be of no use. In short, the part you have to act, cannot be acted : and I am fully persuaded, that all you have to trust to, is, to do the best with what force you have got, or little more. Though we have greatly excelled you in point of generalship, and bravery of men, yet, as a people, we have not entered into the full soul of enterprize : for I, who know England, and the disposition of the people well, am confident, that it is easier for us to effect a revolution there, than you a conquest here. A few thousand men, landed in England, with the declared design of deposing the present king, bringing his ministers to trial, and setting up the duke of Gloucester in his stead, would assuredly carry their point, while you were groveling here ignorant of the matter. As I send all my papers to England, this, like Common Sense, will find its way there : and though it may put one party on their guard, it will inform the other, and the nation in general, of our design to help them.

Thus far, Sir, I have endeavoured

to give you a picture of present affairs : you may draw from it what conclusion you please. I wish as well to the true prosperity of England as you can, but I consider independence as America's natural right and interest, and never could see any real disservice would be to Britain. If an English merchant receives an order, and paid for it, it signifies nothing to him who governs the country. This is the creed of politics. If I have anywhere expressed myself over warm, it is from a fixed immovable hatred I have, and ever had, to cruel men and cruel measures. I have likewise a aversion to monarchy, as being too debasing to the dignity of man ; but never troubled others with my notions till very lately, nor ever published a syllable in England in my life. What I write is pure nature, and my pen and my soul have ever gone together. My writings I have always given away, reserving only the expence of printing and paper, and sometimes not even that. I have never courted either fame or interest, and my manner of life, to those who know it, will justify what I say. My study is to be useful, and if your lordship love mankind, well as I do, you would, seeing you cannot conquer us, cast about and let your hand towards accomplishing peace. Our independence, with God blessing, we will maintain against the world ; but as we wish to avoid evil ourselves, we wish not to inflict it on others. I am never over inquisitive into the secrets of the cabinet, but I have some notion, if you neglect the present opportunity, that it will not be in our power to make a separate peace with you afterwards ; for whatever treaties or alliances we form we shall most faithfully abide by, wherefore you may be deceived, you think you can make it with us at any time. A lasting independent peace is my wish, end, and aim ; and to accomplish that, " I pray God the Americans may never be defeated, and I trust while they have good officers, and are well commanded, are willing to be commanded, that they never will."

COMMON SENSE.

*Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1777.*

*(To be continued.)*

*A Pindaric ode on friendship.—By Thomas Godfrey.*

**FRIENDSHIP!** all hail! thou dearest tie,

We mortals here below can claim,  
To blend our else unhappy lives with joy;

My breast inspire,

With thy true genuine fire,

While to thy sacred name,

I strike the golden lyre.

Cloth'd in pure, empyrean light,

For vulgar eyes thou shin'st too bright;

For while they gaze,

Thy dazzling rays

Dim their too feeble light.

But souls uncloy'd with sensual toys,

Souls who seek true mental joys,

May, phoenix-like, sublimely soar,

May all thy heav'nly charms explore,

And wanton in the glorious blaze,

O G \* \* \* ! if now no charming maid

Waits thy pencil's pow'rful aid,

That when her charms shall fade away,

And her pleasing form decay—

That when her eyes no more shall roll,

Or heaving sighs betray her soul—

Still by thy art,

The stubborn heart,

To melt and into love betray—

Attend! I sing that pow'r divine,

Whose heav'nly influence sways such souls as thine,

Souls, by virtue made the same,

Friendship's pow'rful ties may claim:

And happy they,

Without allay,

Elest in the gen'rous flame.

Thus in his tent immur'd,

Thetis's angry son

Forgot the laurels he had won;

And whilst love's flames his bosom burn'd,

His beauteous captive lost he mourn'd;

And Ilium in his grief stood well secur'd;

All Grecia's chiefs, dismay'd,

Around him wait,

And vainly supplicate his aid.

Old Nestor's eloquence was vain,

Ulysses' cunning could not gain

The chief to draw his sword.

In angry state,

He fullen fate,

Nor deign'd to give a word.

But when Patroclus' much-lov'd shade,

Pale, with blood and dust array'd,

Appear'd unto his view—

Friendship fir'd his godlike breast,

Conquer'd love the pow'r confess'd,

And in a sigh withdrew.

Thus the ghost—

“Attend, attend my call :

“Let not the vaunting Trojans boast ;

“But, oh ! revenge my fall !”

With rage the hero's bosom glows,

His blood in swifter current flows ;

See, how his eye-balls roll !

And speak the anguish of his soul :

“Revenge, revenge,” Patroclus cry'd :

Quick at the word,

He seiz'd his sword,

And clasp'd his sevenfold shield.

“Revenge, revenge,” Pelides loud reply'd,

And rush'd into the field.

Wild as the wind he went

Through the astonish'd foe ;

While Death, his sad concomitant,

Attends each fatal blow.

With heaps of slain,

He strews the plain ;

As when rough Boreas loudly blows,

Huge oaks and lofty pines around he throws.

Cowards revive when he appears,

And banish from their breasts their fears ;

Nor death can more affright :

His presence ev'ry bosom warms,

They clank with horrid din their arms,

And with new courage fraught, renew the fight.

Now shouts around,

And dying cries,

A horrid sound !

Affail the skies ;

And now the fainting Trojans yield

The long-disputed honours of the field.

Round the field Achilles flies,

For Hector he cries,

At length the Trojan chief espies,

Horribly glorious midst the war :

Upon his bloody shield the god of day

Darts pendant rays :

The crimson mirror far

Reflects the blaze ;

And all around him glories play.

Patroclus' mantle loosely flung,

The pledge of brave Achilles' love,

And by the fair Ægina wove,

Upon his manly shoulder hung.

The fatal spoil Achilles spies,

And indignation lightn'd in his eyes.

“For friendship this—for friendship this,” he said,

And in his bosom drove the shining blade.

Down the mighty Dardan fell,

And in a groan expires ;

Ill-fated Ilium gave a yell,

And dreads her future fires.

In vain all-beauteous Venus strove

To ward the threatening blow ;

In vain she mov'd,  
In vain he lov'd :  
Those raging fires  
And wild desires,  
To friendship's purer flame must bow.  
Though love, the sensual appetite,  
Tumultuous rise a while,  
Friendship yields a calm delight,  
And will for ever smile.



*The morning invitation. By N. Evans. A. M.*

**S**EQUESTER'D from the city's noise,  
Its tumults and fantastic toys,  
Fair nymphs and swains retire,  
Where Delaware's far-rolling tide  
Majestic winds by Glo'ster's side,  
Whose shades new joys inspire.

There Innocence and Mirth resort,  
And round its banks the Graces sport,  
Young Love, Delight, and Joy :  
Bright blushing Health unlocks his springs,  
Each grove around its fragrance flings,  
With sweets that never cloy.

Soon as from out the orient main,  
The sun ascends th' etherial plain,  
Bepearling ev'ry lawn—  
Wild, warbling wood-notes float around,  
While Echo doubles ev'ry sound,  
To hail the gladsome dawn.

Now, Celia, with thy Chloe, rise,  
Ye fair, unlock those radiant eyes,  
Nor more the pillow press :  
Now rise, and taste of vernal bliss,  
Romantic dreams and sleep dismiss,  
New joys your sense shall bless.

Whether along the velvet green,  
Adorning all the sylvan scene,  
The fair incline to stray—  
Where lofty trees o'ershade the wave,  
And zephyrs leave their sacred cave,  
Along the streams to play :

There lovely views the river crown,  
Woods, meadows, ships, yon spiry town,  
Where wit and beauty reign ;  
Where Chloe's and fair Celia's charms  
Fill many a youth with love's alarms,  
Sweet pleasure mix'd with pain :

Or whether o'er the fields ye trip,  
At yon salubrious fount to sip,  
Immur'd in darksome shade—



## Foreign Intelligence.



L O N D O N, June 30.

ON the 26th of June the Turkish fleet, consisting of 57 ships of the line, appeared off the entrance of the Bosphorus. The Turkish fortresses, on the western side of the river; the Russian fortresses, on the eastern shore, lie nearly opposite to it on the eastern shore.

The prince of Nassau, commander in chief of the Russian fleet, with the admiral Paul Jones, as his second, lay at anchor under the guns of the fortresses, waiting for the Turks, who seemed disposed to attack them. The wind ran very high, and the wind was strong on the Russian shore. The old Turkish admiral, under these disadvantages, had the madness to enter the mouth of the river. The Russian commanders suffered him to take this step without molestation: but no sooner were the Turks completely embayed, than the prince of Nassau and his colleague began to move.

The firing on both sides at the first onset was tremendous; but for want of skill and discipline, the largest ships of the Turkish fleet, presently ran aground, particularly the ships of the Turkish admiral and vice admiral.

The Russian squadron now grappled with the Turks. The conflict was dreadful, the batteries on the shore, as well as the ships, all joining in the fight. The Turks defended themselves with astonishing resolution; but very few of their ships could sustain the Black Sea.---Some ran for shelter under the guns of Oczakow. The capital ship, on board of which were the Turkish admiral and vice admiral, and three other ships of the line, were blown up. The old captain pacha escaped in a small boat. Many of the smaller vessels were driven on shore, and the whole fleet was entirely separated. The Russians took possession of the admiral's flag, and have taken 4000 prisoners.

Two encampments are ordered by the French cabinet for the 15th of September; one in Alsace, the other in the celebrated plains of Lens, in Picardy. The troops are to remain

encamped six weeks. What may be the object of these encampments we know not; report says that they are solely for the purpose of training the troops in the new exercise adopted by the *conseil de guerre*. We have only to remark, that camps are necessarily attended with extraordinary and heavy expences, and that, without some very solid reason, the French ministers would not subject the treasury to them in the present disordered state of the finances of the country.

July 11. The last arrest published by the French king is very strong and decisive; it says, "That if any subject, or body of subjects, shall presume to present a remonstrance relative to the parliaments, he or they shall forfeit all their real and personal estate, and be deprived of all rank and honour."



## American Intelligence.

PITTSBURGH, SEPTEMBER 20.

A letter from a gentleman at Mufkingun, to his friend in this town, dated September 11. says "An express has just arrived here from the falls of Ohio, with an account, that lieutenant Peters, with a party of thirty men, going down the river, had been attacked by the Indians, and unfortunately had eight men killed and ten wounded."

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 25.

A correspondent observes, that having been present while the supreme court was sitting in Suffolk county (Long-Island) he conceives it but justice to the peaceable and virtuous inhabitants of that county, thus to make known, that there was not a single indictment by the grand jury, and that there was but one cause tried at the court during their session.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 9.

*The following is a narrative of the damage done by a hurricane in the island of Martinico, on the 14th ult.*

At 9 o'clock in the morning of August 14th, the wind being north-east, the clouds began to collect, the atmosphere to darken, the wind to rise accompanied with heavy showers, which are almost sure prefaces of a de-

frustrative hurricane. But at 12, the weather moderated, and the sea became much smoother, which considerably allayed the apprehensions of the inhabitants. This flattering appearance lasted not long. It seemed as if this cessation of the elements only served for the purpose of collecting their powers to one point, in order to rage the more uncontrolled; for about three o'clock, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and blew with astonishing fury. The scene now began to be truly distressing. The shipping in the harbour got under way as soon as possible, some by slipping, others by parting their cable, except two, which were both cast away before eight in the evening. Three of the fleet that went out, were cast away by ten o'clock in Fort Royal Bay. Two French frigates which lay in that safe haven, the *Carnass*, drove from their anchors, with the loss of their rudders. The remaining part of the fleet returned to St. Pierre, the second and third day after the storm, except seven, which it is supposed went to Point Petre---they had lost all their cables, anchors, and boats. But those that returned, received no material damage, except the loss of a boat, a cable, or an anchor.

The wind hauled by degrees round to the westward, blowing hard all the time. At eight o'clock at night, it was N. W. and moderate for half an hour, but instantly shifting to the S. W. blew heavy again. By nine, it hauled to S. S. W. and came on with more than redoubled fury. The scene which had been distressing, was now terrible in the extreme---the heavens appeared to be in one continual glare by lightning---rain poured down as if from sluices---the wind raging as if it were its last effort---and the earth trembling under the appalling inhabitants, from the shock of an earthquake.

About twelve o'clock, the tempest abated, and the morning presented such a scene of devastation as was never remembered before. Not a single vessel could be perceived in the harbour of St. Pierre; large quantities of floating timber covered the whole bay, the worth of which was estimated three or four thousand joes---very little of it was saved, as all the boats

were either lost or damaged---vast quantities of it were washed over the walls, from the sea, but are bruised and broken to pieces, from the violence of the waves.

The streets in the town were almost impassible, from the quantity of timber, &c. blown from the roofs of houses.

The damage done in the country is incredible. All the north part of the island is nearly laid waste. The town of Trinity is almost level with the ground. On that part of the island from that town, round to the N. W. part, there is scarcely a house or tree standing. A house sixty feet square, and one story high, was carried off its foundation to the distance of one hundred yards. Two white women were buried in the ruins, and a young lady, endeavouring to make her escape, on perceiving the house in motion, was carried by the strength of the wind against a stone wall, which melancholy accident she had both her legs broken. The negro houses that stood about two hundred rods from the house, were entirely swept off, and thirty or forty negroes lost their lives. The rest of the plantations suffered much in like manner according to their numbers.

The young canes were twisted close to the ground by the fury of the wind, and it is thought, entirely ruined. The negro food is almost totally destroyed; such as potatoes, yams, cassada, plantains, &c. The planters say that this hurricane exceeds the one that was in the year 1766. The loss of their negroes, canes, &c. is more considerable than was ever known before.

The merchants and planters petitioned the commander in chief, praying that some measures might be taken to alleviate their sufferings. The next day he ordered all the ports in the island to be opened for American produce, except the articles heretofore prohibited, free from duty, only the island duty, which is one per cent. This had effect from the 20th ult. and is to continue till the 1st January 1789.

Several estimates have been made of the losses sustained, and the list of those that were lost by this dreadful hurricane, and it is generally agreed that



here were between 6 and 700 lives lost, black and white—and that the whole loss in town and country, is 9,000,000 livres.

Whatever has a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human action, deserves the fostering care of every enlightened state. It is therefore with pleasure we inform the lovers of science and the useful arts, that the ingenious Mr. Rumsey, who is now in Europe soliciting exclusive rights for his several inventions and improvements, has been honoured with the esteem and support of gentlemen in England of distinguished reputation in the scientific world. We rejoice the more at those marks of attention to American genius, as they go far to prove the worth of Mr. Rumsey's talents, and afford an happy preface of honour and advantage to his native country.

Among the objects which have successfully engaged the abilities of this ingenious man, are—

1. A boat, or vessel, acted on by steam, and propelled by forcing the water through a wooden trunk, or pipe, laid on a keelson. This boat requires neither masts, rigging, sails, oars, cranks nor paddles; and has been actually propelled with half its loading on board, four miles an hour, against the current of the Potomack river. It is light and simple, and may be built at a moderate expence. Where the rivers, like many in America, are unaided by the tides, and have rapid currents, this construction will appear to be singularly useful, by performing the passage in a given time, reducing the freight of goods, and promoting intercourse among the citizens, in a convenient, cheap, and easy manner.

2. A new invented saw-mill, moved without wheels of any kind, requiring but about the twentieth part of the water used for a common saw-mill, and which may be supplied either from a stream, a pond or well. It is cheap and powerful.

3. A new boiler for generating steam, in the most convenient manner for nautical, mechanical, and hydraulic purposes. This is confessedly superior to any hitherto discovered, and may be applied to most kinds of mills and machines, at a comparatively trifling expence.

4. An improvement of Savery's admired mode of raising and conducting water—Of important utility in agriculture and certain manufactures.

5. An improvement on Dr. Barker's mill—Dr. Barker was a fellow of the Royal Society in London; and near half a century ago, first suggested the principles of this machine, but he was never able to perfect it—Being examined with anxious, yet fruitless solicitude for its completion by many learned societies in Europe—the plan was at last abandoned to the books alone, as a monument of the doctor's ingenuity—till lately, when the genius of a Rumsey discovered the right application of its principles. The mechanism of this mill is beautifully simple; the principles are strictly philosophical; and its powers are uncommonly great—A third or fourth part of the water now ordinarily required to turn a grist-mill, is sufficient by this mode of applying its weight and force to turn any grist-mill or other machine requiring the truest circular motion—The same powers will equally well apply to grist, saw, sugar, and most other mills; to rice machines, indigo works, and cotton gins—The water for this mill may be taken either from a natural stream, a pond, or a well.

Models of the boiler, water-works and mills are now in this city; and we learn with pleasure that the latter hath repeatedly performed, to the admiration and entire satisfaction of many respectable characters who attended the experiments.

On Friday, the 8th of August last, a party of armed men, consisting of thirty-one, under the command of captain John Fain, left Houlston station, on Nine-Mile-Creek, and crossed the river Tenasee, about eight or nine miles distant, in order to gather apples in the vicinity of an Indian town called Cittico, lately abandoned by the Cherokees. The Indians suffered them to pass the river unopposed, and immediately, unperceived by our people, took possession of the ford they had crossed, likewise another at a small distance above. By this time some of our people were in the orchard, and some on the trees gathering fruit, when they were suddenly attacked by a body of the savages, on all quarters. This sudden and unex-

pefied alarm threw them into the utmoft confufion, fo that every man, who did not immediately fall, endeavoured to make a retreat ; but the favages being in poffeffion of the fording places, a number took the river, and, while endeavouring to efcape, by swimming, feveral were killed and wounded ; the latter were purfued, and moft of them fell a facrifice to favage barbarity.

The following is a lift of the unfortunate men killed and wounded :—

**KILLED**—John Fain, captain ; Caleb Jones, Joſeph Alexander, Van Piercefield, William Lang, Jonathan Dean, John Brannon, William Engliſh, John Medlock, Robert Huſton, George Mathew, Ifaac Anderſon, Charles Payne, Luther Johnſon, Hermon Gregg, George Bulv.

**WOUNDED**—Eliſha Haddon, John Kirk, Thomas Brown,——Bullock.

*September 21.* Weſtern intelligence as late as Auguſt 15, informs, that a party of 40 men, under the command of major Thomas Stuart, having unguardedly croſſed the Tenafſee, at Chota ford, were, on reaching the further bank, attacked by a large body of Indians, ſuppoſed to be between one and two hundred. Our people fired ſeveral times, but being overpowered by numbers, they endeavoured to retreat back acroſs the river ; the Indians by this time had got in their rear, and ſuch as eſcaped had to ride through a heavy fire, in the river and on the hither bank. Our loſs is great, upwards of 20 are yet miſſing, and ſeveral wounded ; among the killed is young Kirk, who was ſo active againſt the Indians ſince the commencement of the preſent diſturbances. Col. Anthony Bledſoe was killed on Cumberland river, by a ſmall party of marauding Indians.

For the encouragement of American literature and genius, it is reſolved by the corporation of Providence college, that a particular part of the library room ſhall be appropriated for the purpoſe of depoſiting the works of American authors.

In the new jail at Chelmsford, in England, there are now conſtructing different cells for ſolitary imprifonment. Eight are already built ; thirty-two are to be added. In each there

is a wooden receptacle for a bed, a iron baſon for water, a chain in the middle of the floor, which is to be faſtened to the priſoner's leg, and the light is to be let in from the top only of window. Three times a day they are to be viſited by the turnkey, who is to bring their neceſſary bread ; and beyond that—all human intercourſe is to be denied them.

A letter from L'Orient, dated July 17, ſays, “ In this unfortunate and unhappy country we cannot depend upon any thing. The king is now at war with his ſubjects, and there are many regiments of infantry that have reſuſed to ſerve him againſt their country. The peaſantry begin to collect in formidable bodies, and have offered a large reward for the head of the intendant of the city of Rennes, who has had the good luck to eſcape.

“ Every thing at preſent ſeems to have a melancholy aſpect ; the minds of the people are much irritated. This has continued theſe three months and we do not know when or how it will end. Thus we behold the conſequences of a bad adminiſtration !”

We learn that the Indians at Niagara are ſo jealous and troubleſome, as to render the ſituation of the ſettlers there extremely uncomfortable and dangerous. Grain is plenty, but there is no market, for want of any tolerable cheap way of getting it down to a ſea port.

Captain Thomas Reed, in the ſhip *All ance*, bound to China, ſailed from Philadelphia in the month of June 1787, and arrived at Canton the 22d day December in the ſame year, having navigated in a route as yet unpractiſed by any other ſhip. Taking ſoundings off the Cape of Good Hope, he ſteered to the ſouth-eaſtward, encircling all the eaſtern and ſouthern iſlands of the Indian Ocean, paſſing the South Cape of New Holland : and on their paſſage northward again towards Canton, between the latitude of 7 and 4 degrees ſouth, and between the longitude of 156 and 160 degrees eaſt, they diſcovered a number of iſlands, the inhabitants of which were black, with curled or woolly hair :—among theſe iſlands, they had no ſoundings. About the lat. of 8 degrees north, and in the latitude of 160 de

rees east, they discovered two other lands inhabited by a brown people, with straight black hair. These islands appeared to be very fertile and much cultivated; and by the behaviour of the inhabitants, the ship's company were induced to believe they were the first discoverers; one of them they named Morris island, the other Alliance island. They did not land on any of them. These discoveries were made in the month of November.

The officers of the European ships from China were astonished to find a vessel arriving at that season of the year, and with eagerness and pleasure examined the track of their voyage.

In coasting near New Holland, they had the winds generally from S. W. and blowing strong, with a great deal of rain.

They finished their voyage by arriving again at Philadelphia on the 17th September 1788, having returned by the usual route of the European ships, until they were in the Atlantic ocean.

September 30. This day, the bill for holding the election for eight representatives in congress, and ten electors of a president of the united states, was enacted into a law. The elections are to be held on the last Wednesday of November. The elections are to be at the usual places for voting for assemblymen and councillors, and the candidates are to be taken at the option of the voters, from every part of the state. This mode of electing the members of the house of representatives, it was thought, was the only one that could have been adopted, without violating the constitution of the united states.

This day the general assembly of the commonwealth elected the hon. William Maclay and Robert Morris, judges, representatives for this state in the federal senate. Every Pennsylvanian must feel a high satisfaction in this respectable representation of the landed and commercial interests of this state.

We hear that the methodists (now numerous and growing sect of christians in America) have borne a strong testimony in their late meetings against the use of spiritous liquors, and that out of near forty thousand persons who are in union with them, there is

not a single man who carries on, or is concerned in, those manufactories of liquid fire, commonly called distilleries.

A letter from Hillsborough, North-Carolina, dated August 7, says, "General Martin marches the 20th inst. with the olive branch in one hand, and a strong detachment of the Holflein militia (that is to say) the sword in the other, against the Chickamawgee towns—Another detachment goes from Kentucky, at the same time, to act in conjunction with him; so that there is a great probability of exterminating those implacable pests to society this fall."



*By the united states in congress assembled, September 13, 1788.*

Whereas the convention assembled in Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution of congress of the 21st February, 1787, did, on the 17th of September in the same year, report to the united states in congress assembled, a constitution for the people of the united states; whereupon congress on the 28th of the same September, did resolve unanimously, "That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case:" And whereas the constitution so reported by the convention, and by congress transmitted to the several legislatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be sufficient for the establishment of the same, and such ratifications duly authenticated have been received by congress, and are filed in the office of the secretary—therefore,

*Resolved,* That the first Wednesday in January next, be the day for appointing electors in the several states, which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next, be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next, be the time, and the present seat of congress the place for commencing proceedings under the said constitution.

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## AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For OCTOBER, 1788.

*emarks on a resolve of congress, for raising troops, passed October 20, 1786. Ascribed to baron S——*

**A**MONG the many imperfections of a republic, it is said to be not one of the smallest that very often the secrets of the state are too easily penetrated; the least extraordinary motion of a statesman or a minister, gives rise to conjecture. This is pretty general, with only this difference, that at Versailles, Madrid, or Vienna, the courtiers and politicians whisper in a corner, whereas at Amsterdam or London, they conjecture loud at the change, coffee-house, or the tavern.

In republics, the operations of ministers are frequently analyzed in public papers, and thereby the most secret designs are very often discovered. This indiscretion sometimes produces evil, sometimes good effects; a stratagem or a secret expedition may be immediately discovered, and thereby defeated; but now and then by this same indiscretion, cunning and ill designed schemes may be exposed to view; when the discovery is fortunate, and it becomes the duty of a citizen to promulgate it.

We are very raw and inexperienced in the business of republicans, or rather we are too supine and indolent to watch over our rights and liberties. The farmer dozes until he is awakened by the tax gatherer; the merchant until the avenues of commerce are shut; the tradesman until misery is at his heels—but we pay men to watch for us; they do watch, it is true; but for what purposes? Let us at least make use of the privilege of investigating what happens about us: although the secret proceedings of congress are inaccessible to our view, surely, when the drum beats, we may be permitted to ask, what means the noise?

Now the trumpet sounds—the temple of Janus is opened—legions are to

be raised—but where is the enemy? From what part is the empire threatened? There lies the secret, and since no one's curiosity has yet excited him to the enquiry, let us take the liberty to conjecture.

The British have not given up our western posts; the Spaniards contest the navigation of the Mississippi; and the Dutch may perhaps ask payment of the several sums they have lent us: France, more generous, will do us no harm. The Algerines capture our vessels; certain tribes of Indians discover hostile dispositions; and finally there are some little disturbances in Massachusetts. Let us now see where the thunder will strike.

These preparations for war, cannot be against the English, for reasons which prudence dictates to pass in silence: however, if a reason must be assigned, let us say because the plenipotentiary of that court, has the honour to be son-in-law to his excellency the governor of Massachusetts. This reason, I acknowledge, is a very poor one: but in our days we are used to pretexts not less absurd.

Are these preparations against Spain? It is true, they have possessions where gold and silver abound, the only articles we want to put our mint in immediate motion; but Mr. Adams, our minister, being now at Madrid, to sign a treaty with that nation, it cannot be Spain that we are preparing to attack.

Now to the Hollanders—a moderate orator, who never was in Holland, prudently observes, “That those people do not understand trifling in money matters.” However, as they are at present occupied with some little domestic affairs, we will venture to presume that they will not immediately wage war against us. It would therefore be rather premature in us, to raise troops now, to oppose their pretensions, upon a presumption that they may call for payment.

America returned from the miseries of civil contention, exile, and poverty; to what? to peace, order, and domestic security? to the enjoyment of riches, honour, and the prospect of security, under a permanent government? is this the case? or is it not rather to tumult, disorder, and faction? to poverty, dishonour, and the miserable view of a government, floating on the waves of popular opinion? Let a short state of our present situation make reply. A commercial nation without power to regulate its trade—a free people insulted by enemies they have conquered—an excellent government destroyed by faction—an extensive empire trembling at the approach of some naked savages—form too humiliating a picture for the eyes of those who love their country's honour. And yet, as if these evils were not sufficient, Bellifarius would add to them, that of suspecting the only body from whose deliberations we may hope for relief; his suspicions seem to have taken the alarm, from the vote of congress for raising troops, and from the speech of a member of that body, to the legislature of Massachusetts.

Preparations are making for war, says Bellifarius. Let us examine against whom it is to be declared—his different conjectures then pass in quick succession before us, like the figures in a juggler's magic glass, until the view rests on the commotions in Massachusetts; on this picture he dwells with pleasure, and in the language of irony insults the distresses of a neighbouring state. If Bellifarius is a New-Yorker, let him not rejoice too soon.

*"Jam proximus ardet Ucaligon."* The same fire may spread; our government is similar to that of Massachusetts, and who knows how soon her case may be our own?

What are the reasons against a war with Britain, which prudence dictates to be kept secret, I know not. The one assigned is too ridiculous for animadversion—if Bellifarius is intrusted with this secret of state, why is he ignorant of the other?

Let us also conjecture, and try, if, combining two of his suppositions, we cannot form a probable idea of the destination of this new raised corps.

Those who are acquainted with the British spirit, and the implacable

hatred that nation bears to this, will not be at a loss to account for the present Indian war—the English have ever boasted of their influence in the savage councils, and if friendship founded on a conformity of sentiment firm indeed must their alliance be. The loss of America still rankles the heart of every trueborn Englishman, and though they could not conquer, they will at least distress.

If then it should be the intention of Great-Britain to act in concert with her old allies, we shall have stronger reasons against a war than the certificate of Mr. Temple's marriage, to prevent our measures for defence.

But Bellifarius says it is absurd to raise troops in Massachusetts to fight on the Ohio. But is he ignorant of the chain of British posts, and of the Indian nations on the western front of this state? and would not even American charge congress with a criminal neglect, if measures were not taken for our defence?

I reprobate as much as Bellifarius can do, the idea held up (in the speech before alluded to) of the neighbouring states being obliged to support a governmental minority against a majority of citizens who wish for a change. This position is subversive of the great principles of political free agency, which our constitutions are formed on, and one cannot avoid wondering, that this idea (with some others on which I may hereafter remark) could have originated with one who has hitherto been justly regarded as a patriot, orator, and statesman of distinguished abilities.

But we ought at the same time to be careful not to charge congress with sentiments uttered in the inspiration of eloquence by one of its members.

T A M M A N Y.

New York, Nov. 2, 1786.



Remarks on the foregoing reply.

THIS morning I took an opportunity to visit my old friend Bellifarius, and after a few minutes conversation on common place subjects the old man asked me if I had seen the letter signed Tammany—I told him I had; and who is Tammany, said the blind man; Tammany, said I, is the tutelary saint and patron of America; to my shame, I confess, I

lied the old man, I am but little acquainted with the saints ; however may read what he says. I took up the letter which lay on the table, and read on until I came to this expression, “ Bellifarius adds an evil to the humiliating picture of our country, by suspecting the only body from whose deliberations we might hope for redress ;” heaven forbid, exclaimed the old man, rising from his seat. Heaven forbid, that I should even in the least add an evil to a country so very dear to me ! It is said that saints cannot be mistaken. But St. Tammany certainly misunderstood my meaning in this instance ; and hath not one justice to the feelings of my heart. It is not in my nature to create suspicion in others, where I entertain none myself. I never suspected congress of a deception ; but I lament to have seen them so often deceived. I appeal to you, my friend, continued Bellifarius ; how often, how unreservedly have I declared my opinion to you on this subject, that the salvation of this country, its prosperity, and lustre depended entirely on supporting the dignity, the honour, and the credit of congress ? How often have we lamented to see the most efficacious measures of that honourable body obstructed and defeated by the partial jealousy and local interests of individual states ? How frequently, and how justly have we applauded the sentiments of our late commander in chief, expressed in his circular letter to the several states in the union ? How much have we been chagrined at seeing his disinterested and patriotic sentiments so disregarded by some of our politicians, who, with a systematic perseverance, labour to deprive congress of that authority, which is the corner stone of our political existence ? and now, my friend, these very men, these very politicians, who so lately and so violently opposed this system, who so deliberately disarmed congress of that power, so necessary to their preservation, are the first to cry out, help ! help ! as I do, when I lose my stick. When a modest man falls, I am ready to help him up ; but when the proud and self important man tumbles, I confess it has not the same effect upon me. It struck me, and I wrote—but after a more ma-

ture consideration, I said to myself—may congress yet be able to give them a timely and effectual assistance—and may this be a lesson to the other states to convince them of the necessity of strengthening the powers of our federal government before it be too late ! amen—what could St. Tammany have said more ? But at the same time, I with this assistance to be obtained in a fair and candid manner—it is equally the characteristic of a great mind to acknowledge an error, as to reclaim it—but let us never mistake tricks for stratagem, or cunning for politics.

Bellifarius bid me read on—but when I came to this passage, “ In the language of irony insults the distressed of a sinner state”—stop ! says he—this indeed would be ungenerous—I never insulted the distressed of a child—of a man—no not of an enemy—much less of a people I love. Methinks as the old man uttered these last words, I saw the tears of sensibility glisten in his eye. After a long pause—no, said he—by heaven I never did :—could my sword be of any service to them, soon would I convince them of my attachment—but I would address them in a language like this—my friends, have you so soon forgotten the motives which impelled you to take up arms in defence of your liberties ? are the hardships, dangers, and distresses of a bloody seven years war so soon effaced from your remembrance ? how often have you offered up the most fervent prayers to God, to grant you the blessings of peace, and to establish this very government, which in a fit of phrenzy you are now ready to overturn, and which never will be placed within your reach again—recollect yourselves for a moment—consider the consequences, and you will be struck with terror—the abuses which may have crept into your administration, can doubtless be corrected, without overturning the fundamental principles of your government—have them corrected—it is within your own power, but let them be corrected in a legal constitutional manner—if you are dissatisfied with the conduct of some men, be they ever so high in office—dismiss them, and appoint others ; this is the inestimable privilege of freemen. Be alike aware of

dangers from abroad and at home, and destroy not the edifice of freedom which you yourselves have erected at the expence of so much blood and treasure—if your taxes are too burdensome, they may—they can—they must be lessened—it is not the want of resources, but the want of a well regulated administration, which is the cause of your present complaints—you have been misled to acquiesce in wrong measures, and you now feel the effects of them—inveigle those measures—adopt better, and rigorously execute them—be industrious, sober, and moderate—enact salutary laws, and then revere them—support your government with dignity, and no people under heaven will or can be more happy than you are. This is the language I would speak to the poor : and to the rich and powerful, I would venture to declare that their wealth and happiness depended on the industrious labour of the poor, who for this reason were entitled to a proper respect and attention—the difference of property makes no difference of dignity in a republic—that property in itself excites less envy, than the ostentatious abuse of it—that in times of calamity, a display of accumulated treasure, to the eyes of men who suffer for want, is an insult to human nature—that when to this is added an insolent pride and haughtiness, the possessor becomes the object of disgust and execration. But on the contrary shew a becoming modesty in your conduct, and moderation even in your expences ; by this and this alone you will attach the people to a republican government ; no gasconades in men high in office. True dignity does not consist in ostentation. I would request them to read the history of former revolutions, and there they will find that most of them originated from the insolence of men in public stations—William Tell and his countrymen paid their tax to the house of Austria—they were poor, but were contented—but when an haughty governor imposed upon them the humiliating ridicule, of saluting a cap fixed on a pole, they revolted and overturned the government—Cardinal Granville, the son of a blacksmith, and prime minister to Philip the second, accelerated

the revolt of the Netherland more by his pride and arrogance, than the cruel duke of Alba, and the bloody ministers of the inquisition. Do not ask me for an explanation—examine your own public papers printed at Boston—mark the exaggerated description of every trifling circumstance—the multiplied titles unbecoming a republican government, and for which former precedent pleads no excuse. Subjects and republicans are different characters—view the arms of your carriages, decorated with all the splendid ensigns of chivalry, encircled even with the ducal mantle—liberty is pleaded in excuse for this—is it without ostentation ? And can you believe that extravagancies like these do not create dissatisfaction among a thinking people ? In times of prosperity they may laugh at it—but in the hour of distress, they will spurn at it. I would cheerfully assist in punishing the man who would violently deprive you of your carriage because it is your property—you pay for it—but if he was to crape the ducal mantle, it would only excite no laughter.

But consider particularly the offensive expressions contained in the accounts of the present disturbance extracted from a Boston paper. I ask you wish for a reconciliation ? if you do, be more indulgent—be more moderate—consider that, as republican modesty and moderation are the qualities necessary to preserve the blessings of our government. This would I address them, and then I would join the hand of the poor as the hand of the rich in my left hand and in my right hand would I grasp my sword, and say—now, my friends where are our enemies ? So saying Bellisarius took his stick, and walked into the garden.

I instantly returned to town, and committed his sentiments to writing

A POOR SOLDIER.



*A series of letters on education.*

*(Continued from page 220.)*

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING now finished what I proposed to say on the means of establishing and preserving auth



ity, I shall proceed to another very important branch of the subject, and beg your particular attention to it, viz. Example. Do not, however, suppose that I mean to enter on that well beaten of all topics, the influence of example in general, or to write a dissertation on the common saying, that 'example teaches better than precept.' An able writer, doubtless, might set even this in some new lights, and make it a strong argument with every good man to pay the strictest attention to his visible conduct. What we see every day has a constant and powerful, though insensible influence, on our temper and carriage. Hence arise national characters and national manners, and every characteristic distinction of age or place. But of this I have already said enough.

Neither is it my purpose to put you in mind of the importance of example to enforce instruction, or of the shameful of a man's pretending to teach others what he despises himself. This ought in the strongest manner to be laid before pastors and other public persons, who often defeat habitually by their lives, what they attempt to do occasionally in the execution of their office. If there remained the least suspicion of your being of that character, these letters would have been quite in another strain. I believe there are some persons of very irregular lives, who have so much natural light in their consciences, that they would be grieved or perhaps offended, if their children should tread exactly in their own steps: but even these, and much less others, who are more hardened, can never be expected to undertake or carry on the system of education, we are now endeavouring to illustrate. Suffer me, however, before I proceed, to make one remark: when I have heard of parents who have been watched by their own children, when drunk, and taken care of, lest they should meet with injury or hurtful accidents—or whose intemperate rage and horrid blasphemies, have, without scruple, been exposed both to children and servants—or who, as has been sometimes the case, were scarcely at the pains to conceal their criminal amours, even from their own offspring—I have often reflected on the degree of impiety in principle, or

fearfulness of conscience, or both united, necessary to support them in such circumstances. Let us leave all such with a mixture of pity and disdain.

By mentioning example, therefore, as an important and necessary branch of the education of children, I have chiefly in view a great number of particulars, which, separately taken, are, or at least are supposed to be, of little moment; yet by their union or frequent repetition, produce important and lasting effects. I have also in view to include all that class of actions, in which there is, or may be, a coincidence between the duties of piety and politeness, and by means of which the one is incorporated with the other. These are to be introduced under the head of example, because they will appear there to best advantage, and because many of them can hardly be taught or understood in any other way.

This, I apprehend, you will readily approve of, because, though you justly consider religion as the most essentially necessary qualification, you mean at the same time that your children should be fitted for an appearance becoming their station in the world. It is also the more necessary, as many are apt to disjoin wholly the ideas of piety and politeness, and to suppose them not only distinct, but incompatible. This is a dangerous snare to many parents, who think there is no medium between the grossest rusticity, and giving way to all the vanity and extravagance of a dissipated life. Persons truly pious have often by their conduct given countenance to this mistake. By a certain narrowness of sentiment and behaviour, they have become themselves, and rendered their children, unfit for a general intercourse with mankind, or the public duties of an active life.

You know, sir, as much as any man, how contrary my opinion and conduct have been upon this subject. I cannot help thinking that true religion is not only consistent with, but is necessary to the perfection of true politeness. There is a noble sentiment to this purpose illustrated at considerable length in the Portroyal essays, viz. "That worldly politeness is no more than an imitation or imperfect copy of christian charity, being the pre-

“tence or outward appearance, of  
 “that deference to the judgment, and  
 “attention to the interest of others,  
 “which a true christian has as the  
 “rule of his life, and the disposition  
 “of his heart\*.” I have at present  
 in my mind the idea of certain persons, whom you will easily guess at, of the first quality; one or two of the male, and twice that number at least of the female sex, in whom piety and high station are united. What a sweetness and complacency of countenance, what a condescension and gentleness of manners, arising from the humility of the gospel being joined to the refined elegance inseparable from their circumstances in life!

Be pleased to follow me to the other extreme of human society. Let us go to the remotest cottage of the wildest country, and visit the family that inhabits it. If they are pious, there is a certain humanity and goodwill attending their simplicity, which makes it highly agreeable. There is also a decency in their sentiments, which, flowing from the dictates of conscience, is as pleasing in all respects as the restraint imposed by the rules of good-breeding, with which the persons here in view have little opportunity of being acquainted. On the contrary, unbred country people, when without principle, have generally a savageness and brutality in their carriage, as contrary to good manners as to piety itself. No one has a better opportunity of making observations of this kind, than I have from my office and situation, and I can assure you, that religion is the great polisher of the common people. It even enlarges their understandings as to other things. Having been accustomed to exercise their judgment and

reflexion on religious subjects, they are capable of talking more sensibly on agriculture, politics, or any common topic of indifferent conversation.

Let me not forget to speak of the middle ranks of life. Here, also, I scruple not to affirm, that whatever sphere a man has been bred in, or attained to, religion is not an injury but an addition to the politeness of his carriage. They seem indeed to confess their relation to one another, by their reciprocal influence. In promiscuous conversation, as true religion contributes to make men decent or courteous, so true politeness guards them effectually from any outrage against piety or purity. If I were unhappily thrown into mixed or dangerous company, I should not apprehend any thing improper for me to hear from the most wicked man, but from the greatest clown. I have known gentlemen who were infidels in principle, and whose lives, I had reason to believe, were privately very bad yet in conversation they were guarded, decent, and improving; whereas if there come into company a rough unpolished, country gentleman, no man can promise that he will not break out into some prophane exclamation or obscene allusion, which it would be wrong to attribute to impiety, so much as to rudeness and want of reflexion.

I have been already too long in this introduction, and in giving the reason for what I propose shall make a part of this branch of the subject, and yet I must make another preliminary remark: there is the greater necessity for uniting piety and politeness in the system of family example, that as piety by that means inculcated with the greatest advantage, so politeness can scarcely be attained in any other way. It is very rare that persons reach a higher degree of politeness, than what they have been formed to in the families of their parents and other near relations. True politeness does not consist in dress, or a few motions of the body, but in a habit of sentiment and conversation: the first may be learned from a master, and in a little time; the last only by a long and constant intercourse with those who possess, and are therefore able to impart it. As the difficulty is certainly greatest with the female sex, because the

#### NOTE.

\* The authors of these essays, commonly called by writers who make mention of them, the gentlemen of Port-Royal, were a society of Jansenists in France, who used to meet at that place; all of whom were eminent for literature, and many of them of high rank, as will be evident by mentioning the names of Pascal, Arnaud, and the prince of Conti. The last was the author of the essay from which the above remark is taken.

ve fewer opportunities of being abroad in the world, I shall take an ample room from among them. Suppose a man of low birth living in the country, by industry and parsimony has become wealthy, and has a daughter to whom he desires to give a genteel education. He sends her to your city to a boarding-school, for the other which is nearer me, you are pleased not to think sufficient for that purpose. She will speedily learn to buy expensive and fashionable clothes, and most probably be in the very height and extravagance of the fashion, one of the best signs of a vulgar taste. She may be, if her capacity is tolerable, get rid of her rustic air and carriage; and, it be better than ordinary, learn to discourse upon whatever topic is then in vogue, and comes in immediately on the weather, which is the beginning of all conversation. But as her residence is only for a time, she returns home; where she can see or hear nothing but as before. Must she not relapse speedily into the same largeness of sentiment, and perhaps the same provincial dialect, to which she had been accustomed from her youth? Neither is it impossible that she may still retain as much of the ceremonial, as by the incongruous mixture, will render her ridiculous. There is but one single way of escape, which we have seen some young women of merit and capacity take, which is to contract an intimacy with persons of liberal sentiments and high breeding, and be as little among their relations as possible. I have given this description to convince you that it is in their father's house, and in the conversation and manners to which they are there accustomed, that children must be formed to politeness, as well as to virtue. I carry this matter so far, that I think it a disadvantage to be bred too high, as well as too low. I do not desire, and have always declined any opportunities given me of having my children reside long in families of high rank. I was afraid they would contract an air and manner unsuitable to what was to be their condition for the remainder of their lives. I would wish to give my children as just, as noble, and as elegant sentiments as possible, to fit them for

rational conversation; but a dress and carriage suited to their station, and not inconsistent with the meekness of the gospel.

Though the length of this digression, or explanatory introduction, has made it impossible to say much in this letter on forming children's character and manners by example, before I conclude I will give one direction which is pretty comprehensive. Give the utmost attention to the manner of receiving and entertaining strangers in your family, as well as to your sentiments and expressions with regard to them when they are gone. I am fully persuaded, that the plainest and shortest road to real politeness of carriage, and the most amiable sort of hospitality, is to think of others just as a christian ought, and to express these thoughts with modesty and candor. This will keep you at an equal distance from a surly and morose carriage on the one hand, and a fawning cringing obsequiousness, or unnecessary compliment and ceremony, on the other. As these are circumstances to which children in early life are very attentive, and which occur constantly in their presence, it is of much moment what sentiments they imbibe from the behaviour of their parents. I do not mean only their learning from them an ease and dignity of carriage, or the contrary; but also, some moral or immoral habits of the last consequence. If they perceive you happy and lifted up with the visit or countenance of persons of high rank, solicitous to entertain them properly, submissive and flattering in your manner of speaking to them, vain and apt to boast of your connexion with them: and if, on the contrary, they perceive you hardly civil to persons of inferior station or narrow circumstances, impatient of their company, and immediately seizing the opportunity of their departure to despise or expose them: will not this naturally lead the young mind to consider riches and high station as the great sources of earthly happiness? Will it not give a strong bias to their whole desires and studies, as well as visibly affect their behaviour to others in social life. Do not think that this is too nice and refined; the first impressions upon young persons, though inconsiderable in

themselves, have often a great as well as lasting effect.

I remember to have read, many years ago, in the archbishop of Cambray's education of a daughter, an advice to parents to let their children perceive that they esteem others, not according to their station or outward splendor, but their virtue and real worth. It must be acknowledged that there are some marks of respect due to men, according to their place in civil life, which a good man would not fail to give them, even for conscience sake. But it is an easy matter, in perfect consistency with this, by more frequent voluntary intercourse, as well as by our usual manner of speaking, to pay that homage which is due to piety, and to express our contempt or indignation at vice, or meanness, of every kind. I think it no inconsiderable addition to this remark, that we should be as cautious of estimating *happiness* as *virtue* by outward station; and keep at the same distance from envying as from flattering the great.

But what I must particularly recommend to you, is, to avoid that common but detestable custom of receiving persons with courtesy, and all the marks of real friendship in your house; and the moment they are gone, falling upon their character and conduct with unmerciful severity. I am sensible there are some cases, though they are not numerous, in which it may be lawful to say of others behind their back, what it would be at least imprudent or unsafe to say in their own presence. Neither would I exclude parents from the advantage of pointing out to their children the mistakes and vices of others, as a warning or lesson of instruction to themselves. Yet as detraction in general is to be avoided at all times; so of all others, the most improper season to speak of any man's prejudice, is, after you have just received and treated him in a hospitable manner, as a friend. There is something mean in it, and something too nearly allied to hypocrisy and dissimulation, that I would not choose to act such a part even to those whom I would take another opportunity of pointing out to my children, as persons whose conversation they should avoid, and whose conduct they should abhor.

In every station, and among ranks, this rule is often transgressed; but there is one point in which it more frequently and more universally transgressed than in any other, and that is by turning the absent into ridicule, for any thing odd or awkward in their behaviour. I am sorry to find that this is an indecorum that prevails in several families of high rank. A man of inferior station, for some particular reason is admitted to the company. He is perhaps not well acquainted with the rules of politeness, and the presence of his superiors, which he is unaccustomed, increases his embarrassment. Immediately on his departure, a petulant boy or girl will set about mimicking his motions and repeating his phrases, to the great entertainment of the company who apparently derive much satisfaction from a circumstance which there is no merit at all. If a person renders himself justly ridiculous, by affecting a character which is unable to sustain, let him be treated with the contempt he deserves. If there is something very ungenerous in people treating their inferiors with disdain, merely because the same providence that made their ancestors great, left the others in a lower sphere.

It has often given me great indignation to see a gentleman or his wife of real worth, good understanding, but simple manners, despised and ridiculed for a defect which they cannot remedy, and that often by persons the most insignificant and frivolous who never uttered a sentence in their lives that deserved to be remembered or repeated. But if this conduct is ungenerous in the great, how disgusting is it to see the same disposition carried down through all the inferior ranks, and sneering itself in a silly triumph of every class over those who are supposed to be below them? I have known many persons, whose station was not superior to mine, to take great pleasure in expressing their contempt of *vulgar ideas* and *low life*, and even a tradesman's wife in a city glorying over the unpolished manners of her country acquaintance.

Upon the whole, as there is no disposition to which young persons are more prone than derision, or, as the author I cited above, Mr. Fenel-

expresses it, *un esprit mequeur et aîn*—and how that parents are more apt to cherish—under the idea of its being a sign of sprightliness and vivacity—there is none which a pious and prudent parent should take greater care to restrain by admonition, and destroy by a contrary example. I am,

Sir, &c.

[ To be continued. ]



queries, and answers thereto, respecting marriage. The former by an anonymous writer. The latter by the rev. dr. John Wither-  
spoon.

1 IS it lawful, or consistent with the common rights of society, to enter the band of marriage before publication of the bans be made to the several societies, civil or religious, &c.?

Answer. The only difficulty here must arise from the ambiguity of the word "lawful." Let us therefore consider it fully. Marriage is, doubtless, an ordinance of the Creator, and part of natural law; and in this view hath a great number of requisites or conditions, without which it cannot be lawful: such as, that the parties be free, or single persons—that the consent be mutual—that both parties be of only *competes mentis*, but of an age sufficient to give rational consent—that they be not within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity—and some others. Nothing can be more evident than that a marriage, contracted where any one of these conditions is wanting, must be highly criminal, and in all or most of the cases, is to be considered as in itself void: nor does it make any difference whether it be with or without proclamation of bans, with or without a licence, or whether the solemnity is performed by a clergyman or a layman. There is even another class of conditions, the want of which makes a marriage either wholly unlawful or so highly inexpedient, that it will be hard to say whether it ought to be called barely imprudent. Perhaps it would be speaking with as great propriety to say, that though human laws cannot, or ought not, to prevent or dissolve a marriage in such cases, yet it is truly criminal in the sight of God: such as, when one of

the parties is known to have broken contract with another—when there is an extreme difference of age—when there are known to be on either side incurable diseases, and such as will infect the offspring—and many others. It is probably with a view to these, that the maxim is laid down by canonists, *Multa impediunt matrimonium contrahendum, quæ nondimunt contractum*; i. e. Many things are just objections to marriage before it be made, that will not dissolve it after. Now, the querist must be sensible, that none of all these have any connexion with the word lawful, as used in his query. I have only mentioned them, that the distinction between them and what follows, might be the more clear.

Marriage, then, besides its being part of natural law, holds a place of the full importance in the social compact. It is the radical relation from which all others take their rise. Therefore the society have a right to know when and with whom marriage is contracted. Nay, it is both the right and the duty of the governing part of every society, to lay down the way by which a marriage shall be known, and be considered as legal. In order to prevent causeless separations, to ascertain the legitimacy of the offspring, and determine the right of succession. Thus far the civil power interferes, and the proclamation of bans, licence, or any prescribed rites of solemnization, are for no other purpose. The question, therefore, proposed above, is, as civilians say, a question not of right, but of fact. In any civil society, where proclamation of bans is required by law, it is unlawful to omit it, nor will it be omitted by a conscientious person, even where the execution of the law is so slack, that little danger is to be apprehended from the neglect. Much the same thing is to be said of a licence; if the law requires it, doubtless it ought to be taken; if otherwise, or if no penalty attends the want of it, probably very few will give themselves any trouble about it.

The difficulty that perplexes many persons, arises from the following circumstance: in some countries, particularly in North-Britain (not in South), and, so far as I have obser-

ved, in most provinces of America, the law is by far too lax upon this point. A marriage, which afterwards by public notoriety, becomes sufficiently valid to oblige the parties to adhere, and to legitimate their offspring, may yet be contracted at first, without any form almost whatever, and in the most secret manner. This is attended by many bad consequences, as it gives an opportunity for causeless and wanton separations, encourages rash marriages, and particularly the seduction of young women, without the knowledge and consent of their parents. An obscure apprehension of these bad consequences, makes the thing in some degree, of ill fame, but not enough so to hinder the frequent practice. One remedy for this is, that particular religious societies should make rules upon the subject, for their own members. This several of them, I believe, do. The chief thing they are to attend to, is, that the rules be very plain and very reasonable in themselves; otherwise, having nothing but religious discipline to enforce them, such nominal professors of their party as have no real religion, will not be easily held by them.

To the first question, then, after the way is thus paved, I answer, that every well regulated society, civil and religious, ought to have certain clear and plain rules for ascertaining marriages, and thereby establishing an important relation in the social state. Religious societies ought to content themselves with the rules laid down by the civil law, where they are tolerable, and add to them where they are weak; where neither the one nor the other have taken sufficient care, judicious and prudent persons ought to give such a degree of solemnity and notoriety to their marriages, as to remove all suspicion of fraud, and prevent all possibility of after deceit. Publication of bans is one of the best means of doing this, both in its own nature, and from the long practice of it in the christian church. It is therefore among us expedient, not necessary.

Q. 2. Is not the authoritative consent of the supreme magistrate, commonly called a licence, only given upon supposition of publication having been made, as aforesaid?

Answer. A licence is supposed to be given after such enquiry as to guard against the same bad effects which proclamation is intended to prevent. Since, however, many of the persons entrusted with giving out licences, may be ignorant, careless, or unfaithful, it is a much worse way than the former. As things now stand, he is an injurious minister or magistrate, who would marry persons wholly unknown to him, merely upon a licence.

Q. 3. Why is marriage in the cences termed holy matrimony?

Ans. I do not know, certainly, and it is not worth while to enquire because, whether the language is proper or not, it is the same thing in effect. It is possible, and even probable, that the expression has been handed down to us from the church of Rome, where marriage is considered as a sacrament. This, however, can be no cause of scruple to any considerate man, for it is the governing language, and not his. The far greater number of persons enter into the state with principles and views much less holy than they ought.

Q. 4. The administration of the marriage vow is the dispensation of civil privilege. In what sense is the service performed by a minister? as officer of the church or state?

Ans. The marriage vow itself is not a civil privilege, but a most sacred personal obligation, on taking possession of a natural right. The manner in which, and the person by whom it is publicly solemnized, are subject to the order of society, civil or ecclesiastical, or both. Either of them may make use of the minister as its officer or substitute, because he is a fellow-christian and fellow-citizen, as well as a minister. It is extremely suitable that marriage should be accompanied with exhortation and prayer, because there is no act a man does, or obligation he enters into, in his whole life on which his happiness, spiritual and temporal, so much depends. If, however, scruples making use of a minister in this service, it is not essential in itself, nor is it absolutely required by law in this part of the world. I am,

Yours, &c.

EPAMINONDAS

## A T T I C U S.

*(Continued from page 224.)*

## No. IV. Remarks on names.

*It is doing some service to human society, to amuse innocently.*WEST'S *preface* to PINDAR.

IT seems probable that at the first assumption of surnames, a simple addition was made to the father or mother's first name, as among the English, *son* was joined thereto; the Irish and Scotch prefixed *Mac* and *Mc*, the Welch *Ap*, the French *Du* and *Fils*. And it's not unlikely that all such as any way relate to such parts of farming and trades, as were then known, and to religion, or to winds, fishes, birds, and beasts, might begin about the same time. Whether those that are the names of towns, villages, and noted places, had the same origin or not, we are much in the dark; for most writers on the subject, but have fallen in any way, seem to build upon conjectures only. Camden says, that surnames in England were taken up before the conquest, but that they were never fully established, 'till the time of Edward the second.—It is also said, that in domesday book (which was made in the reign of William the conqueror) a few names have an addition, with *De* prefixed; but the inferior people are noted simply by their christian names, without any surnames at all.

In these days, we frequently meet with the prenomens, or last name, which must, without doubt, have been invented in later times, and conferred or taken up, from some circumstances attending their parents, or their birth, or from whim or accident.

Several of the Roman authors mention, with a kind of veneration, the propriety of giving what they call fortunate names. We are happily free from that sort of superstition. And if they had seen the name of Pitt belong to a man, who, besides attaining to the highest confidence of his prince, is so much and so deservedly the darling of millions of his fellow-subjects, it would probably have contributed to remove their mistake; for they could not have imagined any good omen in the name.

But though we do not now expect

people's names to be in any shape significant either of their business or tempers, it affords some amusement, when in reading the news papers, we find either a resemblance or disagreement that is striking. As when either in the army or fleet we found Mawk, Lion, Sluggish, Eager, Firebrace, Wolfe, Armstrong, Fury, Langham, and such like, they seemed suitable to their business; but when we met among them with Coward, Peace, Humble, Lamb, or of such significations, it appeared strange how they came either to seek or get such employ! It seems pleasant when among the preachers of any religious denomination, we meet with the name of Shepherd, Angel, Lamb, Thoroughgood, Allgood, Goodcall, Grace, Best, or any other that implies uprightness of heart and purity of conduct; whereas, in that important business to find the names of Airey, Killchrist, Conceit, Lovemoney, Love-rule, Dirty, and such sort, they seem very disagreeable to their calling; among the gentlemen of the law, or the magistracy, it sounds very well to hear or read the names of Mikepeace, Justice, Goodman, Wisdom, Virtue, Honour: but it is grievously malapropos, when, instead thereof, we find Money, Leech, Grippall (which, if the last *p* was an *e*, would be more expressive) Anyside, Pincher, and the like. When we read of Tickle, Fortune, Honeyman, Cash, or Court-hope, aspiring to the great offices of the state, we conclude they are very likely to succeed; nor we do at all wonder when we find among the list of bankrupts, Borrow, Runindebt, Crackedredit, Overstrain, Easy, and so forth.—We are diverted when, among tavernkeepers, we find Bacchus, Vintner, Alefounder, Tapscott, and in like manner of all other callings.

Among our Indians, it is not uncommon to meet with names, which seem to have been given for some quality or peculiarity of mind or body, or some exploits performed; and therefore one may conclude, they were added to their family names, after they grew up, such as Silverheels, Chiefman, Lastnight, Bigarm, Killbuck, Foursteps, and others. And does not this warrant a supposition that many

of our names may have originated in the same manner?

Slaves, having no property to possess or descend to their posterity, have usually but one name, and that often such an one as has belonged to the most eminent persons of antiquity! One would think the gross absurdity of giving to poor creatures, who are divested of the common rights of humanity, such names as once distinguished the legislators and warriors of the world, should have deterred any reasonable being from conferring them.

But of all mistakes about names, that seem to be the most unreasonable, where a man imagines he has more merit, or is entitled to more respect, because he bears the name of an ancestor who gained applause and honour, by exerting his abilities, or making use of his opportunities to do some great and good actions for the benefit of his country, or of mankind in general. The following lines on that subject, from “the mirror for magistrates,” are worth reading, both for sentiment and the language, considering that they were written two hundred years ago.

“What doth avail to have a princely place,

“A name of honour, and a high degree?

“To come by kindred of a noble race,

“Except we princely, worthy, noble be?

“The fruit declares the goodness of the tree.

“Do brag no more of birth, or lineage then,

“For virtue, grace and manners make the man.”

ATTICUS.

*Philad. April 27, 1767.*

*(To be continued.)*

## THE VISITANT.

[Continued from page 223.]

No. V. *On the wants and desires of mankind.*

IT was a favourite maxim among the ancient philosophers, particularly the stoics, that a man is perfect in proportion as he stands in need of few things. If by this it is meant, that superior beings know not so man-

ny wants as we know; and that the increased number of those wants is an argument of the inferiority of our natures, I shall not dispute the truth of the proposition; though, by the way, it must be observed, that the lower species of animals have also but few wants, and that, therefore, this circumstance seems to be, of itself, a mark either of a superior or of an inferior nature. But if it is meant, that a man who is accustomed to few enjoyments, and consequently has few desires of enjoyment, is, considered one of the human species, more perfect than he, whose sphere of enjoyment has been enlarged, and whose desires have consequently become numerous, I think the maxim is false and the reverse of it true; namely, that we are perfect in proportion as our wants and desires are multiplied, and as we have opportunities of supplying those wants, and gratifying those desires.

This opinion may appear odd and unaccountable. Wants and imperfections, it may be said, are synonymous, or nearly synonymous terms: how then can our wants contribute to our perfection? I shall therefore express myself in a different manner, and say, that we are perfect in proportion as our pleasures are multiplied. This observation is familiar, and will be universally allowed to be true. It contains, however, the same sentiment, which I thought would appear odd and unaccountable, when clothed in different words. For let us consider the objects of our pleasures; are they not first the objects of our desires? And do not our desires always aim at objects, which we wish to be, but are not, in possession of? If, then, it is true, that we are perfect in proportion as our pleasures are multiplied, it must, likewise, be true, that we are perfect in proportion as our wants and desires are multiplied, and as we have opportunities of supplying those wants and gratifying those desires.

The objects of our pleasures are not only the same with the objects of our desires; but the pleasure we receive from them is proportioned to the violence, with which we desire them. The violence of our desires is proportioned, among other things, to the difficulties we must surmount in grati-



tying them : for opposition, provided it is not so great as to wholly to discourage us, has a contrary effect ; it animates us in that pursuit, in which we are opposed. On the other hand, what is easily obtained is little valued. No exertion of the faculties is required ; the mind is not awakened from its indolence ; and the transition from indolence to passion is more difficult than the transition from one passion to another. Why does the artful mistress disappoint the impatient ardour of her lover, by affected delays of his raptures ? She knows that those delays inflame his passion. Why is the ardour of the lover so soon lost in the indifference of the husband ? Perhaps the conduct of the wife becomes too much the reverse of that, which the mistress observed.

It has been remarked, that nature furnishes us with the rough materials of our convenience and happiness ; but leaves it to our own industry to work them up for use. If we would have rich crops, we must plough and cultivate the soil. If we would have delicious fruit, the trees, that yield it, must be raised and pruned with care. The grapes will not spontaneously produce wine ; nor the olives, oil. All must be the effect of industry. The same observations may be made with regard to ourselves. The fond anxious mother can tell the uneasy days and tedious nights she has passed in bringing up her children to be the crops of her old age. The father, proud of the growing fame of his son, can declare what sams have been expended, and what pains have been taken, to qualify him to act his part in life with reputation, and transmit his name and character with dignity to posterity. Those who have acquired eminent accomplishments, can inform us of the time, the toil, the attention, employed in the acquisition. Whence this disposition of things ? Nature does nothing in vain ; she does nothing cruel. All her ends are wise and good ; all her means are proper and conducive to her ends. The reason, then, why she has left us in want of so many things, must be, because such a situation is necessary to our happiness. She does not preclude us from pleasure and convenience ; but she has rendered a vigorous exertion of

our faculties requisite before we can enjoy them.

The human mind delights in action. Indolence is contrary to our nature, and inconsistent with our improvement and happiness. Where it predominates in the soul, we become stired and languid ; incapable of pursuing pleasure with vigour, and incapable of relishing enjoyments which time and chance throw in our way. In order to prevent, or to relieve us from such a benumbing state, we court opportunities of having our passions excited ; even though their sensation should be mixed with a considerable degree of pain : for the pleasure occasioned by rousing them overbalances the pain occasioned by their sensation. This the abbe du Bos assigns as the reason of that eagerness, with which we frequent tragedies that cause grief, and terror, and other painful emotions ; and I believe it is the best reason that can be given, why we see such numerous crowds assembled at the execution of criminals. Now, if an indolent inactive state is, of all others, the most disagreeable to us—it follows that that situation, which spurs us on to action, must be adapted to our nature, and conducive to our felicity. But what are more powerful incentives to action, than our wants and desires ? Our wants and desires, therefore, are necessary to our perfection and happiness.

What first determined men to enter into society ? Their wants. What characterises the different periods of improved society ? The increased numbers of those wants. In what consists the principal excellence of civilized and refined society above that which is rude and barbarous ? In the pleasure that arises from supplying those wants. These observations deserve to be illustrated by a few reflections on the general history of mankind. Human society may be distinguished into four general periods, according to the manner in which men lived in each of those periods.

The first was that, in which they lived by hunting and fishing. Of this we have an example in the Indians, who still continue in the most rude and uncultivated state of society. They have few wants, or incitements to industry ; and therefore their minds are

an easy prey to the most rough, and boisterous passions.

The second period of society was that, in which men subsisted by their flocks and herds. In this period, care and industry were more requisite, than in the first. It was necessary for the owners of cattle to choose proper pasture for them; to remove them from one part of the country to another, when the pasture was consumed; and to tend them, that they might not be destroyed or lost. This is represented by the poets to have been the golden age; and the scene of all our pastorals is laid in this period of society. The beautiful descriptions we have of the peace and tranquility, which the swains and shepherdesses enjoyed—of the innocence and sincerity of their loves—and of the purity and moderation of their desires, may, perhaps, prejudice us in favour of their way of life: but if we consult history and experience, we shall find, that it by no means deserves the high encomiums that have been bestowed upon it.

The third period of society was that wherein agriculture flourished. The spontaneous productions of the earth were now found to be insufficient to supply the wants of her inhabitants. The soil was cultivated; the labour of seed-time and harvest commenced; the property of lands was ascertained; the desire of enlarging property, and, by that means, of enlarging influence, became strong; and arts and industry became necessary.

The fourth period of society is that of commerce. After agriculture had supplied each nation with every thing, which the country they inhabited was capable of producing, a farther improvement was attempted, and the attempt was successful. Unsatisfied with what any particular soil could furnish, men went in search of the productions of foreign climes. By this means, a trading people have it in their power to supply themselves with all the bounties, which nature has scattered over the whole face of the globe.

From this short deduction of the general history of society, it appears, that the difference between the rude and the refined periods of it, consists chiefly in this, that, in the latter, the wants of men become more nume-

rous than in the former. If, therefore, society has been improved—if the late periods of it have been more perfect than the ancient periods were—it may be allowed, that man is perfect in proportion as his wants and desires are multiplied. It is necessary to add, and as he has opportunities of supplying those wants, and gratifying those desires; because without such opportunities, our wants and desire would make us miserable. For this reason, it should be our particular care not to create to ourselves wants, which we cannot, or ought not to supply, nor to indulge desires, which we cannot, or ought not to gratify. But while we observe these limitations, let us embrace every occasion of multiplying our pleasures; and let us employ every part of our time in some laudable or innocent pursuit. C.

*Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1768.*

*(To be continued.)*



*Address to the citizens of the state of Rhode Island.*

STRANGERS of information and patriotic principles were greatly astonished at the conduct of our general assembly, during their last session, in refusing to join in the federal convention, and in rejecting the recommendation of congress, for repealing all laws repugnant to the treaty of peace with Great-Britain. As a spectator I attended with impartiality to the debates; and as a citizen of this state I found myself deeply wounded by their determinations. I have endeavoured to investigate the causes of their unheard-of obduracy, and shall suggest my opinion to you, my countrymen, without reserve.

The great object of the present administration is to relieve the people from debt. So far they are to be applauded. To effect this object they emitted the paper currency. This measure was innocent, but not political or prudent. The manner of funding the bank, and the enormous sum emitted, rendered it impossible that the paper should bear an equal proportion to specie. It was therefore unjust to declare it an equivalent in payment for specie contracts. But the amazing disparity which has since

ken place, might not have been reseen or expected. Invincible ignorance is excusable; but no man is reasonable for placing himself in a situation to judge and decide for others, in matters whereof he is incapable. Experience, however, has taught the administration, that it requires six or eight pounds in paper to purchase any article which is sold for twenty shillings in specie; and that there is no probability of a change for the better; yet they continue the tender laws, and affect to avoid all distinctions in the different kinds of lawful money in the state. Here, then, is a clear proof of dishonest intentions; and the charge cannot be avoided or mitigated: but what is much to be lamented, the more glaring the evil appears, the more inflexible is the obduracy by which it is supported.

It is well known that many of the members and supporters of the present system, were greatly involved in private debts, when it was first adopted; and it is also known they have availed themselves of its iniquitous and dishonourable advantages. Hence it is obvious, that the abolition of debts, without rendering an equivalent, is the intention of the leading members of the assembly; and therefore they resist every measure, however just and necessary, to accomplish their views. Such is their attachment to this favourite, though disgraceful scheme, that they seem determined to run all hazards, and involve the state in every kind of calamity, rather than relinquish their pursuit.

Why have they refused to join in a federal convention? do they not know that the united states cannot exist as a nation, while they, and the legislatures of other states, have it in their power to frustrate every public measure, by their local, their absurd, and unconstitutional policy? and do they not know, that it would be impossible for them to defraud the citizens of other states, if the articles of confederation were carried into full effect? have they not permitted a number of towns to discharge, in paper, arrearages due upon continental taxes, assessed so long ago as the year 1783, when other towns have paid their proportions in silver and gold? Is not this a direct violation of the

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articles of confederation? have they not declared the paper currency a legal tender to discharge all debts, when, by the treaty of peace, debts contracted and due before that period, to British subjects, were to be paid in sterling money? congress have required of them to repeal all laws repugnant to that treaty; and have they not refused? and is not this refusal a most flagrant breach of national faith?—why have they refused? they say, because such a repealing law would affect their emitting act. Then it is plain and evident, that rather than depart, in a single instance, from their present measures, they will trample upon the most sacred obligations, and defy the united states to arms!

Think, my countrymen, think for yourselves!—we are deprived of an amazing tract of western territory, ceded to us by the treaty of peace, Great Britain refusing to surrender the polls belonging to the united states. We are deprived of the prodigious advantages of the fur trade, and are continually exposed to the ravages of the Indians, upon our frontier settlements; we are involved in enormous expences for the support of troops to protect them, and cannot sell or dispose of the lands, in ease of taxation. And why are we thus embarrassed? because we have violated the treaty of peace, and Great Britain will not comply on her part, till we comply on ours. Do you think that the united states will be so lost to every principle of honour, virtue, and public faith, as to suffer their engagements, solemnly entered into with Great Britain, to be disregarded? or can they answer it to themselves, to posterity, or to their God, to suffer the stupendous fabric of freedom and independence, reared by the best blood and treasure of their citizens, to be demolished by the defection of any one or more states in the union?—why have they contended, through seas of blood, against the power of Britain, and the base opposition of many of their own disaffected inhabitants, to obtain the glorious prize of their conflict, if they are again to be involved in all the horrors and calamities of war, by the treacherous conduct of any part of the empire? if this state should continue in opposi-

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tion to the rights of the union, and to violate the articles of treaty, the vengeance of the whole nation will fall upon them. Neither will reprisals be made upon mercantile property, as some may vainly imagine !

There are people in this state, who, during the war, were in the interests of the common enemy, and acted as spies : these people, through the lenity of government, were suffered to remain with us, are now cordially embraced by the leaders of party faction, and are in the exercise of offices of profit and trust. Their hearts are still replete with bitter revenge. They wish to see this country in slavery to Great-Britain, and their influence is too apparent in concerting the means that might lead to such a degrading situation. Be it known unto them, that they cannot escape from the punishments of a second treason ; nor will the hand of justice be slow in pursuing their warm supporters !

Unfortunately for the happiness and glory of this country, the articles of confederation were formed at a time when the feelings were directed to a single object, the conflict of the moment. Fear and common danger cemented the affections, and united the efforts of the friends to their country ; there was then no scope for the displays of jealousy, or the daring encroachments of separate interests. As the ties, which united the states and the citizens, were politically few, so were the conditions by which they were to be connected. The political mind was restrained in its researches into the new prospects of arts, manufactures, commerce, revenue, finance, national conventions, and the spirit of enterprize, to be unfolded by emerging from a state of dependence, into an equality with the sovereigns of the earth. And as opposition to the great interests of society, arising from turbulent passions and repugnant views, the offspring of peace, business, and reflection, was not then contemplated ; the framers of those articles, relying too much upon the virtue of the people, and the mutual affection of the states, formed an excellent civil institution, without providing in any measure for its security and support. Slender, indeed, were the ties by which the union of the states was to be perpe-

tuated, and fatal experience has taught us, that ever since the peace, we have been drawn more and more from a common centre. At this moment we are the laughing stock of all Europe, and, what adds the most painful chagrin to the reflection, is, that we are comparatively, the laughing stock of fools !

At the close of the war, our character was universally revered—four years of peace and leisure have plunged us into the deepest abyss of infamy. Philosophers have triumphed upon the happy prospect of seeing mankind rescued from civil thralldom and enjoying the blessings of polished society, under the influence of republican virtue. How great has been their disappointment, to behold us, so short a space of time, the most degraded of any civilized nation in ancient or modern story !

We are indebted to foreign nations ; we promise the principal, but not pay even the interest. We enter into treaties of commerce, but cannot enforce compliance with a single article. We have ships, and materials for ship building in abundance, but not other subjects than our own, to transport even our articles of exportation. Our debts are continually accumulating, while, for the want of effective power in the federal head to regulate trade and commerce, the sources of revenue are as rapidly diminishing. Can we remain long in so dishonourable as well as destructive a situation ? Will our foreign creditors demand payment ? And, upon refusal, will they not make reprisals ? Will the real frier to their country remain idle spectators, or rather will they not unite, by the means in their power, to avert this evil ?

Is it not wise, is it not prudent, is it not necessary, to provide in time against the worst of consequences, consenting to and joining in a careful revision of the federal constitution and in framing and adopting such a general system, as may be adequate, under the smiles of heaven, to every national purpose ? This is in our power, peace, happiness, and safety, are in our power : the fairest inheritance ever secured by the wisdom of ages, is in our power, and may be transmitted unsullied to posterity ! but if we co-

nue to harbour and cherish discord and jealousy among ourselves—if we abide, by sordid, local views, the vitiated interests of the states, our contentments will be inflamed against each other, till from cabals, mobs, riots, and tumults, we shall fly to arms; and, after experiencing all the miseries of civil contention, embittered by keen sentiments, a government will be dictated at the head of an army, covered with wounds, and familiar to slaughter!

To this dreadful alternative, we need not be subjected, if we duly attend to the following circumstances. It is excellency our governor is highly liberal, and in this respect averse to the wild conduct of the majority in minimisation. Many of the upper class are decidedly against them in this point of view. We have a sensible, federal and spirited minority; while some of the majority are hesitating between the stings of conscience and the false lures of injustice—your own good sense may soon be rescued from the grossest imposition, and the wisdom of the federal councils will devise the means of your political salvation.

*A friend to this state.*

*Newport, June, 1787.*



*Address to the Rhode-Island friends of paper money, tender acts, and antifederalism.*

THE singular system of policy adopted by your state, no longer cites either the surprize or indignation of mankind. There are certain extremes of iniquity, which are beheld with patience, from a fixed conviction that the transgressor is inveterate, and that his example, from its great justice, hath no longer a seducing influence. Milton's lapse of the angels, and their expulsion from heaven, produces deeper regret in a benevolent mind, than all the evil tricks they have played, or torments they have suffered, since the bottomless pit came their proper home. Something similar to this is excited in beholding the progress of human depravity. Our minds cannot bear to be ways pained; the Creator hath therefore wisely provided that our tender sentiments should subside, in those separate cases where there is no

longer a probability, that any effort, to which we may be excited, will have a power to reclaim. But though our benevolence is no longer distressed with the injustice of your measures, as philosophers above the feelings of passion, we can speculate on them to our advantage. The sentiment, thrown out by some of our adventurous divines, that the permission of sin is the highest display of supreme wisdom, and the greatest blessing to the universe, is most successfully illustrated by the effects of your general policy.

In point of magnitude, your little state bears much the same proportion to the united American empire, as the little world doth to the immense intelligent universe; and if the apostacy of man hath conveyed such solemn warning and instruction to the whole, as your councils have to every part of the union, no one will doubt the usefulness of Adam's fall. At the commencement of peace, America was placed in a singular situation. Fear of common danger could no longer bind us together—patriotism had done its best, and was wearied with exertions rewarded only by ingratitude—our federal system was inadequate for national government and justice: and, from inexperience, the great body of the people were ignorant what consequences would flow from the want of them. Experiments in public credit, though ruinous to thousands, and a disregard to the promises of government, had been pardoned in the moment of extreme necessity, and many honest men did not realize that a repetition of them, in an hour less critical, would shake the existence of society. Men, full of evil, and of desperate fortune, were ready to propose every method of public fraud that can be effected by a violation of public faith and depreciating promises. This poison of the community was their only preservative from deserved poverty, and from prisons appointed to be the reward of indolence and knavery. An easement of the poor and necessitous was pleaded as a reason for measures which have reduced them to more extreme necessity. Most of the states have had their prejudices against an efficient and just government, and have made their ex-

periments in a false policy; but it was done with a timorous mind; and, seeing the evil, they have receded. A sense of subordination and moral right was their check. Most of the people were convinced—and but few remained who wished to establish iniquity by law. To silence such opposition as might be made to the new constitution, it was fit that public injustice should be exhibited in its greatest degree and most extreme effects. For this end, heaven permitted your apostacy from all the principles of good and just government. By your system, we see unrighteousness in the essence, in its effects, and in its native miseries. The rogues of every other state blush at the exhibition, and say you have betrayed them by carrying the matter too far. The very naming of your measures is a complete refutation of antifederalism, paper money, and tender acts, for no man chooses such company in argument.

The distresses to which many of your best citizens are reduced—the groans of ruined creditors, of widows and orphans—demonstrate that unhappiness follows vice, by the unalterable laws of nature and society. I did not mention the stings of conscience; but authors of public distress ought to remember that there is a world where conscience will not sleep.

Is it not at length time to consider? the great end for which your insatiation was permitted, is now become complete. The whole union has seen and fears, and while history gives true information, no other people will ever repeat the studied process of fraud. You may again shew the distorted features of injustice, but never in more lively colours, or by more able hands, than has been done already. As virtue and good government have derived all possible advantage from your experiment, and every other state thanks you for putting her rogues and fools out of countenance, begin to have mercy on yourselves. You may not expect to exist in this course any longer than is necessary for the public good; and there is no need, that such a kind of warning, as you set before us, should be eternal. Secure as you may feel in prosecuting what the rest of mankind condemn, the hour of your political revolution

is at hand. The cause is within yourselves, and needs but the permission of your neighbours to take its full effect. Every moral and social law calls for a review, and a voluminous penal statutes cannot prevent it. There are in the first instance nullified injustice, and five years hence no man in your territories will presume their vindication. Passion and obstinacy, which were called in to avenge injustice, have had their reign, and can support you no longer. By change of policy, give us evidence that you are returned to manhood and honour. The inventors of such councils can never be forgiven in this world, but the people at large, warned by their guidance, may break from the connexion and restore themselves to virtue.

There are among you characters eminent through the union for the wisdom and integrity. Penetrated with grief and astonishment, they stand silent, waiting the return of your reason. They are the only men who can remove the impassible gulph that lies between you and the rest of mankind. In your situation there must be sacrifice. It is required by the necessity of the case, and for the dignity of government. You have guilty victims enough, for whom even benevolence will not plead; let them make the atonement and save your state. The large body of a people are rare guilty of any crime greater than indiscretion, in following those who have no qualification to lead, but an unblushing assurance in fraud. Acknowledge the indiscretion, and leave the whom you have followed into the quicksands of death, to the infernal prepared for them, and from which they cannot be preserved. Your situation admits no compounding of opposite systems, or halving with justice, but to make the cure, there must be an entire change of measures. The Creator of nature, and his laws, made justice as necessary for nations as for individuals, and this necessity hath been sealed by the fate of all obdurate offenders. If you will not hear your own groans, nor feel the pangs of your own torture, it must continue until removed by a political annihilation. Such as do not pity themselves cannot be long pitied.

Determined that our feelings shall be no longer wounded by any thing to which despair may lead you, with philosophic coolness we wait to continue our speculations on the event.

A LANDHOLDER.

March, 1788.



*An oration on the effects of spiritous liquors upon the human body, and upon society; intended to have been delivered at a late commencement.*

*Ladies and gentlemen,*

THE business of the day is near a close. On me is devolved the pleasing task of expressing the gratitude, and the painful one of expressing the grief of my beloved classmates, upon our separation from this college, and from each other. The minutes before us are precious, for they are the last we shall ever spend together on this side the grave.

Impressed with the importance of these reflections, I have endeavoured to select a subject for my oration, which, though unknown as a topic of academical discussion, will, notwithstanding, I hope, afford some useful considerations, and, if handled properly, cannot fail of commanding the attention of this respectable auditory. The subject I allude to has often been discussed in the pulpit—it has been the theme of patriots in different countries—and even philosophers and physicians have lately added their seal and knowledge to the authority of the divine and the patriot, in throwing light upon it. The subject I allude to is spiritous liquors. To join in the general testimony of virtue and reason against these instruments of destruction at the present juncture, cannot be improper among the sons of science, nor foreign to the dignity of this day's entertainment. We have earned but little, if we have yet to earn, that nothing is incompatible with the honour of our college, that is calculated to advance the happiness of individuals and the interests of society.

In my remarks upon spiritous liquors, I shall first speak of their origin, and then describe their effects upon health, morals and property, and upon domestic happiness, and civil government.

It appears from history, that distilled spirits were originally used only in medicine. They were therefore prescribed by physicians, and sold only by the apothecary. By degrees they were introduced into use as a drink, but for many centuries they were confined only to savages and barbarous nations.

1. In order to demonstrate the effects of spiritous liquors upon health, permit me to request, my respectable auditors, that you would accompany me to an hospital. Behold! in yonder ward a number of patients, confined by a long train of incurable diseases. See the trembling hand of one who attempts to raise a cup to his head. Behold the limping gait of another. Hear the groans of a third, torn with the anguish of the colic. See the yellow countenance, and the swelled limbs and bowels of a fourth. Hear the snoring of a fifth, in a fit of the apoplexy, and behold the convulsive agonies of a sixth. All these terrible complaints are the effects of spiritous liquors upon the body. But let us proceed from the ward we have contemplated, to the cells of the hospital, the usual receptacle of patients deprived of their reason. Hark! the rattling of those chains! what sounds do I hear? They are too awful to be repeated. But let us look through the hole in the door of his apartment. Ah! what do I see? His eyes discharge fire. His hair rises perpendicularly upon his head. His tangled beard conceals his neck and part of his breast. He gnashes his teeth, and tries in vain to tear his flesh from his bones. But whence this shocking spectacle? What dreadful catastrophe has dethroned his reason, and converted this man, made originally in the image of God, into a beast of prey? I answer, nothing but spiritous liquors.

2. From this gloomy scene permit me to invite you to accompany me to a jail. Behold a groupe of men and women seated on the floor, consoling themselves with a game of whist. See the tattered remains of their clothes scarcely sufficient to cover their bodies. How indecent and profane their conversation! But whence the cause of their misery and wickedness? The answer is a plain one. Spiritous liquors led them to the perpetration of those

crimes, which render their confinement necessary for the safety and repose of society. But what means that crowd which has suddenly assembled before the door of the jail? They have come to witness the execution of a criminal. But what has he done to subject himself to the punishment of death? He has murdered the wife of his bosom and the mother of his children. Ah cruel wretch! what could possess thee to embue thy hands in innocent blood? Methinks I hear him answer this question. "Behold (says he) in me a melancholy example of the pernicious effects of spiritous liquors. I loved my wife. She was an excellent woman, and often strove to reclaim me from strong drink. Upon coming home drunk from a neighbouring tavern, she met me, and advised me to conceal myself from the eyes of our children by going to bed. I resented the advice, and seizing a pair of tongs which stood near me, I gave her such a blow on her temple, as instantly deprived her of life. Ah! me—I still see her struggling in the last convulsions of death, and, with one hand lifted up to heaven, methinks I still behold her, praying for my repentance and forgiveness! O! take warning, young people, by my unhappy fate. Shun bad company, and avoid even the taste and smell of spiritous liquors."

3. Permit me to invite you to enter with me into yonder tenement. Behold the father of a family seated at a slender breakfast, with a wife and seven children. The sheriff's officer enters the door, and shews his warrant to take him to jail. But what has he done?—He contracted a love for spiritous liquors, which have led him by degrees into habits of idleness and negligence of his business, and hence the hands of his creditors are upon him. See! with what looks of tenderness he parts from his family. His wife in vain throws herself at the feet of the sheriff's officer. His children burst into tears—"Oh! save my father, don't kill my father," dwells upon each of their infant lips. But in vain they beg, and weep—he is hurried suddenly from their sight, and consigned to the custody of a jailor. But the misery of his family does not end here. The furniture of his house

is seized and sold at public auction. His wife is obliged to seek a charitable retreat in the house of a friend while his children (though born with different prospects in life) are bound out by the overseers of the poor, and compelled to serve persons, perhaps of inferior rank to that which they once held with their father, till they are eighteen, or one and twenty years of age. It is impossible to contemplate this scene of family distress, without feeling a horror at the name of those destructive liquors which produced it.

4. Let us next examine the effects of spiritous liquors upon domestic happiness. And here I shall make no apology for intruding into a private family, I shall betray no secrets, for the discord of the family I shall describe is known to the whole neighbourhood. Behold the master of this family reeling home from a tippling house, hear him accost his wife in the most brutal language! his children hid themselves from his presence. He abuses and kicks his servants. Nor does his rage end here—cups and saucers—decanter and glasses, all flew hi floors, broken into a thousand pieces. Unhappy family! But still more unhappy is that domestic community where both the master and mistress drown their reason and inflame their passions, by drinking spirits from the same intoxicating cup. A drunken woman! a drunken wife! a drunken mother! The meek and quiet female spirit—roused and transformed by rum into a fury. It cannot be; I will strive to disbelieve all history that describes such a picture, and even suspect the evidence of my senses, when they inform me of its having ever existed, except among the Indians of North America.

5. I proceed, in the last place, to take notice of the effects of spiritous liquors upon government. The strength of a nation is said to consist in the number of its citizens. Whatever affects its population, must necessarily affect its prosperity. Now spiritous liquors by their action upon the human body are unfriendly to human life. While the sword, famine and pestilence, sweep away thousands, this greater enemy of mankind sweeps away its tens of thousands. It knows no retirement,



ke the sword, into winter quarters. It is a stranger to occasional visits, like famine and pestilence. It is constant and steady, in its effects, upon the life of man. It acts upon both sexes—upon all ages—and, terrible to relate!

It slays by night as well as by day. It could the numerous tenants in our different grave yards tell us the causes of their death, how great a proportion of them would proclaim in our ears, “we fell prematurely by drinking spiritous liquors!” But there is another effect of spiritous liquors upon government, which deserves to be mentioned in this place. They promote a seditious and turbulent spirit. The tippling-house and the whisky stillery are the nurseries of anti-feudalism, in every part of the united states. Hence anarchy is the constant companion, and tyranny the certain consequence of the use of these mischievous liquors.

I cannot dismiss this subject without wishing to lift up the curtain which separates the present from the future world. O! could I follow the disembodied soul of a martyr to spiritous liquors into the presence of its Creator, and behold it afterwards. But I wish no longer. Hark! I hear a groan. It comes from a soul driven from its body by the habitual use of spirits, just entering into the regions of despair. Methinks I see the unhappy beings who inhabit those doleful regions flying from his sight. But why this sudden terror and uproar? With one accord they cry—his crimes have no relation to ours. He has rushed into the presence of his maker uncalled for—he has perished by suicide.

Ministers of the gospel, legislators and magistrates of the united states! come forward, and save the souls and bodies of your fellow citizens from destruction. Reason—science—patriotism—humanity—and religion, O! lend your aid to this salutary purpose. Or, to speak more justly, O! thou great Ruler of the universe—send forth thy light and thy truth—and rescue this country, so often and so greatly blessed by thee, from the diseases—the vices—the poverty—the misery—and the slavery, which are the offspring of spiritous liquors.

*Some thoughts on the diseases of the mind; with a scheme for purging the moral faculties of the good people of Pennsylvania—quite new, and very philosophical.—By the hon. Francis Hopkinson, esq.*

THAT there is an intimate connexion between the soul and the body, and that the one is apt to be affected by the disorders and irregularities of the other, is a truth too manifest to be controverted. How this connexion is formed, to what extent it exists, and what are the visible organs of the body, which compose the intermediate links of union with the invisible faculties of the mind, are problems which have been often in vain attempted. I neither pretend to have found out the secret, nor have I, at present, any plausible hypothesis to propose on this delicate subject.

This mutual influence, however, which plainly exists between spirit and matter in all animals, and more especially in man, hath produced many promising devices for remedying the disorders of the mind, which seem to be beyond our reach, by attacking the organs of the body, which are always within our power. A late ingenious author has gone great lengths in this hypothesis, in his “dissertation on the effects of physical causes on the moral faculty.”

For my own part, I believe there is some truth in the doctrine, and that in particular cases, if applied with great judgment, a partial and temporary effect may be obtained. But if the seat of the disease should really be in the mind, it will be in vain to expect a radical cure by medical attacks on the body, which can do no more than, for the present, deprive the mind of the instruments by which she exhibits her distempered faculties. For instance, suppose a person to be of an irascible, captious disposition, and subject to violent and ungovernable gusts of passion. To reduce his body by phlebotomy, emetics, cathartics, a slender regimen, &c. would probably produce a dejection of spirits and an apparent coolness of temper—but must this man be kept all his life time in a state of debility? for there is no doubt but as soon as health and vigour are allowed to return, the angry dispositions

will return, too, and perhaps with increased inveteracy on account of the restriction. So also, if I should be infected with a troublesome itch for scribbling—which heaven forbid!—and my friends, with view to a cure, should deprive me of pen, ink, and paper—for the present, to be sure, I could not scribble—but would the itch be removed?—far from it—the scribbling matter, being refused a discharge, would accumulate, and become more virulent—and as soon as the necessary instruments or organs of exhibition could be procured, I should scribble worse than ever.

This scheme of whipping the mind over the body's shoulders, will not, I apprehend, answer any permanent purpose, and I know of no well authenticated cases to support the doctrine. Has government ever cured a propensity to theft by the administration of the whipping-post or wheelbarrow? amongst the innumerable experiments that have been made, I never heard of one successful instance. No—it seems more natural, that mental remedies should be prescribed for mental disorders, and corporeal physic for bodily diseases. Let there be physicians and metaphysicians, as two distinct professions. I do not mean by metaphysicians, such as are now professors in universities and colleges, but practising metaphysicians, who shall study the disorders and irregularities of the human mind, and prescribe for their cure.

I have considered this matter very attentively, and am confident that many of the cares and evils of life might be removed or alleviated by a judicious metaphysical treatment. The first difficulty would be to gain the confidence of the patient in a new science; for this confidence would be as necessary to the metaphysical as it is to the physical cure of diseases; and even more so: for the imagination would have a great share in the business, and must indeed serve as apothecary to the metaphysician. Wherein does the virtue of pills, potions, and plasters principally consist?—surely not so much in the ingredients of which they are composed, as in the implicit faith of those to whom they are administered. A proof of which is, that no sooner is the composition general-

ly known, but it sinks into general contempt—no body will take a detected nostrum. If then this confidence, this implicit faith of the patient, is to be useful in the operations of metaphysical medicine, much more should it be depended upon and cultivated in a metaphysical treatment. Possessed of this, I could, with flattering hopes of success, attack the maladies of the mind, by the use of discreet and obviously rational means.

For instance—should I find my patient disposed to melancholy, and his mind clouded with imaginary doubts, difficulties, and fears, by poring over polemic divinity—I would prescribe a round of amusements, much company, and frequent changes of companies; I would by every artifice provoke him to frequent laughter, and plunge him deep in the vanities of the wicked world—but they should be vanities only; for I would on no account violate the bounds of strict morality.

To a patient of a contrary cast—vain, sickle, loquacious, and full of levity—I would forbid the most innocent recreations—I would order him to take a chapter of the history of the martyrs every morning before breakfast—I should study algebra till dinner time—in the evening, he should hear a long dull sermon, badly delivered, and should himself read one of our acts of assembly before going to bed: at night I would continue my regimen and remedies, with a few judicious intermissions, until I saw an entire change of disposition take place, and a radical cure obtained.

But I am preparing a full account of the diseases of the mind, with the proper mode of treatment in each, illustrated by a variety of cases. The work hath cost me much study, and deep researches into human nature and the subtle springs and movements of the moral faculty. Although the book is almost ready for publication yet the evils of the present time call loudly for redress, that I cannot delay giving an extract from my chapter of the epidemic diseases of the mind, hopes it may be of immediate use.

“*Cacoethes maledictionis*, or an insatiable rage for slander and abuse.” This disease is peculiar to free gentlemen. The proximate cause

are envy, discontent, and an overweening ambition; the diagnostic symptoms are an inveterate hatred of men of wealth or abilities, and particularly of those in public offices, and an unusual predominance of party spirit: and the crisis of the distemper is an acrimonious eruption, discharging a deal of purulent matter in private companies or in the public papers. The curative indication is manifest; for this, like many other mental diseases, is best managed by allowing a free emission to the peccant humours, and permitting the moral faculty to purge itself by natural discharges of the malevolent ichor."

This quotation suggests an observation or two, which will lead directly my present purpose. It is recommended that the moral faculty should suffer to purge itself by natural discharges—now there are but two visible ways by which the mind can discharge its contents in the *carcæthæ uleditionis*, viz. by actions or words. The most natural and least dangerous is that of words: either by speaking, scolding, storming, swearing, singing, or publishing: when these means are forbidden or not conveniently obtained, the disease breaks into actions, viz. beating, bruising, awling, cuffing, kicking, and even murdering, killing, and so forth. And therefore a free scope should be given to words, as the most salutary and safe issue of the malignant matter. The art of printing has been a great blessing to mankind, in as much as it affords a most convenient opportunity for the people to discharge their minds of indigested crudities, and rankling spleen. Before this invention, murders, assassinations, rebellions, and revolutions were much more frequent than since. The poisoned cup and the bloody dagger are not known in countries where the press and the free use of it are allowed. As this is a new and very deep remark, I hope it will be attended to—I know that the less sanguinary character of modern ages has been attributed to the progress of civilization—but how has this civilization been advanced?—certainly, by the vent which the press affords for the morbid minds of the people to get rid of their impurities, and the oppor-

tunity of keeping up a free circulation of ideas, so necessary to the mental health of man. As a proof, we see that in countries where free access to the press is not permitted, the stillnet is even at this day in use.

I now come to make the proposal which I had first in view, when I sat down to write this paper—a proposal which I flatter myself will correct all the bad effects of party spirit or of personal animosity in this our city; and will sweeten and purify the political atmosphere of our commonwealth. The preface to this my project is, I confess, rather long; but it was necessary, to shew the metaphysical grounds upon which it is founded.

Let there be two public papers instituted—the one a weekly and the other a daily paper—let the printers be commissioned by government, and allowed competent salaries for their time and trouble. They should be commissioned, because all other printers should be prohibited from interfering in their department. One of these papers may be entitled the \*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*, and the other the \*\*\*\*\*  
Let their offices be always open, as places where the good people of Pennsylvania, may ease their minds without restraint, rebuke, or any hindrance whatever. And whereas some men are naturally bashful, and do not like to be seen in doing their occasions, there shall not only be fictitious signatures provided for their concealment, but the printer shall, for the purpose of decency, have a tin plate fixed in his window, fronting on a little alley, if his situation will permit, otherwise, on the street; in which tin plate there shall be a slit or opening, large enough to receive secretly any excrementitious matter—and it shall, for distinction's sake, be thus inscribed—"who wants me?" Lastly, the printers, their papers, and their authors, should be outlawed. That is, they should be considered as beyond the reach of any censure or penalty of common or statute law, or restrictions by any ordinance, proclamation, or regulation whatever.

By this institution, all our other public papers would be kept free from impurities, and occupied, as they ought to be, with interesting or amusing articles of intelligence, grave or humour-

ous essays, advertisements, &c. and all the filth of the city would be carried off by the commissioned papers. So that, after a little time, it would become as shocking to good manners for a man to vent his spleen in one of the public news papers, properly so called, as it would be to commit an indecent evacuation in a private parlour or a public assembly. And thus, also, would the minds of the people be kept sweet and healthy; for we may refine as we will, but the mind certainly has her indecencies as well as the body, and, when overloaded with indigested matter, must have vent somewhere; for nature will be obeyed; and surely good policy requires that a suitable place should be provided for the purpose, rather than that the public sense should be offended by the evacuations of every disordered mind; which, though necessary, are neither decked with roses nor perfumed with amber.

Yet I would not exclude from the common papers of the city, attempts at wit or satire, or little effusions in verse in the poets' corner. A sarcasm is nothing more than spitting—and so it is usual to say—"I have now spit my spite;"—a crude attempt at humour is parallel to blowing one's nose, for such humours are apt to collect in cold constitutions; and a young poetaster may be put into a considerable perspiration by the scorching flames of beauty—these may all happen in the best company without offence, provided they are conducted with decency; and they are certainly necessary to health.

I shall conclude with two instances in proof of my general system.

I knew a young man, about thirty-two years of age, of a slender habit of mind, who, from losses in trade and crosses in love, began to grow melancholy, retired, and discontented. He came to me for advice. I asked him if he had ever tried to write verses. He answered, that he had upon two or three occasions, and found he could tack rhymes together pretty well, but had no thoughts of cultivating the talent. But I advised him by all means to do it. He followed my prescription, and for a year or two employed himself in writing sonnets to Delia, odes to liberty, and elegies on squar-

rels, birds, and dead lap-dogs—with a variety of other subjects, according to the course of the humours that infected his mind. He is now of a calm contemplative habit, but far from melancholy; on the contrary, he is delighted with his own performances and enjoys the comfort of self applause, which, after all, is the most substantial comfort of life.

My second instance, is that of a German doctor, who has had, I think he has had, a vision, in which the mysteries and economy of the spiritual world were manifested to him. He has told me the story of this vision and a very long story it is. I heard it all with patient attention. Some time after, he wanted to tell me the same story over again, but I begged to be excused. Upon which he candidly assured me, that he found it absolutely necessary to relate the history of his vision at least once a week, or otherwise he grew restless and uneasy in his mind. He came indeed full up to my present system, and said, in direct terms, that it was a necessary evacuation of his mind.

The practice of the law affords, I confess, a convenient outlet for mental virulence. Not only what are called spite actions, but many of those of a more sober aspect, are only extravasations of mental bile. But the process is too expensive and too tedious for general use. My proposal is, I think, much better in every respect. It is a scheme by which envy and revenge may be gratified without danger, and without cost; and abuse, slander, and invective spend themselves, like rockets, in harmless explosions. For no man will ever think of giving credit to any thing contained in the \*\*\*\*\* or the \*\*\*\*\*

PROJECTOR.

*Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1788.*



*Lacouism.*

*Letter from the hon. Charles Thomson, Esq. secretary of congress, to general Clinton.*

*Sir, Philad. Sept. 28, 1778.*

YOUR letter of the nineteenth was laid before congress, and am directed to inform you that the congress of the united states of Ame-

ica make no answer to insolent letters.

I am, with due respect, sir,  
your obedient humble servant,  
Charles Thomson, sec'y.

*His excellency*

*gen. fir Henry Clinton, K. B.*

*&c. &c. &c. New York.*



*Addresses to the independent electors of  
the federal government.*

[F ever the attention of a people was required to consider of those things which concern their political welfare, the present situation of these states loudly demands it. Within the short period of twelve months, a constitution of government, has been framed, and offered to the consideration of every freeman, for his assent or dissent. The voice of eleven states, by their representatives in convention, has decided in its favour; and a majority of the most important states in the American union, are ready to risk their political happiness on the operation of this new system.

The debilitated state of our government, occasioned by the want of some efficient head, has deprived us of every advantage which we expected to reap from our independence. The ill policy of our commercial arrangements, has served to impoverish us in our finances, by the enormous remittances of our currency; occasioned an almost general bankruptcy; and has had the pernicious tendency, to discourage our enterprize in manufactures, and ruined many of those branches, which, during the war, had arisen to a flourishing state.

In this humiliating situation, have we been toiling for many years. The British nation, in particular, has been industriously pursuing every measure, to injure us in our mercantile concerns; but, notwithstanding their innumerable indignities, we have fondly courted their connexion. Our stores and shops have been for many years filled with the taudry badges of our infamous servility; and with grief do I make the remark, that the paltry fashions of that country, so eagerly followed by all ranks, are disgraceful specimens of our pusillanimity; and will, unless speedily checked, for ever fully our honour and dignity, as a free

people. Slaves may decorate themselves in the fantastic gewgaws of their masters—but how unworthy the character of a nation, which pretends to stile itself “sovereign and independent,” to be servilely copying the fopperies of those, who are insulting it with every national indignity! The conduct of the British, ever since the peace, has been as derogatory to us as an independent nation, as their declaratory act, wherein they arrogated to themselves, “the right of binding the Americans in all cases whatever.” This stretch of arbitrary power, we resented as became freemen; but what mighty boon have we acquired, if, in our connexion with them, we still submit to the commercial bonds and shackles which they are pleased, (in all cases which suit their interest) to lay upon us? Our trade with that nation, has been the principal source of all our misfortunes: it has thrown a number of our best estates into the hands of British merchants; has occasioned a most rapid decrease of our medium; has ruined our manufactures, and will, if pursued, sap the foundation of the best government that ever can be established in America.

The first object, therefore, of the federal government, must be to restrain our connexion with Great Britain, unless on terms of reciprocity. While they continue their duties and prohibitions, we must lay similar restrictions, and embarrassments on their trade, and prevent, by excessive duties, the redundancy of their manufactures. Unless this great business is effected, we may please ourselves with the prospect of a flourishing commerce; we may indulge a thousand agreeable ideas on the growing importance of our country; our husbandmen, tradesmen, and merchants may anticipate the halcyon days of peace and plenty; but depend on it, these things will be but imaginary, unless we shake off our destructive connexion with a nation, whose manufactures are, many of them, similar to those of our own country, and of consequence ought not to be imported; whose fashions are leading us to extravagance and dissipation; and above all, whose acts of legislation are tending to the destruction of our fishery, and

every other beneficial branch of commerce.

It is our duty, therefore, in our choice of men for our new government, to elect such as are known friends to the commercial interest of this country: such as are avowed advocates for the interest of the tradesmen and husbandmen; men whose connexions are separate from Britain; those who, during our contest with Britain, stood forth the inflexible friends of their country; and particularly such patriots, as have ever supported the genuine spirit of republicanism. If we fail in placing such men at the helm, in the first stage of our new constitution, so far from remedying our situation, or establishing a beneficial commerce, we shall become more and more involved in difficulties, and our trade more fettered by British impositions. We may expect the British nation will view us with jealousy, and will use every means to influence our councils: bribery, and every species of iniquity, will not be wanting; these instruments of state policy, will undoubtedly have their fatal effect, unless we have those men in our government, who are the tried friends of America, and the inflexible enemies of British measures.

Without doubt we shall have those presented us as candidates for the several departments of our government, who put on very specious appearances, and who now seem warmly attached to our interest. It is the duty of the people, therefore, early to make a distinction between such persons, as are eagerly becoming our friends, from the fond expectation of living on the loves and fishes of the constitution, and those who are studying the happiness and prosperity of the people, independent of sinister purposes. The former, we have reason to fear, will not regard the public voice, after they are intrusted with that authority by which they may promote their own private interest.

I would beg leave to recommend to this and our sister states, the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Fox, to the electors of Westminster in 1782—with a little variation, as it suits the present times.

“We are too apt to imagine, that if we adopt (the federal constitution)

we have got all we have wished for; but, my countrymen, this is not true; you are deceived when you are told so: it is a most undoubted fact, that when you adopt this constitution, you have got a good mean, and an excellent instrument—but it is still necessary, you should attend to the use of that instrument, and watch vigilantly that it be placed in proper hands. It is certain, no equality of representation—no constitution upon paper, practice of any kind whatever—can preserve the honour and respectability of this country, if the management of our government is not entrusted to able and honest men. It is our earnest wish, to have a permanent a beneficial constitution; the greatness, therefore, to secure this, will arise from the watchfulness and attention of the people; that when we have got the just and powerful instrument, in our hands, of an excellent constitution, we may make use of it for the noblest ends; for watching over the executive as well as the legislative government of our country, so as that our interests abroad, and safety at home, be secured upon the basis of all foundations, the vigilance of the people, display through a constitutional medium. Such sentiments from so great a politician and friend to America, ought to have the greatest weight on the mind of every friend to his country.

A REPUBLICAN.

Boston, July, 1788.



*Thoughts on the constitution of Maryland, especially as it relates to the right in the people to instruct the legislature. By James M. Henry, esq.*

ON E is disposed to expect happiness and tranquility in a government founded in actual compact wherein the people have specific their peculiar rights, and the right of the sovereignty; yet, happiness and tranquility are not always found in such governments, either from the people or the sovereignty mistaking the compact, or attempting usurpations.

Monarchy is unknown in a republic, but sovereignty is essential to its existence. This kind of sovereignty is the power that enacts laws, which in Maryland, is lodged in the general assembly.

It is made a question, whether the people of Maryland are vested with a right to instruct their sovereignty. Perhaps the best way to determine this question is, to try it by the compact.

1st. Let us examine the organization of the general assembly or sovereignty. The compact does not allow all the people to participate in the government; many are excluded from a right of suffrage; and a few only can compose the sovereignty, while a part of it may be changed annually, and the whole of it once every seven years.

These disabilities, exclusions, and qualifications have for their object an upright legislature, endowed with faculties to judge of the things most proper to promote the public good. These frequent elections are to afford the people an opportunity to change the trustees of the sovereignty, when of opinion, that others would execute more to their satisfaction. And this organization fixes the deliberative powers with the sovereignty, and the active with the people.

But that the people may not suffer their liberties, by the *abuse* of this deliberative power, they stipulate that they shall not be disturbed in the enjoyment of certain specified rights. And that certain things, enumerated in the compact, shall not become objects of legislation. And as a further security against encroachments of the sovereignty, they stipulate that in such an event, they may reform the government, or establish a new one.

2dly. When persons enter into a compact, they cannot demand more or greater privileges than what they stipulate for. One of the articles of the compact is a right in the people to petition. Now no one ever stipulates for an inferior privilege, and expects to enjoy a superior. This is contrary to reason.

Some have imagined that the relation between principal and deputy, master and servant, constituent and delegate, vests the people with a right to instruct the sovereignty. If this argument is good for any thing, a delegate or senator is subject to be recalled by the people, otherwise the finity or relation proves nothing. But it is very unlikely, had a right to

instruct been compatible with the compact, or proper for the people to have exercised under it, that it would have been left to be discovered by chance, brought forward by analogy, and supported by abstract reasoning.

Others are of opinion, that, unless the general assembly is bound by instructions, the people are neither free nor independent. Vattel observes, "a person does not cease to be free and independent, when he is obliged to fulfil the engagements into which he very willingly entered."

3dly. A right to instruct the sovereignty, places the deliberative power in the people, and brings every thing back to that chaos which existed before the compact.

4thly. But if a right to instruct the general assembly be admitted, it still remains to be determined, by which of the people it may be lawfully exercised. Are paupers to instruct? Are men whose property falls short of thirty pounds currency, or whom youth excludes from the right of suffrage, to instruct? Are persons having a right of suffrage, but whose property and qualifications do not entitle them to a seat in the legislature, to instruct? If these may instruct, then are men, whom the compact disqualifies from exercising the sovereignty, greater than the sovereignty.

5thly. A government by instruction is a government "never ending, still beginning," in which every thing fluctuates, in which nothing is stable. How much to be dreaded is such a government, how much to be preferred the situation of a people whose compact, instead of a right to instruct, vests them with a right to discontinue!—a right which gives the people efficient controul over the deliberative power: for what delegate or senator, desirous to be continued in the sovereignty, will venture to act contrary to the sense of his electors?

Lastly, It is by new and frequent elections that the sense of the people is obtained in the most unexceptionable manner, and the evils arising from ambiguity in the language of instruction, avoided: when, if re-elections do not effect a change in the system or proceedings of the sovereignty, it is the strongest proof the case admits of,

that the bulk of the electors approve of the politics of the sovereignty.

The author of these remarks has been more attentive to arrive at truth, than at popularity. He knows how easy it is to inflame, and how difficult it is to produce conviction, where the bulk of the people are indisposed to serious enquiry, or deep investigation: but as the compact is not long, it may be soon read; and as it is plainly written, it may be easily comprehended; so that, he flatters himself, his judges will not condemn his opinions, before they are satisfied they understand the constitution.

*Baltimore, Feb. 20. 1787.*



*Address of Samuel Chase, esq. to his constituents, the voters of Anne-Arundel county, on the right of constituents to instruct their representatives.*

*Gentlemen,*

AS one of your delegates, I hold myself responsible to you for my conduct, and bound to obey your instructions, in every case, in which you please to give them: or to resign my seat. I observe in the Maryland Journal of this day, a draught of instructions, which are asserted to be now circulating among you for subscription. I esteem it my duty to caution you against putting your names to a paper, which, in my opinion, contains an explicit and absolute surrender of one of your greatest and most invaluable rights and privileges, as freemen,—the right of instructing either, or both branches of your legislature, on any subject, that materially concerns your welfare, happiness or safety. These instructions have two objects in view: one to prevent an emission of paper money on loan, to be received in taxes; and the other to establish a principle, that the people of this state have no right to instruct the senate, on any matter, however it may affect the prosperity, peace, or safety of the government.

As to the first object of these instructions, an emission of paper money, I know your sentiments, and have no reason to believe you have changed them; if you have altered your opinion, be pleased to inform me; and I will give up my private

judgment, and endeavour to carry it to execution your pleasure.

As to the second object of these instructions, "that you cannot constitutionally (that is, without a breach of it) interfere with the deliberations of the senate, (or, in other words, instruct that body, on any subject, however important and interesting to you until the ends of government shall be perverted, and liberty manifestly endangered," I earnestly solicit you most seriously to deliberate, and consider the subject, before you give your assent, probation and sanction to such doctrine.

The framers of these instructions have assigned no reasons to induce you to adopt their opinions; and so important a subject, the sentiment of no man ought to have any further respect or influence with you, than what arises from the reasons adduced by him, and your confidence in his integrity, knowledge, experience and sincerity. The house of delegates are under a very different impression from the proposers of these instructions. In their address to you, they declare, "they esteem themselves responsible to their constituents for their conduct, and that on all subjects, that materially concern their welfare and happiness, they are to be consulted and their opinions, freely and fairly delivered, ought to govern their deliberations." They also declare, "that they hold both branches of your legislature bound by the instructions of the people, whenever they please to give them." I should imagine that the opinion of unknown individuals if weighed in the scale against that of your house of delegates, would instantly kick the beam.

The instructions, proposed to you for your assent, do not controvert the right of the people to instruct the members of the house of delegates: they only maintain the position, that the people have no right to instruct the senate. By only denying the right of instructing the senate, it seems to admit the right of controul over the house of delegates.

If the people cannot constitutionally (that is, without a violation of it) interfere with the deliberations of the senate, during the five years for which they are elected, I apprehend it may



cessarily follow, that they cannot interfere with the deliberations of the use of delegates, during the year for which they are chosen. It seems to me, that every reason urged to exempt the senate, from any dependence on, or controul of, the people, will apply equally, if not greater, propriety of force to exempt the house of delegates. All lawful authority originates from the people; and their power is like the light of the sun, native, original, inherent, and unlimited human authority. Power, in the hands, or governors of the people, like the reflected light of the moon, is only borrowed, delegated, and limited by the grant of the people. The right of the people, to participate in the legislature, is the foundation of all free government; and where that right is not enjoyed, the people are not free; this right is the genuine element of representation; and from this right proceeds a government, like ours, by representation. Both branches of our legislature derive all their power from the people, and equally hold their commission to legislate, or make laws, from the grant of the people; and there is no difference between them but only in the duration of their commission. Their authority proceeds from the same source, and is equal, and co-extensive. It appears to me, that the mode of choice by the people, can make no difference in the political relation between the people and the house of delegates, and the people and the senate;—the former elected immediately by the people themselves in person; and the latter chosen by deputies, appointed by the people for that purpose. The two branches have only a derivative and delegated power. The people create and vest them with legislative authority, to be exercised agreeably to the constitution; and therefore both branches must be equally the representatives, trustees, and servants of the people, and the people are equally the constituents of both. If the senate are under no controul of the people, in any sense, neither are the house of delegates. The legislative power, by our form of government, is granted to two distinct bodies of men, to operate as checks upon each other; and hence the evident necessity that each

body should be entirely and absolutely free and independent of the other; but both bodies must be subject to the instructions of the people, or neither. If there was but one branch of the legislature, as in Pennsylvania, would it be independent of all controul from its constituents? I have before observed that our government is a government by representation. The people appoint representatives in the senate and house of delegates to transact the business of making laws for them, which is impracticable for them to do in person. From the nature of a government by representation, the deputies must be subject to the will of their principals, or this manifest absurdity and plain consequence must follow, that a few men would be greater than the whole community, and might act in opposition to the declared sense of all their constituents.

The doctrine, that the representatives of the people are not bound by their instructions, is entirely new in this country, and broached since the revolution, and was never heard of but within these few weeks. You all remember, that, under the old government, you claimed, and frequently exercised, the right of instructing your members in the lower house of assembly. This right, and the exercise of it, was never questioned under the proprietary government. Astonishing to me, that any man should dare to doubt, much more deny, this right under the new government!—you also recollect that you claimed no right to instruct the upper house of assembly; and I conceive for this reason, because they were not elected by you, but were appointed by the proprietary; and were, in truth his representatives. By our constitution, you do appoint the senate, and they are, and have uniformly claimed themselves to be, your representatives. If they are your representatives, they are bound by your instructions, or you destroy the very idea of election, and of delegated power. To represent, is to speak and act agreeably to the opinions and sentiments of the persons represented, in the same manner as they would do, if personally present; of consequence, therefore, to speak and act contrary to the declared will of the persons represented, is not

to represent, but to misrepresent them.

"The right of electors in England, to instruct their members in the house of commons, was never controverted," says a late writer, "until the system of corruption (which has since arrived at so dangerous a height) began to predominate in that kingdom; then it was, that arbitrary ministers, and their prostituted dependents, began to maintain this doctrine, dangerous to our liberty, that the representatives were independent of the people." Before that time, the constant language in the house of commons was, "whose business are we doing? How shall we answer this to the people? what will the people of England say to this?" &c. &c. &c.

Our law books, and treatises by Sydney, and many other celebrated writers on the English government, inform us, that "not only particular members, but the whole body of the house of commons often refused to grant money, or to agree to requisitions from the crown, before they consulted with their constituents;" and that "they often adjourned for this purpose." The English history affords innumerable instances of instructions by the electors, in that nation, to their members in the house of commons; and this practice, for above 150 years, proves the sense of the people of that country, of their right to instruct, and that their representatives were bound to obey them.

We also find that the members of the house of commons frequently declared, in debate, "that their duty to their electors obliged them to vote as directed." Many of the greatest patriots the English nation ever produced, have declared their opinion, that "it is the duty of the representatives of the people, implicitly to obey the instructions of their constituents." A late judicious writer thus delivers himself, "our representatives in parliament are not the bare likeness or reflection of us, their constituents; they actually contain our power, and are, as it were, the very persons of the people they represent. We are the parliament in them; we speak and act by them; we have therefore a right to know what they say and do; and should they contradict our sense,

or swerve from our interests, we have a right to remonstrate and direct them; by which means we become the regulators of our own conduct and the institutors of our own law, and nothing material can be done, but by our authority and consent."

This doctrine, that the constituents have no right to instruct their representatives, in the language of the true patriots, sir John Barnard, and William Windham, in the house of commons, "is not only a new and wicked doctrine, but it is the most monstrous, and most slavish doctrine that was ever heard, and such a doctrine as no man will dare to suppose within these walls." A celebrated American writer observes, when the right of the people to instruct their representatives is taken from them, they may justly complain, as Demosthenes did for the Athenians—"that the representative has now usurped the right of the people, and exercises an arbitrary power over his ancient and natural lord." This writer remarks "that no instance can be produced in which the people have abused the right, nor is there any reason to believe they will ever do it; they act from what they feel; and when that feeling is general, it must be real." The virtuous and great mr. Addison observed "that the nobility and gentry have many private expectations, and particular interests, that hang like a false bias upon their judgments, and may possibly dispose them to sacrifice the good of their country to the advancement of their own fortunes; where the gross of the people can have no other prospect in changes, and revolutions, than of public blessings, that are to diffuse themselves through the whole state in general."

I can find but one author who has ventured to assert, that a member of the house of commons is not bound by the instructions of his constituents. Judge Blackstone has delivered this opinion, and he founds it on a fiction, that after the person is elected, he becomes the representative of the whole kingdom, and not of a particular part. The sophistry of this argument is sufficiently manifest; and if true, it would only follow, that all the members would be bound by the instructions of a majority of all their constituents.

judge Blackstone is against voting by ballot, in the house of commons, "because the conduct of every member is subject to the future censure of his constituents, and therefore should be openly submitted to their inspection."

late writer observes, on this opinion of Blackstone, "if the members of the house of commons are not obliged to regard the instructions of their constituents, the people of this country loose a set of despots every seven years, and are as perfect slaves as the Turks, excepting at the time of the general election;" and remarks that he laments that a writer, whose admirable work will be read as long as England, its laws, and language remain, should be so sparingly tinctured with the true and generous principles of liberty."

By our constitution, the general assembly are authorized to appoint delegates to represent this state in congress; and you well know, that in many instances, (some of them of the greatest consequence) the general assembly have claimed and exercised the right of instructing them, as to their conduct in their representative capacity. This power is not granted to the legislature by the constitution, and can only be supported on the principle, that the trust is delegated to them.

the legislature, and therefore they must have a right to direct their conduct.

It is not unworthy of notice, that the proposed instructions most graciously allow the people to interfere with the deliberations of the senate, when the ends of government shall be perverted, and liberty manifestly endangered." Where is this exception to the power of the senate to be found? who is to judge when the senate shall pervert the end of their institution, and endanger the public liberty? the people, I presume. Such limitation as this on the power of the senate is useless; for if they may without any controul, until our liberties are in manifest danger, it may be too late to resist; and we then could only execrate our own folly and blindness in submitting to such a restriction of the power of the senate. The right in the people to resist their oppressors when they attempt to enslave them, is paramount, and not derived

from the form of government, and it supposes a subversion of the government before it can be rightfully exercised; but the right of the people to instruct the legislature is necessarily implied in the establishment, and is the very essence of our government; and is to be exercised in the support and execution of it, according to the nature and principles of it. "Whenever government assumes to itself a power of opposing the sense of a majority of the people, it declares itself a proper and formal tyranny, in the fullest, strongest, and most correct sense of the word."

If it should be said, that it is nowhere declared in the form of government, that the people have a right to instruct their legislature, I would observe,—that it is not prohibited; and that all power not granted by the people, remains with them. I conceive this right of instructing commenced with the establishment of our government by representation, because it is necessary to that freedom, which is the essence of it; and is founded in the laws of justice, which are eternal and immutable, that those who are to feel the effects of any measure, should direct in the conduct of it, otherways they will be wretched tools and slaves.

It is one question, whether the citizens of this state (entitled to vote for delegates and electors of the senate) have any right, agreeably to the constitution, to instruct the senate, in any case, that materially concerns the prosperity, peace and safety of the state; and that the senate are bound to act according to the instructions freely and fairly given by a majority of such citizens; and it is another and a very different question, whether the people shall exercise this right in any particular case, or on any particular occasion. The existence of the right is of the greatest and last importance to the people; the exercise of it may frequently be of very little consequence, or wholly improper and unnecessary.

I cannot believe that a majority of the senate, in their legislative capacity, will ever maintain, that they are not bound by the instructions of a majority of the people of this country, freely and fairly given. They are pleased to say, "that our govern-

ment may, with a peculiar propriety, be called the government of the people ;" but if they are above any controul of the people, in any case, I think with much greater propriety, our government may be styled a government by the senate ; and in such case our liberties must finally yield to despotism—An unlimited negative will soon include an absolute affirmative.

Impelled by a sense of duty, I have thus thought proper to put you on your guard, lest you should be taken by surprise, and subscribe a doctrine, which, in my judgment, if submitted to, will in time subvert your free government, and erect a tyranny on its ruin.—I am, gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL CHASE.

Baltimore-Town, February 9, 1787.



*Address to the friends of religion, morality, and useful knowledge.*

(Continued from page 332.)

NUMBER II.

**I**N considering the means by which we can most advantageously disseminate information among our German fellow-citizens, we find the subject naturally divides itself into two parts, first, necessary and useful knowledge, in which all will admit us to include reading, writing and common arithmetic ; and secondly, elegant literature and science. The good work in the latter department has been most happily commenced by the establishment of Franklin College, in a very healthy, central and proper situation. The flourishing town of Lancaster, with the adjacent counties of Lancaster, York, Dauphin, and Berks, and parts of Cumberland, Chester, and Northumberland, wherein a very large proportion of the Germans reside, and are rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers, was chosen with great judgment to found this seat of learning. In forming its constitution, and distributing the duties and patronage of this seminary, the most liberal and judicious principles have evidently governed its founders. The Calvinist or Reformed, the Lutheran, the Moravian, and the Roman Catholic German churches, have each a share

of its honours and its powers. While the empire of Germany exhibits fifteen protestant and seventeen Roman Catholic universities, we have founded our first seat of German literature on the broad basis of christianity, leaving it in the discretion of the several religious societies to establish inferior schools, and the care of their respective churches. A little circumstance in the dedication of this seminary, which may long since have escaped the memory of those who were present, and which was known to very few who were absent, has often given me the most sincere pleasure. That solemn and interesting ceremony was performed by the lawful body of representatives of six protestant and catholic churches, German and English. A luxuriant seal to the friends of liberty, and sure prognostic, that this infant institution will become a seat of the most liberal science and philosophy.

It has been observed by some, that the establishment of a college cannot be useful in the present state of information among the Germans. On mature reflexion, however, I am disposed to believe the measure will be found to be a very good one. It has attracted our attention to the too general want of useful knowledge among those meritorious people—it has set up a respectable standard, as it were, of an high hill, visible to every eye as it were, to which the friends of the Germans and of German literature may repair. A place is thus pointed out in which they may embody, as it may be formed and organized. It makes a respectable beginning of an important and necessary work. Here a plan of erecting a number of small schools, in a variety of places, been attempted, more local difficulties would have arisen, more jealous and contending feelings would have been excited, and probably nothing material would have been done. Furthermore—as this institution is now incorporated, as it is fixed in the most proper situation in the state, as many private donations have been given to it and some public grants, as its foundation is a model of liberality, both as to the mixture of the German and English, and of the various sects of the Germans themselves, it ought to

supported with assiduity, sincerity, and spirit.

Besides the obvious and ordinary means of promoting the advancement of Franklin college, by care in choosing its trustees, president, professors, tutors, and by private and public donations, another great measure presents itself—immediate attention and remitted exertion, to propagate necessary and useful knowledge among the citizens of German birth and extraction. This you will remember is another part into which the subject divided itself.

The constitution of this commonwealth enjoins upon every legislator, at the time being, the duty of establishing by law in each county “a school or schools” for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, may enable them to instruct youth at low prices. This is a duty of the most serious and important nature, suggested by sound policy and philanthropy, and commanded by the supreme law of the land. Let not then a judicious, benevolent or faithful citizen withhold his assistance. Let a wise or virtuous legislator delay to carry it into execution. But to our intent: let the German people and their friends immediately form a plan for a public school in every city, town, and county, where they abound, and let them apply to government for such aid as the circumstances of the state will enable them to give. Grants of lands in the old or new purchase are the most obvious and the most easy. Wherever schools are already opened by religious societies, or individuals, which have acquired some funds and a degree of establishment, let them apply to the legislature for aid in lands. The towns and boroughs have, or easily can have, their several schools. There is any doubt arising in the public mind about the utility of learning education among the people at large, there can be no question about the usefulness and necessary articles of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Let these alone for a time be attended to, and the rest will follow, since there is already a respectable college for those to repair to, on whom providence has bestowed a sufficient share of property and understanding. The inferior schools,

scattered in convenient places, through the towns and counties, will be like so many nurseries of trees, where the young plants may grow promiscuously, and from which those who distinguish themselves by superior abilities, may be transplanted to the more favourable situation of the college, and may be thus cultivated to bless their country with the fruits, which a benevolent providence has enabled them to produce. The state of Connecticut has steadily and carefully pursued the plan of disseminating useful knowledge among their youth, and to this, above all other things, may be ascribed their superior information upon all the interesting affairs of life. Virginia has also established a great number of small public schools, one, it is said, in every county, where those who can pay, are taught on low terms, and those who cannot afford the expence, have that first of all blessings, a plain useful education, bestowed upon them by the state. From these county schools, there is an annual selection of one or two distinguished youths, taken from among those that are unable to pay, who are carried forward as the most promising children of the state, into their public university, where they receive a finished education free from any charge. Virginia is a most respectable member of our union, but, in my mind, no fact in all her affairs is half so honourable to her as this. It is an act of the highest wisdom and benevolence, and must in due time produce its own reward. Pennsylvania—“Do thou likewise,” and thou also shalt be surely rewarded.

It will be seen at once that these inducements to the introduction of schools, free to the poor, and cheap to all, apply to every part of our citizens, and I hope that all will one day enjoy the blessings of such a measure; but the present situation of many of our German fellow-citizens, in regard to necessary and useful knowledge, occasions these considerations to operate much more forcibly with respect to them, than any other part of the community. It is not our wish to impede the same measures with regard to the whole state, but to call upon those, who are sensible of the value and numbers of the Germans, no longer to delay those things which may render them

as eminently useful to themselves, their families, and their country, as providence has evidently intended them to become.

If we take a view of the grants of government for the purpose of education among the Germans, we shall find they do not bear any just proportion, either to their numbers or their property. As they have generally fourteen or fifteen members in the general assembly, and as our representatives are proportioned to the taxable inhabitants, as one to one thousand, the Germans may be reasonably considered as at least one fifth of the people of Pennsylvania. Yet it will be found, on examination, that the bounties of the state to the university alone, are tentimes as valuable as all the grants the German schools have ever received. Distributive justice then requires, that something more should be done for them. The scarcity of money is well known, and must be allowed for; but grants of land will be attended with no inconvenience, and it will be allowed, we trust, that it is both as politic and benevolent, to propagate useful knowledge among those who stand in need of it, as to extend polite literature and science; which, however, we also wish to be steadily patronized and encouraged.

Besides the aid of government, many other methods should be pursued to promote our design. It is said there are above forty clergymen enrolled in the synod or assembly of the Lutheran church alone---of the Calvinist, Moravian, Roman Catholic, and other German churches, there must be many more. These gentlemen (whose duty it is to promote useful knowledge, because it increases virtue and happiness) should exert themselves to establish schools in their several neighbourhoods. If they could spare a part of each day to instruct the poor only, or if they could make it convenient to open a regular school free for the poor, and cheap for those who have property, it would be a good beginning to this necessary work. Their schools would increase, to the great benefit of their congregations, and possibly to their own profit. They should also correspond regularly with each other, upon the subject, and should consult upon it at the meet-

ings of their vestries, by which the sensible and religious men, of which the bodies are composed, would be induced to join with them, and to exert themselves to open schools in all convenient situations. The general synods, meetings of the German clergy, whether protestant or Roman Catholic should consult, and exert themselves upon this subject, and they should confer and correspond with one another for it is a common duty incumbent upon all good men, to whatever sect or church they may belong. The Germans are a judicious people, as they must see the necessity of the things. They are also a spirited people, and will feel a desire to place themselves upon as respectable a footing as any body of men in the state. They are likewise an industrious, persevering people, and if they will undertake this matter, they will certainly carry it through. They have already many excellent characters among themselves, who are able and willing to do a great deal towards this matter, and there are many also, of other societies, that will cheerfully lend the assistance to so salutary and benevolent a purpose.

In pursuing this plan to completion a considerable time will necessarily be spent, and frequent occasions will happen when the joint endeavours of all the German religious societies will be wanted. Sometimes, also, one part will have to wait, or sacrifice some little advantage to serve another. Let them set out, therefore, with kind, reasonable disposition to each other; a disposition of friendship and concession. Let them banish little jealousies and injurious passions. Let them forget that they are Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Catholics, &c. and let them remember that they are all Pennsylvanians and Christians.

When a body of people are rising from a state of depression to their natural station and dignity, the general deportment of those who are first successful, is a matter of the utmost importance; the elder part of the Germans will, therefore, excuse me for offering to them a little sincere advice. When they get money and lands, let them remember that nothing will better enable their children to keep their property, than being taught to read

and write in German and English—as so to cypher. And if they acquire good deal of property, they should buy for their children useful books to read in evenings, in bad weather, and on holidays. They will find a little money laid out in this way will be like sowing good seed wheat, which will in due time produce a crop of virtue, and morality; and knowledge to guard against rogues, to keep their own money, and to earn more. Their children will stand no chance to preserve their property, if they are ignorant. Dishonest people, who have been taught knowledge, will too often be able to get it from them.

It will be also proper to say a few words to the younger part of the Germans. Their situation, in common with all young people, is more dangerous than that of their parents. Age and experience secure the latter, but youth and temptation put the former in danger. The young people must not forget the industry by which their fathers got their money, nor the prudence and frugality by which they kept it, nor the honesty and caution by which their parents acquired the esteem and confidence of their neighbours. As their good parents have raised their situation in life, and got money for them, so they must also endeavour to raise their own situation in life, and get more property for themselves and their children. Young men should have spirit, but it should be laudable and well directed. They ought to be very anxious to distinguish themselves in the eyes of the world, for doing every thing that is right and proper, for doing their work for their business well, for getting knowledge, doing public good, keeping free from debt and disorderly conduct, and for all those things which distinguish a worthy young man, and dispose every body to approve or admire him.

Since, then, the ancient and modern character of the German nation displays the most estimable qualities of the body, the mind, and the heart, and since our German fellow-citizens (and their descendants) who have come to us from that country, have discovered the clearest proofs of the same valuable qualities, but have not yet received that improvement which is necessary to bring all those qualities

into use and action, let such of them as have been favoured with education and property—and let us, who have descended from other nations—all heartily join in every single step, and in such a system of measures, as will most certainly produce the propagation of useful knowledge, the extension of science, and the advancement of religion among that numerous and valuable body of our fellow-citizens.

# PHILANTHROPOS.



*Address to the friends of American manufactures—ascribed to Tench Coxe, esq.*

IN all important undertakings, especially those in which we have little experience, it is prudent often and carefully to review the ground on which we are proceeding. American manufactures engaged but a small share of the public attention, as a branch of business in this state, until 1787; though economical domestic manufactures were common in all our populous counties many years before. In the autumn of last year, however, many circumstances concurred to awaken the public attention to this important object, both as a necessary economical practice, and as a branch of internal trade. The experience of twelve months, and the opportunities of enquiry and reflexion which that period has afforded, have made us better judges of the subject; and a careful review of the occurrences which have taken place, will enable us, perhaps, to form some safe opinions of our future prospects. If our sanguine expectations have arisen from too partial an attachment to our private interests, or from a blind fondness for our country, we cannot be too soon rescued from our delusion: but if, on the contrary, success and experience have realized, in some degree, the advantages expected, let us steadily pursue the beneficial scheme, remembering at the same time, that we ought carefully to guard against unjust and unnecessary sacrifices of the advantages of such of our countrymen as are engaged in other necessary pursuits.

The friends of this business, in 1787, held out to the public an expectation, that several circumstances very favourable to manufactures, would soon

take place. The event has shewn they were not too sanguine: and it may be of use to lay before the people of the united states, some of the principal events and matters, promotive of manufactures, which have occurred within the last twelve months.

The reduction of rents in all the towns of the united states, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia—the fall in the price of wood and coal, which have been lower here than at any time before the revolution—and the great reduction in the price of provisions, especially of corn, vegetables, and butchers' meat—were predicted, and have taken place. By this relief, the manufacturer and mechanic have been enabled to work on lower terms, and can live well now by prices, which a few years ago would not maintain them; for it requires no argument to prove that the rate of rents, provisions, and fuel, must ever materially affect the price of labour and workmanship.

The want of workmen, and the high rate of labour were difficulties which the friends of manufactures frankly admitted. Besides the relief on this point, just mentioned, they promised themselves aid from machines which were said to be in use in foreign countries, and which it was hoped we might obtain; and notwithstanding the impediments\*, which the natural jealousy and self interest of man-

kind have thrown in our way, acquisitions of the utmost consequence have been made. A model of a machine for carding cotton, and of another for spinning cotton are now in our possession. Experiments, that promise a handsome profit and great public advantage, have been made with these machines in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts; and other states are now turning their attention to them. In short the great desiderata—the principle of these invaluable machines—are obtained and secured to us for ever. Their value is perhaps not sufficiently seen by ourselves, but is well known to those foreign rivals with whom we have to contend. We do not mean to censure them, but heartily rejoice in the early success of our endeavours to obtain them. Beside this great acquisition, several others of inferior importance have been procured from abroad.

We promised ourselves also aid from the efforts of native genius, and here again we have not been disappointed. Some instances of consequence are known to us, and others no doubt have occurred, of which we have not heard—those only that are near or very great would come to our knowledge. In aid of the iron branch of manufactures, highly important to Pennsylvania, machinery has been lately invented for making many new articles by water. Mr. Oliver Evans's invention of the elevator and hopperboy is a great acquisition to the farmer and miller, and there can be no doubt, but it will apply to many purposes, besides that for which it is now used. The new invented boiler, for the generation of steam, must be considered as an invaluable acquisition to the friends of manufactures in America. This cheap and simple engine puts into our hands a mighty, yet manageable power, capable of a great variety of useful applications.

Emigration, it was thought, would give us an addition of hands: and this expectation has also been realized. When we consider the situation and prospects of our country; that new

#### NOTE.

*\* The writer, it is presumed, alludes here to a circumstance, which, for obvious reasons, ought to be generally known. In the year 1787, two carding and spinning machines, which were in the possession of a citizen of Philadelphia, and which were calculated to save the labour of not less than 120 workmen, daily, were purchased by the agency of a British artisan—packed up in cases, as common merchandize—and sent to Liverpool. The real movers in this transaction may have acted in perfect consistency with the dictates of national and commercial rivalry: but it is hoped this circumstance will awaken the same prudent spirit of jealousy and circumspection in all the other states, which, in Pennsylvania, has given rise to the late salutary law, to pre-*

#### NOTE.

*vent the exportation of machines, and enticing away artisans from this state.*



buildings are reducing rents; that the opening of coal mines, is daily lessening the price of fuel; that while the restraints on trade are interfering with the sale of our produce and raw materials, new farms and returning industry are increasing the quantity of each; that here the European manufacturer may enjoy equal and perfect civil liberty; and that our new federal constitution insures for ever the most uninterrupted liberty of conscience, by the rejection of religious tests; I say, when we consider these circumstances, we cannot doubt that the emigration we have witnessed, will continue and increase.

While the preceding facts have extended the means, and lessened the expences of manufacturing in America, changes in regard to raw materials, very favourable to the plan, have taken place. Flax, for example, which was worth 10d. per pound, in 1787, is now at the moderate price of 5d. h. to 7d. in our different markets. This great article of manufacture sells at 9d. our money, per pound, in Ireland. Can any man then doubt the establishment of the linen branch in the united states? Will an Irish manufacturer be able to give 9d. for his raw material, and send his goods to America under charges of twenty per cent. when we can obtain as good a raw material at 6d. h. and have charges equal to one fifth of the value of the linen? As flax has fallen, so has the seed. A single year has taken off near half its value. Oil-mills will now be more fully and profitably employed. The reduction of the price of leather, has given us an export trade in that article, and in shoes and harness; and the valuable branch of coach-making is sensibly assisted thereby. The reduced price of barley, and other circumstances, have restored to us the manufactory of malt, and have firmly established those wholesome and important articles, ale, beer, and porter. Butter have fallen so low, that the manufacture of cheese has risen to real consequence. To this, the restraint imposed upon butter in foreign markets, has contributed exceedingly. Thus the policy of Great-Britain, by giving the market of the West-Indies exclusively to Irish butter, has lost the sale in our market for English cheese.

The price of hemp is more favourable to the manufacture of cordage and sail cloth than heretofore. That of indigo assists the dyer, and every branch that has occasion to employ him. The reduced price of steel has restored the manufacture of some articles that were for a time taken from us, and has given us some new ones. The prices of rolled iron and nail rods have relieved the iron-plate workers, and established the nail makers completely. The prices of tallow, and coarser fats, have banished foreign candles, and restored the manufactory of that article, and soap. In these and many other particulars, have the reduced prices of raw materials aided or established the American manufacture.

Cotton was much spoken of in 1787, and it was considered as a great object to introduce it into extensive cultivation in the southern states. Happily for America, the spirit and good sense of the planters have led them early to take our hint. The gentlemen of the federal convention were strongly impressed with the importance of this article, and we find they communicated their opinions so generally on their return, that we are well assured they have planted all the cotton seeds that could be procured. Some hundreds of acres, it is very certain, have been put in. Here, again, symptoms of alarm in our foreign manufacturing rivals, very flattering to our hopes from cotton and the cotton machines, appeared; for the seed of this valuable plant was actually bought up, and burned by them in one of the states\*. The importance of this arti-

NOTE.

\* From incontrovertible evidence, it appears, that a considerable quantity cotton of seed was purchased in Virginia by British agents, and burned, in order, if possible, to avert the injurious effects, which the extension of the cotton manufacture in America, must produce on the importation of Manchester goods, &c.—This manœuvre has some affinity to, or at least arises from the same kind of policy, which has been but too successful in destroying infant manufactures in Ireland. Several attempts have been made in that kingdom by enterprising and public spirited indivi-

cle to the planter, the merchant and manufacturer, will insure it, we trust, the closest attention of the former. Small difficulties, or a few unfavourable symptoms, ought not to discourage us. We are to remember, that it has been once raised in the open air in Pennsylvania, and that the southern parts of Maryland and Delaware have produced it, without failing, for many successive years. In the strongest lands, from Virginia to Georgia, it must therefore succeed. Particular attention should be paid to its appearance in every stage, its ripening, and its produce in various soils and different situations, especially as they may be near or far removed from the sea.

Besides the reduction of labour, provisions, rents, fuel, and raw materials, and the introduction of cotton machines—other circumstances have concurred to promote the scheme of

## NOTE.

*duals to carry on different manufactures to the same extent as in England. On all such occasions, their British competitors have immediately taken the alarm—sent large quantities of the same articles to Ireland—where, besides the invaluable advantage of excellence which generally attends established manufactures, they have undersold the natives, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. An unequal contest followed, in which industry and individual exertion had to contend with the spirit of monopoly and immense capitals. The consequence is obvious. The former, wanting the cherishing aid of legislative interference, in duties on the imported, and bounties on the home-made articles, have fallen a sacrifice; and the pernicious effects were felt not only in the immediate destruction of hopeful undertakings, but in checking a salutary spirit of enterprize in future.—The venality of the Irish parliament, and their subservience to the British ministry, prevent the imposition of protecting duties, so long, so zealously, and so unanimously called for by the Irish nation. But in America no such danger is to be apprehended, as her legislature will be the free choice of the people, and will be as highly interested as they, in counteracting the schemes of inimical powers.—C.*

manufactures. By the adoption of the federal constitution, the injudicious and unkind measure of laying duties on home manufactures has been done away, and a just and liberal policy has been adopted in its stead, whereby the produce of the agricultural states will be exchanged for the goods of the manufacturing states, free from impossibility. By this wise and brotherly provision, the American manufacturer may sell his commodities to the American agriculturist throughout the union; and the planters and farmers may sell their indigoes, rice, tobacco, hides, cotton, flax, flour, and other articles of raw materials and provisions, to the American manufacturer, establishing thereby an honourable dependence of the united states upon one another, and not upon foreign nations.

The American manufacturer, during the time of inconsiderate and unbounded adventure to this country, was often perplexed by injudicious importations of foreign goods, which while they injured him, were attended with loss to the importer. We need only mention malt liquors, cordage, loaf-sugar, steel, shoes, cabinet-work, &c. This short-lived trade is, however, at an end, and we shall hereafter less frequently see our own manufactures subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers.

It was too obvious, in the 1787, that dangerous passions for European manufactures and luxuries was spreading like an epidemic distemper, through the united states—hostile at once to the American manufacturer and to our happiness. Fortunately for us, we became sensible of our error. Ashamed of our folly, and alarmed at the danger we were in, a serious change was generally resolved on, and has really taken place, as beneficial to home manufactures, as our former habits were injurious. Buckskin breeches and gloves, home-made jeans and cottons, homespun stockings, of thread cotton, and worsted, American porter, beer, and cheese, and many other articles, have become fashionable in dress, and familiar in diet—and in general, a greater simplicity and frugality has been introduced into our families.

A general impost upon foreign

oods being now secured by the adoption of the federal constitution, those states which formerly laid no duties, will now be induced by the imposition of that charge, to prefer American manufactures, and to encourage them, within themselves.

Even the misfortunes and follies of our country have operated in favour of home manufactures. Deprived for a season of a great part of that credit, which had unfortunately been given us heretofore, our importations have decreased, whereby a demand has been reduced, in many instances exceedingly favourable to our manufacturers.

The benefits of this scheme have at length become evident to the landed gentlemen throughout the union. They now see clearly that it is their interest to purchase home-made articles at a given price, rather than imported, because the foreign manufacturer calls not for their produce either for provisions or raw materials, but the American manufacturers must necessarily consume both. A weaver in Philadelphia must work up our flax, wool, and cotton, and must consume our beef, flour, rice and tobacco—the brewer requires our indigo—the brewer our hops and barley; and so of other branches.

The improvements making in our country, have a favourable effect on its business. The Virginians, for example, are cutting a canal to communicate from their collieries to the usual anchoring place of sea vessels, by which our supplies of coal will become more abundant and cheap. The improvement of Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Delaware, and joining the Swetara and Tulpohocken by a canal, would pour into the market of Philadelphia immense quantities of provisions and raw materials. The roads opening through several parts of this state, will give us more farms and a greater abundance of iron, flax, and hemp, and of beef and flour. A canal at South-Key, and another in the Delaware state, would have a capital effect. Whatever makes our country plentiful and cheap, will induce the European manufacturers to emigrate, and will enable them and our own citizens to live in comfort, and increase in substance.

The total abolition of paper tenders  
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by the general government, and many other excellent qualities of the federal constitution, banishing distrust from the minds of foreigners, and inspiring them with confidence in our country, will induce men of capital to come out, and establish among us new branches of manufacture, especially since they find an universal disposition to encourage them prevailing among us.

There is one manufacture of infinite consequence to Pennsylvania, which might be rendered immediately useful to the landed interest—the article of pot-ash. This state has large quantities of unimproved land, vacant and unprofitable, which might by the introduction of that simple and lucrative business, be disencumbered of their wood, and rendered immediately productive.

The importation of wool from foreign countries, holds out to the manufacturer the means of carrying on his business to a greater extent, and with greater advantage. Nor is there any danger of its interfering with the profits of the farmer; for it is known, that there are but few countries in Europe which produce wool enough for their own consumption and trade—and if foreign wool were imported, it would introduce factories of cloth, which would create a new demand for our wool to mix with the foreign, and for provisions, fuel, &c. for the workmen.

Besides these encouragements to this plan, which were not in contemplation in 1787, and which now facilitate the practice, or increase the profits thereof, there are some consequences favourable to our other interests, which did not then present themselves. The coasting trade, a branch of commerce of great importance, and out of the reach of foreign interference or restriction, will be greatly increased. New-England, for example, sends linens, stuff shoes, rum, cheese, candles, soap, &c. to various parts of the union. From some she takes iron and flour; from others, hemp, tobacco, and naval stores; from others, rice, indigo, and cotton. New York does the same, and Pennsylvania likewise. Coal is carried from Virginia to every part of the united states; and returns are made in the vessels that

F

transport it. As our population and manufactures increase, this beneficial trade will be extended, and, if secured from foreigners, will form, with the fisheries, our principal nursery for seamen.

Before the revolution, the cheapness of land held out great encouragement to farming emigrants; but it was the unvaried policy of Great Britain, to discourage manufacturers. By the attention we have some time paid to home manufactures, and which, I trust, we shall ever pay to them, the door is opened wide, and the call is made in a loud and friendly voice, upon the whole body of European manufacturers, to come out, and sit down among us. The present circumstances of this country, and the universal disposition of the people of the united states, must strongly persuade and encourage them; and we can have no doubt, that very many of this new and valuable class of emigrants will every year repair to America, and make it their home.

The general discussion of this subject in 1787, and at many times since, has awakened the attention of private people to its great importance. An idea of a very comfortable nature has gone forth among the farmers, that it is in the power of every man, by due attention to domestic manufacturing, to save the amount of all his taxes. Of the truth of this opinion there can be no doubt, when we remember how much may be saved by home-made beer, cotton, linen, and woollen articles, pot-ash, soap, &c.

The demand for raw materials, in case this business succeeds, will enable the planter and farmer to vary their articles of produce exceedingly, which will prevent that reduction of prices which must follow the cultivation of a small number of articles. Were the citizens of the Carolinas and Georgia to employ all their rich uplands in raising indigo, the quantity could never be sold; but if they will make cotton, hemp, &c. besides, they will have a market for the whole. So, if the farmers in the middle states confine themselves to grain and cattle, they will be injured by the very abundance of them; but if they will increase their sheep, and cultivate hops, flax, hemp, &c. they may sell all their produce for better prices.

On a review of this subject, then we find, that experience has realized in a great degree, what our wishes had led us to believe—that the expence of manufacturing are decreased—the means increased—the raw material reduced in price—the passion for foreign goods converted into a well grounded preference for home manufactures, and that all circumstance concur to prove the plan highly beneficial to the united states. Let us then, one and all, resolve invariably to pursue the evident interests of our country, by uniformly and decidedly preferring every article, which can be made at home, to any rival article that is imported from abroad on the same terms—and where there is sufficient reason to believe that any new manufacture will finally succeed, let such of us, as can afford the expence go beyond the price of the foreign commodity, as a premium for useful efforts, thereby convincing the world that patriotism, so essentially necessary to the well being of republics, is no extinct in America.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

*Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1788.*



*An account of the cotton mills in Great Britain, and an estimate of the cotton manufacture of that country.*

ONE hundred and forty-three COTTON MILLS are now built and in progress in Great Britain, of which nearly two thirds have been erected within these five years.

Besides these, there are above twenty thousand five hundred hand-mills, or jennies, for spinning the shuttle for the twisted yarn, spun by the water-mills.

The expence of water-mills, is	£ 715,000
Expence of hand-jennies, houses, buildings and auxiliary machinery, supposed at least	285,000
	£ 1,000,000

The state of the raw materials, and the progressive and astonishing increase of this manufacture, will be best explained by what follows:

The cotton and wool applied to the ma- nufacture was		When manufac- tured, supposed to be worth
Year	lb.	£.
1781 -	5,101,922	- 2,000,000
1782 -	11,306,800	- 3,900,000
1783 -	9,546,179	- 3,200,000
1784 -	11,280,238	- 3,950,000
1785 -	17,992,888	- 6,900,000
1786 -	16,151,867	- 6,500,000
1787 -	22,600,000	- 7,500,000

From whence it appears that the cotton and wool applied to the hand and water machines in Great Britain in 1787, being 22,600,000 lb. (worth, in the raw state, about £2,230,000,) was worth, when manufactured, £7,500,000, yielding the immense profit to labourers and owners of the mills and factories, of £5,270,000 sterling.

*Philadelphia, June 25, 1788.*



*Copy of a circular letter from the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, to their brethren in the several sea ports in the union,*

*Boston, August 20, 1788.*

GENTLEMEN,

WE, being appointed by the association of tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, to write to our brethren throughout the several states, do now address you on the very important and interesting subject of our own manufactures.

The late system of commerce, pursued since the peace, of importing such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves, tends to discourage the whole body of tradesmen and manufacturers of these states, who depend, for the support of themselves and families, on their various occupations; and this practice, unless speedily checked, by the prudent exertions of those who are more particularly interested, must eventually prove ruinous to every mechanical branch in America.

Impressed with these sentiments, and finding the evil daily increasing, the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, awakened by a sense of the danger which threatened them, assembled to deliberate on measures to

relieve themselves from the destructive tendency of such importations.

An association was accordingly formed, consisting of a representative from each branch; and in this body, the whole manufacturing interest of this town becomes an object of general attention.

The first measure adopted by this association, was to pass resolves respecting the importation of certain articles from Europe by our own merchants, and numbers of British agents residing among us; but knowing that nothing could be effected to any radical purpose, unless we had the authority of the laws, we petitioned the legislature of this state, praying that duties might be laid on the several articles enumerated in our petition. In consequence of which application, our legislature complied, in a great measure, with our request, by enacting laws for the encouragement of industry and for the promoting of our own manufactures.

However, as we are sensible that our present situation requires an extensive co-operation to complete the purposes we wish, we take this method to bring forward a confederated exertion, and doubt not, from an union of sentiment, the most permanent benefits may arise. We therefore apply to you, gentlemen, to lend us your assistance, and, like a band of brothers, whose interests are connected, we beg you to join in such measures, to advance the general good, as your prudence shall suggest, and your wisdom dictate.

We would, with submission, recommend an association of your tradesmen and manufacturers, formed upon the most extensive basis, and supported upon the most liberal principles: we may then hope the manufactures of this country will flourish, when each man becomes interested, not only in his own branch, but in those of his brethren; encouraged by such extensive patronage, each individual will be animated to pursue his business with alacrity, knowing that he acts in concert with those on whose friendship he can with confidence rely.

An association being established in your state, we shall be very happy to correspond with; and we flatter ourselves from this social intercourse

general harmony will prevail throughout the whole manufacturing interest of this country.

As we hope to experience the good effects of the late acts of our general court, we should recommend a petition for a similar purpose to your legislature; and from the known disposition of your state to promote the welfare of America, we doubt not some plan will be devised by your general assembly to prevent the importation of such species of articles as are commonly manufactured in America.

We need not urge the necessity of some measures being immediately taken by the whole confederacy. The embarrassment of our navigation—the large debts contracted in Britain—and the remittances of our currency—all serve to put every real friend to his country upon serious attention; and if any mode can be adopted to remedy these evils, we are convinced no American will be backward in the cause, but will join heart and hand to promote the desirable purposes.

The means we propose, we conceive, are calculated to put each state upon deliberating on a subject highly important to the manufacturing interest; and we cannot but hope that some lasting benefits will accrue from the united voice of the tradesmen and manufacturers of America.

These states are so extensive in their boundaries, so various in their climate, and so connected in their national interest, that if a plan could be adopted, throughout the confederation, for the exchange of the produce and manufactures of each state, we conceive it would serve to cement a general union, and prove a means to promote the interest of the whole.

The northern states might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the southern.

An association formed throughout the states upon so liberal a plan, would establish many extensive branches of manufactures; and, if prosecuted with spirit, would put this country above the humiliating state of lavishing her stores of wealth to promote the manufactures of Europe.

We wish you to communicate this

letter to such towns of your state as you shall think proper.

We are, gentlemen,

With every sentiment of respect

Your most obedient servants

*John Gray,  
Gibbins Sharp,  
Benjamin Austin, jun.,  
Sarfson Belcher,  
William Hawes,  
Joshua Withele.*

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*Address of Samuel Jones, on the advantages of raising sheep, to the Philadelphia county society, for promoting agriculture and domestic manufactures.*

Gentlemen,

IN the prospect now before us, losing our staple commodity by means of the Helian fly (unless sowing the yellow bearded wheat should prove an effectual remedy) it is material to devise some substitute that may be productive of cash, at least to answer the unavoidable demands on the farmer, and, if it may be, do something more. For this purpose I propose raising sheep, which, if I mistake not, will abundantly answer the end. We will lay down the necessary statement for comparison, and, that it may be the more easily comprehended, we will do it on a small scale.

A farmer that sows twenty acres of winter grain, will not, after supplying his family with bread, make more than thirty pounds of the remainder of his crop. I will now propose that he sow only ten acres, suppose of rye which, with Indian corn and buckwheat as usual, will more than support his family. The other ten acres let him lay down with clover, which, with a small help, will pasture him one hundred sheep, and the profit on these will be more than the above thirty pounds, as appears by the following account of expence and profit.

One hund. sheep, at 9/ is	£ 45.
To interest on the flock,	£ 2 14 c
To 10 bushels of salt, at 2/	1 0 c
To 6 loads buckwheat straw*,	0 6 c
To 2 loads good hay,	8 0 c
To 100 bushels Indian corn,	15 0 c
May die of the flock 5,	2 5 c

£ 29 5 0

NOTE.

\* Buckwheat straw is found by ex-

*Contra.*

by 300 lbs. wool, at 2/6,	£ 37 10 0
by 80 lambs. at 7/6,	30 0 0
by manure made,	10 0 0

Total,	77 10 0
Total expense	29 5 0

Clear profit, £ 48 5 0
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This calculation being made, we are ready to answer any objection that may be made to any part of it.

Here we see that raising of sheep is more productive than that of grain, besides saving the expence of ploughing, harrowing and threshing; while, at the same time, it will be much more favourable to our views of manufacturing, and may prove in time (we hope in a short time) the means of saving those immense sums of money that are now sent abroad for woollens of all kinds, besides populating our country by keeping those among us that are now forced to seek their bread in new settlements. If we may depend on the southern states for cotton, to furnish us with summer wear, it is to the middle and northern states we must look for our winter clothing. After this manner, the loss of our wheat, if it should be lost, which used to go chiefly for spiritous liquors, may prove a blessing to us. By these means

NOTE.

Experience to answer a most valuable purpose to feed sheep with during the winter. The method is this. Let the straw, immediately after threshing, be put up in small stacks, with a pole in the middle of each, put a convenient depth in the ground. Let this be done in the pasture field designed for tillage the spring following, on which they may feed, without doing damage, when the ground is not covered with snow. Every day or two let a bucket of brine, made of salt and water, be sprinkled round the bottom of the stack, as high as they can reach, or, it may be better to sprinkle salt among the straw as you make up the stack. Whether it may not be better to put the stacks in a part of the yard designed for the sheep's use, in which they may be put up at night, and turned into the field during the day, prudence, weighing itself of all circumstances, will be the best judge.

shall we become truly independent; and money, by being retained among us, will become plenty, debts, public and private, will be punctually discharged, and our credit will be restored and established on a permanent basis, at home and abroad.

Thus, gentlemen, are we moved to increase our flocks of sheep, by the lure of gain and the good of our country, not to say necessity. In this view your memorialist has lately made a considerable addition to his flock, and means to add thirty or forty more in a few weeks. Whether we may not in some measure put a stop to such droves of sheep being taken to market, as we daily see, I submit with the above, to consideration.



*Advantages of the culture of the sugar maple tree.*

IMMENSE sums of money are sent every year to the West Indies for sugar. From experience, it has been found to be a wholesome and nutritious article of diet. I do not wish to discourage the use of it—but to recommend the manufacture of it among ourselves. A species of the American maple contains genuine sugar, and, if properly prepared, would in every respect equal, in all its qualities, the sugar obtained from the cane of the West Indies. For sugar, like water, is of one original species only. Its varieties depend upon its being more or less diffused with other matters, all of which may be separated by easy processes. The maple not only affords an excellent sugar, but a pleasant melasse, an agreeable beer, a strong sound wine, and an excellent vinegar.

The following receipts for making each of them, have been obtained with some difficulty, from persons who have succeeded in the manufactory of them, and are earnestly recommended to those citizens of the united states, who live in the neighbourhood of sugar maple trees.

*To make maple sugar.*

MAKE an incision in a number of maple trees, at the same time, in the months of February or March, and receive the juice of them in earthen or wooden vessels. Strain the juice (after it is drawn from its sedi-

ment) and boil it in a wide-mouthed kettle. Place the kettle directly over the fire, in such a manner that the flame shall not play upon its sides. Skim the liquor while it is boiling. When it is reduced to a thick syrup, and cooled, strain it again, and let it settle for two or three days, in which time it will be prepared for granulating. This operation is performed by filling the kettle half full of the syrup, and boiling it a second time. To prevent its rising too suddenly and boiling over, add to it a piece of fresh butter or fat, of the size of a walnut. You may easily determine when it is sufficiently boiled to granulate, by cooling a little of it. It must then be put into bags or baskets, thro' which the water will drain, so as to leave it in a solid form. This sugar, if refined by the usual process, may be made into as good single or double refined loaves, as ever were made of the sugar obtained from the juice of the West India cane.

*To make maple melasses.*

THIS may be made in three ways. 1st. From the thick syrup, obtained by boiling, after it is strained for granulation. 2dly. From the drainings of the sugar. Or 3dly. From the last runnings of the tree (which will not granulate) reduced by evaporation to the consistence of melasses.

*Maple beer.*

TO every 4 gallons of water (while boiling) add a quart of maple melasses. When the liquor is cooled to blood heat, put in as much yeast as is necessary to ferment it. Malt or bran may be added to this beer, when agreeable — if a table spoonful of the essence of spruce is added to the above quantities of water and melasses, it makes a most delicious and wholesome drink.

*Maple wine.*

BOIL four, five, or six gallons of sap (according to its strength) to one, and add yeast in proportion to the quantity you make. After it is fermented, set it aside in a cool place, well stoppered. If kept for two or three years, it will become a pleasant, sound wine, in every respect equal to the second class of wines imported from foreign countries. This wine may be rendered fragrant by the addition of a little sliced magnolia root, or any other aromatic substance.

*Maple vinegar.*

EXPOSE the sap of the maple the open air, in the sun, and in a short time it will become vinegar.

By these receipts, large quantities each of the above articles have been made in the frontier counties of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. A German farmer, in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, (where the maple tree grows as plentifully as oaks or pines in many other places) made three hundred pounds of sugar in one year, which he sold, to his neighbours, and to travellers, for nine pence a pound. From the value of these trees, and the many uses to which their sap has been applied, the new settlers have learned to preserve them with as much care, if they were apple, or other fruit tree. From the facility with which they may be cultivated, and the profit which can be had from them, it is plain, that a farmer in an old country could raise nothing on his farm without less labour, and nothing from which he could derive more emolument than the sugar maple tree.

A G R I C O L A.

*Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1788.*



*A certain cure for the measles in swine.*

IT frequently happens that swine are killed when disordered by the measles, which is easily discovered by the meat or flesh containing small globular red or white pustules, of different sizes, varying according to the different degrees of the disease; which originate from their being fed with starchy food, or from its being boiled in lead and copper vessels, in which it had lain too long; or from their being kept in a wet or dirty pen; either of which causes tends to obstruct the free circulation of the fluids; hence arise those globular pustules, which are the juices rendered viscid and coagulated. — About once a week, mix two spoonfuls of madder in their food, which prevents obstructions, acting as a diuretic, and is at the same time an attractant. And on some other day in the week, give a spoonful or two of an equal quantity of flour of sulphur and saltpetre, well pounded and mixed,



high purifies and cools the blood. All these different articles added to each pail of food in the morning, on separate days, prevent the measles, keep the swine extremely healthy, and fatten them more expeditiously.



Letters addressed to count de Ca—ni, D—r of the R—lO—y, at Paris, by J. Churchman.

LETTER I.

On the northern and southern lights.

[THE rays of the northern lights have been observed from different parts of the globe, to be on the section of the magnetic meridians. M. Van Swinden, correspondent member of the royal academy of sciences, at Paris, and member of several other academies, during the space of eight years, observed about two hundred of those lights, and composed accurate and circumstantial descriptions of each; and compared them with the motions of the magnetic needle, and the different states and modifications of the atmosphere. \*

The direction of those lights with the magnetic meridian, is also "particularly observable in those meteors, of several years, whose tracts have been ascertained with most exactness: as that of November 26, 1758, described by John Pringle; that of July 17, 1771, related of by Mr. le Roy; and that of the 18th of August, 1783: the greatest proportion of other accounts of meteors, confirms the same observations; even those of a more early period: y, I think some traces of them are perceivable in the writings of the ancients." †

Even in the book of Job, ‡ some thing of the nature of the northern lights is described. "He scattereth his light cloud. And it is turned round about by his counsels, that they may

NOTES.

\* Monthly review, from January to June, inclusive, 1780, vol. I. xxi.

† Reflections on meteors, by C. Bagden, esq. then physician to the king, and secretary to the royal society, in London: philosophical transactions, vol. I. xxiiv, and annual register, for 1784, part III, page 135.

‡ Chap. xxxvii, v. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

do whatever he commandeth them upon the face of the world, in the earth. He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy. And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds." §

Lucan, the Roman epic poet, who died in the year of our Lord 65, in treating of the northern lights, writes thus:

"The threatening gods  
Fill heav'n and earth and sea with  
prodigies:  
Unheard of flares, by night adorn the  
skies;  
Heav'n seems to flame; and, through  
the welkin, fire  
Obliquely flies; state-changing com-  
ets dire  
Display to us their blood-portending  
hair:  
Deceitful lightnings flash in clearest  
air,  
Strange formed meteors the thick air  
had bred,  
Like jav'lins long; like lamps more  
broadly spread,  
Lightning, without one clap of thun-  
der, brings,  
From the cold north, his winged fires,  
and slings  
Them 'gainst our capitol."

At Rome, in the language of the ancients, between the years of our Lord 65, and 257, fires were often seen in the heavens, and apparitions to hang streaming down the air.

Have we not had frequent accounts in history, of armies, crowns, streams of fire, fiery dragons, serpents, torches, burning swords, spears, lances, and clashing of weapons, being heretofore often seen in the heavens, in all the northern parts of Europe, at certain different periods? ¶ may it not be probable that they have proceeded from the same causes as the northern lights, seen from different parts of Europe and North America in the present age? and as they seem sometimes also to have gradually absented themselves, and to continue out of sight for several ages, they have always on their new

NOTES.

§ Different opinions appear, concerning the author of this book, and the time in which it was written.

¶ See a book, entitled, the surprising miracles of nature.

appearances, been noted by some as prodigies.

The northern lights are said scarcely to be known in any part of these united states from the first settlement thereof by the Europeans, until the present century, since which they have been more and more frequent, and at the present time are very common.

"Is the alleged fact, of the suspension of the appearances of the aurora borealis in our latitudes, and the great frequency of them for these 50 or 60 years past, to be at all held connected with the supposition of some of our best philosophers—that there are accounts which bespeak warmer weather in former times to the north, than is usual now, with a consequent diminution of the ice?"\*

When the northern magnetic  $\pm$  point was last on the same side of the earth as England, the northern lights were very frequent in that kingdom, for many years, until they gradually disappeared in the north-east: since which and while the northern magnetic point was on the opposite side of the earth from England, they were absent there for several ages: some of the last that are upon record, as having appeared there, before those of the present century, are those of January 30th, 1560, October 7th, 1564, November 14th and 15th, 1574.† After a long absence, they again appeared towards the north-west: a small one appeared in Ireland, November 16th, 1707; another appeared in England, August 9th, 1708; a remarkable one appeared there also, March 16th 1715–16: they have been, and still

continue to be, very common ever since, especially when the air to the northward is in a clear state; and the higher the magnetic point comes to the meridian of any place, the more frequent those appearances are.

Phenomena of this kind are reported to have been very frequent in Greenland, Iceland and Norway; and in countries near the pole.‖

The northern meteors are no curiosity in those regions, where the light shines every night, and in some measure supplies the long absence of the sun: they seem to leave the inhabitants of the north with some regret, and may be seen longer than is warranted by the rules of astronomy, at even during the longest winter night communicate a lustre which makes a kind of day, that lasts an hour and a half in four and twenty.§

During the time of the measurement of a degree of latitude near Tornea and at the polar circle, by the French mathematicians, in the years 1736 and 1737, whose observations are universally esteemed as a honour to the nation, it was observed that as soon as the nights began to be dark, fires of various colours and figures lighted up the sky, as if designed to compensate the absence of the sun in this season to a country accustomed to such length of night. Sometimes they began in the form of a great scarf of bright light, without extremities on the horizon. Most commonly after these preludes, all the lights united at the zenith, and formed the top of a sort of crown. Their motion were most commonly like those of a pair of colours waved in the air: and the different tints of their light gave them the appearance of so many val streams of that kind of taffeta which we call changeable.

Sometimes they lined a part of the sky with scarlet. There appeared great space of the sky tinged with lively a red, that the whole constellation of orion seemed as if it had been dyed in blood. This light, which at first appeared stationary, soon moved and changed into other colours, viole

#### NOTES.

\* Note, in the works of Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. president of the American philosophical society, and member of several learned societies in Europe. London edition, page 513.

‡ The northern magnetic point in 1779 was in latitude 76 $^{\circ}$  4m. north longitude 85 $^{\circ}$  12m. west from London, its period of revolution from west to east, 463 years, 344 days, the southern magnetic point in 1777, was in 72 $^{\circ}$  south latitude and 140 $^{\circ}$  east longitude from the same place or thereabouts.

† Rowning's philosophy, Vol. I. page 243.

#### NOTES.

‖ Rowning's, philosophy.

§ Gentleman's magazine for April 1747.

and blue. They say when people look at these phenomena with an unphilosophic eye, it is not surprising if they discover in them fiery chariots, armies engaged, and a thousand other prodigies.†

The northern lights appear in Iceland in all the different quarters, from whence strong columns of light dart forth. The lights are often seen tinged with yellow, green, and purple.\*

The chronicles of Iceland often mention a kind of comets or halesternor to have appeared at different times, contrary, as is conjectured, to any thing of the kind in other latitudes.‡

The royal society of London appointed a naturalist on a late voyage, who says that the appearance of the northern lights, in the high latitudes of our hemisphere, is at present a very common phenomenon; and the inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Russia, have the sight of these meteors in winter almost every clear night.

The same gentleman remarks that though he and others in company with captain Cook, had spent several different seasons, in or near the arctic circle, yet they never saw the southern lights (*aurora australis*) but in the year 1773, being then in the latitude from 58d. to 60d. south. Their appearances then, on seven different nights, were much the same as those of the northern lights; they were observed shooting up to the zenith in columns or streams, of a pale light, from a dark segment, as a base near the horizon.

Sometimes these lights were so transparent, that stars could be observed through them; and, at other times, the streams seemed to be white, and more dense or opaque, and would not

#### NOTES.

† Observations made by order of the French king at the polar circle, by messrs. de Maupertuis, Camus, Clairaut, le Monnier, members of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, page 86.

\* Eggert Olaffen's and Bjarne Paulson's travels through Iceland.

‡ Letters of Uno Von Troil, D. D. first chaplain to his Swedish majesty, &c. &c.

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transmit the light of the stars. They saw these lights on February 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 26th, and March 15th, and 16th.¶

It is remarkable, that the observers of those southern lights, at the times of observation, were not more than about 13 degrees of a great circle from the place of the southern magnetic point.

As to M. Van Swinden's observations relative to the existence of the *aurora australis*, I have only seen his proposal to demonstrate.§

So that, from all the observations I have been able to make or collect, relative either to the northern or southern lights, it appears that these lights are never seen but within certain distances of the magnetic points.

May not the variety of colours, often observed in high latitudes, be plainly demonstrated by the prism? And would it be possible they should proceed from any kind of light, except that produced by reflexion?

If we make a room very dark—and place a basin of water therein, and let a piece of brown paper be cut into holes, so that about an equal proportion of the surface of the water may be covered with the floating paper—then, through a small hole in the window shutter, admit the rays of the sun on the surface of the water—the light of the sun, thus reflected, will produce on the ceiling artificial streamers, in proportion to the number of holes in the paper; the appearance of which will be greatly varied with the least movement of the basin. Or, if the sun shines on a prism, in the same manner, the variety of colours will appear on the ceiling, according to the principles laid down by sir Isaac Newton, in several chapters: 1st. “concerning the cause of colours inherent in the light;” 2dly. “Of the properties of bodies upon which their colours depend;” 3dly. “Of the refraction

#### NOTES.

¶ Observations of John Reinhold Forster, L. L. D. F. R. S. S. A. and member of several learned academies in Europe, during a voyage round the world.

§ Monthly review from January to June inclusive, 1780, Vol. LXII. G

tion, reflexion, and inflexion of light.\*

#### LETTER II.

##### *On the attraction towards the magnetic points.*

THE gulf stream, near the coast of North America, is found to set in a direction towards the straight which leads to Ballin's bay, the present place of the northern magnetic point.† This has been by some attributed entirely to the passage of the vast quantity of water driven by the tropical winds in a heap towards the bay of Mexico: but if this should be the sole cause, why should the current of the gulf-stream continue at so great a distance in this direction only, beyond the latitude of the trade winds? For that it does so, is manifest by the tropical fruits and drift wood peculiar to other parts, being carried by this current to the northern regions; which appears by good authority.‡

The Indians of North America pretend to have discovered that the tops of trees generally lean a little towards the north.||

As it is well known that common tides ebb and flow twice in something more than twenty four hours, the cause of which is already ascertained; so it would appear from the following authorities and remarks, that perhaps there may be other tides, whose floods may keep pace with the revolution of the magnetic points.

#### NOTES.

\* Dr. Pemberton's view of sir Isaac Newton, lib. 3.

† Doctor Franklin's map.

‡ Letters of Uno Von Troil, D. D. first chaplain to his Swedish majesty, almoner of the Swedish order of knighthood, and member of the academy of sciences at Stockholm during a voyage undertaken in the year 1772, by Joseph Banks, esq. (since sir Joseph Banks, bart. president of the royal society at London,) assisted by dr. Solander, F. R. S. dr. Lind, F. R. S. and dr. Von Troil, published in English.

|| Father Charlevoix's tour through North America, by command of the French king, vol. II. page 1-2, of the English translation,

Ovid, who died in the year of our Lord 19, expresses himself on this subject in the following manner (which lines, as well as others, are also quoted in a new treatise on astronomy, by John Bonnycastle, of the royal military academy of Woolwich, p. 393.

"The face of places and their forms decay;

And what was solid earth, convert to sea;

Seas in their turn retreating form the shore,

Make solid land what ocean was before."

Ossian, in his address to the sun, says

"The ocean sinks, and grows again,

But thou for ever art the same,

Rejoicing in the brightness of thy course."

In the Netherlands, there have been several instances of the waters rising in such a manner as to drown many parishes at certain periods; the last of which was in the year 1446, when Amsterdam was a small fishing town. At that time, the northern magnetic point was near the meridian of that place, when the sea gradually swelled, until it broke in at Dort, in Holland, and drowned one hundred thousand persons.§

After some time, the waters in this part of Europe, began gradually to ebb, insomuch that a Swedish historian (Dallin) asserts, that in that country the ocean fell forty-five Swedish, or 37, 13-100 English inches, in an hundred years. But a very ingenious naturalist is of opinion, that what in one place is gained, is lost in another, without accounting for the cause. This gentleman assures us, that even in the south sea he met with one instance, during his expedition to that quarter, where he could fairly observe that the ground had been raised, or, in other words, that the waters had ebbed.¶¶

In Ray's physico-theological discourses, pages 25 and 212, he says

#### NOTE

§ Chronological table, Tytler's new universal geographical grammar.

¶¶ Observations during a voyage round the world, by John Reinolds Foster, L. L. D. F. R. S. pages 146-147.

that "the sea gains by inundations in some places, as much as it loses by atterations in others. Many circumstances make it highly probable, that Flanders and Holland were formerly covered by the sea."\*

In many places, on the coast of Great Britain, there are said to be evident marks, that the waters are not so high at present as they have been formerly. It is manifest, that, during the reign of Charles II. the waters of the ocean, surrounding that island, had gradually fallen away; for it appears by an account of the institution of the royal society of London, that in February 1663-4 the ways and means of raising a revenue being considered, a member of that learned body, named Howard, mentioned the soliciting a grant from the king, of such lands as were left by the sea.†

At the bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, which is also near the present meridian of the north magnetic point, there are said to be large bodies of ground, which at this time shew the stumps and roots of trees to be at least twenty feet below common high water mark; and at the head of this bay, the tides are said to rise and fall sixty feet perpendicular. But as trees are never found to grow under water, it appears evident, that the waters rise much higher in this bay at the present time, than they were accustomed to do in times past: the like effects are observable even in Chesapeak and Delaware bays, but in a lesser degree.

That part of lower Egypt, formerly distinguished by the name of the Delta, was an acquisition from the sea, is not a novel opinion; but was that of Herodotus and other ancient writers. To which may be added sundry other parts of the globe; such as that part of South America, called Guiana, as appears from dr. Bancroft's description thereof. The soil (about Lima and that part of Peru, called Valles, which is a strip of 25 or 30 leagues breadth, and several days journey in length, between the Cordilleras and the sea) is stony and sandy; that it consists of

smooth flints and pebbles; which are so numerous, that, as other soils are entirely rock, sand, or earth, this is wholly of the above stones; and in some parts prove very inconvenient to travellers, whether in a carriage or on horse back. The arable lands have a stratum of about a foot or two of earth, but below that, the whole consists entirely of stones. From this circumstance, the similarity of all the neighbouring coasts, and the bottom of the sea; the whole space may be concluded to have been formerly covered by the ocean, to the distance of 3 or 4 leagues, or even further beyond its present limits. This is particularly observable in a bay, about five leagues north of Callas, called Marques; where, in all appearance, not many years since, the sea covered about half a league of what is now called Terra Firma, and the extent of a league and a half along the coast.† The rocks in the most inland parts of this bay are perforated and smoothed like those washed by the waves: a sufficient proof, that the sea formed those

## NOTE.

† Between New England and Florida, on the coast of North America, from the nature of the soil and other circumstances, it seems as if the land had gained considerably; as trunks of trees have been frequently found a great depth under ground. Many imagine that some of the West India islands were formerly joined together, as it appears they have washed away until the rocks surrounding the same, have secured them: perhaps part of the sediment taken from these islands, together with that brought down the Mississippi and other rivers, has been carried by the current of the gulf-stream and settled along the North American shores, so as to be one reason of the land gaining in this quarter. If it should be found, in future ages, that the inundations, so often observed at particular times, should always keep pace with the revolutions of the magnetic points, as the period of the northern one is shorter than the southern, after a number of centuries it will so happen that they will both be for a time on the same side of the globe, when at some places the effects will be much greater.

## NOTES.

\* See alterations on the face of the earth by atterations. *Columbian Magazine*, for February and March 1787.

† *Hibernian magazine*, for 1780.

large cavities, and undermined such prodigious masses as lie on the ground, by its continual elision; and it seems natural to think that the like must have happened in the country contiguous to Lima; and that the parts, consisting of pebbles, like those at the bottom of the adjacent sea, were formerly covered by the water.” †

Hence it is found, 1st. from the direction of the magnetic needle, 2d. from the setting of the gulf stream, 3d. from the general position or inclination of the tops of trees (if the observation be found just) and lastly, by the waters being highest on the same side of the earth with the magnetic point, that the attraction in that direction must be very great.

It has been supposed, that by the earth's motion on its axis, there is more matter accumulated around the equatorial parts than any where else, and that the sun and moon, by attracting this increase of matter, bring the equator sooner under them, in every return towards it than if there was no such accumulation; which has been supposed by some to be the reason of the precession of the equinoctial points of the heavens.

But if the attraction towards the magnetic points should be equal to the combined attraction of the sun and moon towards the equator, will it not follow, that there may be no accumulation of matter towards the equator? and if so, may not the precession of the equinoxes have another cause?

#### LETTER III.

#### *Conjectures concerning the cause of such attractions.*

**T**HE great sir Isaac Newton has proved 1st. “That each of the heavenly bodies is endued with an attractive power, and that the force of the same body on others, is proportional to the quantity of matter in the body attracted.”

2d. “That the attractive power is of the same nature in the sun, and in all the planets, and therefore is the same with gravity.”

3d. “That the attractive power in

each of these bodies is proportion to the quantity of matter in the body attracting.”

4th. “That each particle, of which the sun and planets are composed, is endued with an attractive power, the strength of which is reciprocally the duplicate proportion of the distance.”

Therefore as each of the heavenly bodies, and each particle of matter of which they are composed, is endued with an attractive power; does it not follow, when attractive particles are found performing revolutions regularly from west to east round the poles of the earth in certain given times, that they must come under some denomination, whether composed of fluid or any other matter?

It has been allowed that wherever smaller bodies are found revolving round greater, the focus round which they revolve, must always be in the plane of the orbit; but in many instances even where the causes are known there is no general rule without exception; how much more proper then may this maxim be applied in respect to gravitation—the cause of which has hitherto escaped all researches? In magnetism, north poles attract south poles, and repel north poles: might not other bodies, placed in particular directions, attract or repel, according to their relative situations?

The learned Newton says, that “the little deviation of the moon's orbit from a true permanent ellipsis, arising from the action of the earth upon the moon not being in the exact reciprocal duplicate proportion of the distance, were another moon to revolve about the earth, the proportion between the periodical times of this new moon, and the present, would discover the deviation from the mentioned proportion much more manifestly.”\*

It is hoped that when conjectures are formed for the sake of gaining useful knowledge, they will be received with candour.

As Saturn has five attendants (the highest of which is within 3 1-2 of his

#### NOTE.

† Alterations on the face of the earth by attractions: *Columbian Magazine* for February, 1787.

#### NOTE.

\* Dr. Pemberton's view of sir Isaac Newton, lib. 2, chap. 3, page 184, 185.

semidiameters from his surface) Jupiter four, and the new planet discovered by Herschell two, if sir Isaac Newton had supposed our earth to have had two attendants, instead of one, besides the moon, but much nigher to the earth, one perpendicular to each magnetic point, might they not also explain the deviation from the aforementioned proportion?

It may, perhaps, be asked, if the earth has such attendants, why are they not visible?

It is well known that the nearer any body is to the earth, the nearer in proportion must an observer be to the part of the earth perpendicular thereto, that the body may appear to him above the horizon. The moon is distant 59 1-2 semidiameters from the surface of the earth; therefore visible to all its parts; but if any body should be at the same distance in proportion from the earth's surface, as Saturn's nearest satellite is from his surface, or about twenty times nearer to the earth than the moon, perhaps it might be necessary for an observer to be placed within the polar circle, or where there is a day of several months, and a night of the same length, to raise such a body above his horizon, and render it visible.† In which circumstance, the body might appear as dim as a cloud during the day, and brighter when the sun disappeared. And the reason, perhaps, why those who may have been within the arctic circle, have not observed such a body, may be, because at that time it might have been over the opposite side of the earth or below their horizon.

If these bodies be in actual existence, may they not produce the following effects?

May not the attraction and revolution of them cause the annual change of the variation of the magnetic needle? Hence could not the diurnal variation and dip be reduced to a system?

Would not the reflexion of the sun's rays on bodies in these situations

NOTE.

† The term body may, it is hoped, be applied to all kinds of matter, in any form whatsoever, without impropriety.

cause the variety of colours of the prism in high latitudes, and every other appearance of the northern and southern lights, at certain distances therefrom—especially when the air is in a clear state? For it is observable they are seen in the northern hemisphere after a northerly wind has purified the air. Would not the same reflexion of the sun's rays account for these lights appearing brightest one hour and a half in four and twenty, in countries near the pole? which superior brightness may, perhaps, always appear when the sun happens to shine on one particular side of the body.

Might not these supposed bodies occasion, in part, the gulf stream, improve the theory of the tides, and account for the variation of the same, and the setting of currents?

Might they not also account for the precession of the equinoxes, and, of consequence, the nutation of the earth's axis, and the change of the seasons, as well as reconcile the shape of the earth to the measurement of the different lengths of a degree of latitude?

Might they not likewise, in some degree, confirm the theory of dr. Mead, by which he has learnedly accounted for the influence of the heavenly bodies upon the human frame, by shewing the consent between the animal fluids and the atmosphere, and the consequences of their condensing, or rarifying according to the difference of external pressure, and be a means of solving many other useful problems?



*Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.*  
(Continued from page 285.)

#### LETTER IV.

**A**NOTHER question remains. How are the contributed rights to be managed? The resolution has been in great measure anticipated, by what has been said concerning the system proposed. Some few reflexions may perhaps finish it.

If it can be considered separately, constitution is the organization of the contributed rights in society. Government is certainly the exercise of them. It is intended for the benefit

of the governed ; of course, can have no just powers but what conduce to that end ; and the awfulness of the trust is demonstrated in this—that it is founded on the nature of man, that is, on the will of his Maker, and is therefore sacred.

Let the reader be pleased to consider the writer, as treating of equal liberty with reference to the people and states of united America, and their mediated confederation.

If the organization of a constitution be defective, it may be amended.

A good constitution promotes, but not always produces a good administration.

The government must never be lodged in a single body. From such a one, with an unlucky composition of its parts, rash, partial, illegal, and, when intoxicated with success, even cruel, insolent, and contemptible edicts, may at times be expected. By these, if other mischiefs do not follow, the national dignity may be impaired.

Several inconveniences might attend a division of the government into two bodies, that probably would be avoided in another arrangement.

The judgment of the most enlightened among mankind, confirmed by multiplied experiments, points out the propriety of government being committed to such a number of great departments, as can be introduced without confusion, distinct in office, and yet connected in operation. It seems to be agreed, that three or four of these departments are a competent number.

Such a repartition appears well calculated, to increase the safety and respect of the governed, which, with the advancement of their happiness in other respects, are the objects of government ; as thereby there will be more obstructions interposed, against errors, feuds, and frauds, in the administration ; and the interference of the people need be less frequent. Thus, wars, tumults, and unceremoniousness, are avoided. The departments so constituted, may therefore be said to be balanced.

But, notwithstanding, it must be granted, that a bad administration may take place. What is then to be done ? The answer is instantly found—Let the scales be lowered before—not the weight—it is not a term fit for mor-

tals—but, before the supreme sovereignty of the people. It is their duty to watch, and their right to take care, that the constitution be preserved ; or in the Roman phrase, on perilous occasions—to provide, that the public receive no damage.

Political bodies are properly said to be balanced, with respect to this primary origination and ultimate destination, not to any intrinsic or constitutional properties. It is the power from which they proceed, and which they serve, that truly and of right balances them.

But as a good constitution not always produces a good administration, a defective one not always excludes it. Thus, in governments very different from those of united America, general manners and customs, improvement of knowledge, and the education and disposition of princes, not unfrequently soften the features, and qualify the defects. Jewels of value are substituted, in the place of the rare and genuine orient of highest price and brightest lustre : and though the sovereigns cannot, even in their minister, be brought to account by the governed, yet there are instances of their conducting a veneration for the rights of the people, and an internal conviction of the guilt that attends their violation. Some of them appear to be fathers of their countries. Reverend princes ! Friends of mankind ! May peace be in their lives, and hope on their beds of death.

By this animating, presiding will of the people, is meant a reasonable, not a distracted will. When frenzy seizes the mass, it would be equal madness to think of their happiness, that is, of their freedom. They will infallibly have a Philip or a Cæsar, to bleed them into soberness of mind. At present we are cool ; and let us attend our business.

Our government, under the proposed confederation, will be guarded by a repetition of the strongest cautions against excesses. In the senate, the sovereignties of the several states will be equally represented ; in the house of representatives, the people of the whole union will be equally represented ; and, in the president, and the federal independent judges, so much concerned in the execution of the laws



d in the determination of their constitutionality, the sovereignties of the several states, and the people of the sole union, will be conjointly represented.

Where was there ever, or where is there now upon the face of the earth, government so diversified and attempted? If a work formed with so much deliberation, so respectful and affectionate an attention to the interests, feelings, and sentiments of all united America, will not satisfy, what could satisfy all united America?

It seems highly probable, that those who would reject this labour of public care, would also have rejected the even-taught institution of trial by jury, had they been consulted upon its establishment. Would they not have objected, that there never was framed detestable, so painful, and so tyrannical, a device for extinguishing freedom, and throwing unbounded dominion into the hands of the king and tyrants, under a contemptible pretence preserving it? What! Can freedom be preserved by imprisoning its guardians? Can freedom be preserved, by keeping twelve men closely confined without meat, drink, fire, or air, until they unanimously agree, and this to be innumerable repeated? Can freedom be preserved, by thus delivering up a number of freemen to a monarch and an aristocracy, fortified by dependent and obedient judges and officers, to be shut up, until, under seals, they speak as they are ordered? Why can't the twelve jurors separate, after hearing the evidence, return to their respective homes, and there take counsel, and think of the matter at their leisure? Is there not a variety of ways, which causes have been, and can be remedied, without this tremendous, unprecedented inquisition? why then is it insisted on: but because the fabricators of it know that it will, and intend that it shall, reduce the people to slavery? Away with it—freemen will never be enthralled by so insolent, so execrable, so pitiful a contrivance. Happily for us, our ancestors thought otherwise. They were not so over-credulous and curious, as to refuse blessings, because they might possibly be abused.

They perceived, that the uses included were great and manifest. Perhaps

they did not foresee, that from this acorn, as it were, would grow up oaks, that, changing their native soil for another element, would bound over raging mountains of waters, bellow and receive benefits around the globe, and secure the just liberties of the nation for a long succession of ages.\* As to abuses, they trusted to their own spirit for preventing or correcting them; and worthy is it of deep consideration by every friend of freedom, that abuses that seem to be but "trifles,"† may be attended by fatal consequences. What can be "trifling," that diminishes or detracts from the only defence, that ever was found against "open attacks and secret machinations."‡ This institution originates from a knowledge of human nature. With a superior force, wisdom, and benevolence united, it rives the difficulties that have distressed, or destroyed the rest of mankind. It reconciles contradictions—immensity of power, with safety of private station. It is ever new, and always the same.

Trial by jury and the dependence of taxation upon representation—those corner stones of liberty—were not obtained by a bill of rights, or any other records, and have not been and cannot be preserved by them. They and all other rights must be preserved, by soundness of sense and honesty of heart. Compared with these, what are a bill of rights, or any characters drawn upon paper or parchment, those frail remembrancers? do we want to be reminded, that the sun enlightens, warms, invigorates, and cheers? or how horrid would it be, to have his blessed beams intercepted, by our being thrust into mines or dungeons? liberty is the sun of freemen, and the beams are their rights.

"It is the duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable palladium in all its rights: to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired by the different value of property, or otherwise deviated from its first institution; to amend it, when-

NOTES.

\* Blackstone, III. 373.

† Idem, IV. 350.

‡ Idem, III. 281.

ever it is defective || : and, above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the new and arbitrary methods of trial, which under variety of plausible pretences, may, in time, imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of liberty. || Trial by jury is our birth-right : and tempted to his own ruin, by some seducing spirit, must be the man, who, in opposition to the genius of united America, shall dare to attempt its subversion.

In the proposed confederation, it is preserved inviolable in criminal cases, and cannot be altered in other respects, but when united America demands it.

There seems to be a disposition in men to find fault—no difficult matter—rather than to do right. The works of creation itself have been objected to : and one learned prince declared, that if he had been consulted, they would have been improved. With what book has so much fault been found, as with the bible ? Perhaps, principally, because it so clearly and strongly enjoins men to do right. How many, how plausible objections have been made against it, with how much ardor, with how much pains ? Yet, the book has done an immensity of good in the world : would do more, if duly regarded : and might lead the objectors themselves and their posterity to perpetual happiness, if they would value it as they ought.

When objections are made to a system of high import, should they not be weighed against the benefits ? Are these great, positive, immediate ? Is there a chance of endangering them by rejection or delay ? May they not be attained without admitting the objections, supposing the objections to be well founded ? If the objections are well founded, may these not be hereafter admitted, without danger, difficulty, or inconvenience ? Is the system so formed, that they may be thus admitted ? May they not be of less efficacy, than they are thought to be by their authors ? Are they not designed to hinder evils, which are generally deemed to be sufficiently provided a-

#### NOTES.

|| See on the generation of defects in trials by jury. Dickinson, III. 382.

& Idem, I. 361.

gainst ? May not the admission of them prevent benefits, that might otherwise be obtained ? In political affairs, is not more safe and advantageous, all to agree in measures that may be best, than to quarrel among the selves, what are best ?

When questions of this kind, we regard to the plan proposed, are calmly considered, it seems reasonable to hope, that every faithful citizen of united America, will make up his mind with much satisfaction to himself, & advantage to his country.

*Philadelphia, April 19, 17*

#### LETTER V.

**I**T has been considered, what the rights to be contributed, & how they are to be managed ; and it has been said, that republican tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of government for protecting the worthy against the licentious.

The protection herein mentioned refers to cases between citizens and citizens, or states and states. But there is also a protection to be afforded to all citizens, or states, against foreigners. It has been asserted, that this protection never can be afforded, but under appropriation, collection, and application, of the general force, by the will of the whole combination. This protection is in a degree dependent on the former, as it may be weakened by internal discords, and especially when the worst party prevails. Hence it is evident, that such establishments tend most to protect the worthy against the licentious, tend most to protect against foreigners. This position should be verified by indisputable facts, from which it appears, that when nations have been, as it were, condemned for their crimes, unless they first became suicides, foreigners have acted as executioners.

This is not all. As government is intended for the happiness of the people, the protection of the worthy against those of contrary characters, calculated to promote the end of legitimate government, that is, the general welfare : for the government will partake of the qualities of those who authority is prevalent. If it be asked, who are the worthy, we may be informed by a heathen poet—

"*Vir bonus est quis?*

"*Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juvenis servat.*"

The best foundations of this protection, that can be laid by men, are a constitution and government secured, as well as can be, from the undue influence of passions, either in the people or their servants. Then in a contest between citizens and citizens, or states and states, the standard of laws may be displayed, explained, and strengthened by the well-remembered sentiments and examples of our forefathers, which will give it a sanctity superior to that of their eagles, so generated by the former masters of the world. This circumstance will carry powerful aids to the true friends of their country, and, unless counteracted by the follies of Pharsalia, or the accidents of Philippi, may secure the blessings of freedom to succeeding ages.

It has been contended, that the plan proposed to us, adequately secures us against the influence of passions in the federal servants. Whether it as adequately secures us against the influence of passions in the people, or in particular states, time will determine: and may the determination be propitious!

Let us now consider the tragical play of the passions in similar cases; or, in other words, the consequences of their irregularities. Duly governed, they produce happiness.

Here, the reader is respectfully requested, to assist the intentions of the writer, by keeping in mind, the ideas of a single republic, with one democratical branch in its government, and of a confederation of republics, with one or several democratical branches in the government of the confederation, or in the government of its parts, so that, as he proceeds, a comparison may easily run along, between any of these and the proposed plan.

History is entertaining and instructive: but, if it be admired chiefly for amusement, it may yield little profit. If read for improvement, it is apprehended, a slight attention only will be paid to the vast variety of particular incidents, unless it be such as may meliorate the heart. A knowledge of the distinguishing features of nations, the principles of their governments, the advantages and disadvantages of their

situations, the methods employed to avail themselves of the first, and to alleviate the last, their manners, customs, and institutions, the sources of events, their progresses, and determining causes, may be eminently useful, though obscurity may rest upon a multitude of connecting circumstances. Thus, one nation may become prudent and happy, by the errors and misfortunes of another.

In Carthage and Rome, there was a very numerous senate, strengthened by prodigious attachments, and in a great degree independent of the people. So there was in Athens, especially as the senate of that state was supported by the court of Areopagus. In each of these republics, their affairs at length became convulsed, and their liberty was subverted. What cause produced these effects? encroachments of the senate upon the authority of the people? No! but directly the reverse, according to the unanimous voice of historians; that is, encroachments of the people upon the authority of the senate. The people of these republics absolutely laboured for their own destruction: and never thought themselves so free, as when they were promoting their subjugation. Yet, even after these encroachments had been made, and ruin was spreading round, the remnants of senatorial authority delayed the final catastrophe.

In more modern times, the Florentines exhibited a memorable example. They were divided into violent parties; and the prevailing one vested exorbitant powers in the house of Medicis, then possessed, as it was judged, of more money, than any crowned head in Europe. Though that house engaged and persevered in the attempt, yet the people were never despoiled of their liberty, until they were overwhelmed by the armies of foreign princes, to whose enterprizes their situation exposed them.

Republics, of later date, and various form, appeared. Their institutions consist of old errors tissued with hasty inventions, somewhat excusable, as the wills of the Romans, made with arms in their hands. Some of them were condensed by dangers. They are still compressed by them into a sort of union. Their well known transactions witness, that their connec-

tion is not enough compact and arranged. They have all suffered, or are suffering, through that defect. Their existence seems to depend more upon others than themselves.

The wretched mistake of the great men who were leaders in the long parliament of England, in attempting, by not filling up vacancies, to extend their power over a brave and sensible people, accustomed to popular representation—and their downfall, when their victories and puissance by sea and land had thrown all Europe into astonishment and awe—shew, how difficult it is for rulers to usurp over a people who are not wanting to themselves.

Let the fortunes of confederated republics be now considered.

The Amphictionic council, or general court of Greece, claims the first regard. Its authority was very great. But, the parts were not sufficiently combined, to guard against the ambitious, avaricious, and selfish projects of some of them; or, if they had the power, they dared not to employ it, as the turbulent states were very sturdy, and made a sort of partial confederacies.

The Achaean league seems to be the next in dignity. It was, at first, small, consisting of few states; afterwards, very extensive, consisting of many. In their diet or congress, they enacted laws; disposed of vacant employments; declared war; made peace; entered into alliances; compelled every state of the union to obey their ordinances, and managed other affairs. Not only their laws, but their magistrates, council, judges, money, weights and measures, were the same. So uniform were they, that all seemed to be but one state. Their chief officer called strategos was chosen in the congress by a majority of votes. He presided in the congress, and commanded the forces, and was vested with great power; especially in time of war: but was liable to be called to an account by the congress, and punished, if convicted of misbehaviour.

These states had been domineered by the kings of Macedon, and insulted by tyrants. From their incorporation, says Polybius, may be dated the birth of that greatness, that by a constant augmentation, at length arrived to a marvellous height of prosperity. The

same of their wise laws and mild government reached the Greek colonies in Italy, where the Crotoniates, the Sybarites, and the Cauloniatas, agreed to adopt them, and to govern the states conformably.

Did the delegates to the Amphictionic council, or to the congress of the Achaean league, destroy the liberty of their country, by establishing monarchy or aristocracy among themselves? quite the contrary. While several states continued faithful to the union, they prospered. Their affairs were shattered by dissensions, emulations, and civil wars, artfully and dexterously fomented by princes who thought it their interest; and in the case of the Achaean league, chiefly, by the ferocity and wickedness of Greeks, not of the league, particularly the Ætolians who repined at the glories, that constantly attended the banner of freedom supported by virtue, and conducted with prudence. Thus weakened, they sunk together, the envied and the envying, under the domination, first of Macedon, and then of Rome.

Let any man of common sense peruse these mournful, but instructive pages of their stories, and he will be convinced, that if any nation could successfully have resisted those conquerors of the world, the illustrious work had been achieved by Greece that cradle of republics, if the several states had been cemented by some league as the Achaean, and had honestly fulfilled its obligations.

It is not pretended, that the Achaean league was perfect, or that there were not monarchical and aristocratic factions among the people of it. Every concession of that sort, that can be asked, shall be made. It had many defects; every one of which, however, has been avoided in the plan proposed to us. It had also inveterate monarchical and aristocratic factions; from which, happily, we are clear.

With all its defects, with all its disorders, yet such was the life and vigour communicated through the whole, by the popular representation of each part, and by the close combination of all, that the true spirit of republicanism predominated, and thereby advanced the happiness and glory of the people to so pre-eminent a state.

hat our ideas upon the pleasing theme cannot be too elevated. Here is the proof of this assertion. When the Romans had laid Carthage in ashes—had reduced the kingdom of Macedonia to a province—had conquered Antiochus the great, and got the better of all their enemies in the east—these Romans, masters of so much of the then known world, determined to humble the Achæan league, because, as history expressly informs us, their great power began to raise no small jealousy at Rome.

What an immense weight of argument do these circumstances and facts add to the maintenance of the principle contended for by the writer of this address?

FABIUS.



*impossibility of devising a form of government universally acceptable. Conduct of the Jews. Corah's conspiracy. Moses accused of peculation.*

A Zealous advocate for the proposed federal constitution, in a certain public assembly, said, that the repugnance of a great part of mankind to good government, was such, that he believed, if an angel from heaven was to bring down a constitution formed there for our use, it would nevertheless meet with violent opposition. He was reproved for the supposed extravagance of the sentiment; and he did not justify it. Probably it might not have immediately occurred to him that the experiment had been tried, and that the event was recorded in the most faithful of all histories, the holy bible; otherwise he might, as it seems to me, have supported his opinion by that unexceptionable authority.

The supreme being had been pleased to nourish up a single family, by continued acts of his attentive providence, 'till it became a great people; and having rescued them from bondage by many miracles, performed by his servant Moses, he personally delivered to that chosen servant, in presence of the whole nation, a constitution and code of laws for their observance, accompanied and sanctioned with promises of great rewards, and threats of severe punishments, as the consequence of their obedience or disobedience.

This constitution, though the Deity himself was to be at its head, and it is therefore called by political writers a theocracy, could not be carried into execution but by the means of his ministers; Aaron and his sons were, therefore, commissioned to be, with Moses, the first established ministry of the new government.

One would have thought, that the appointment of men who had distinguished themselves in procuring the liberty of their nation, and hazarded their lives in openly opposing the will of a powerful monarch, who would have retained that nation in slavery, might have been an appointment acceptable to a grateful people; and that a constitution, framed for them by the Deity himself, might, on that account, have been secure of an universal welcome reception; yet there were, in every one of the thirteen tribes, some discontented restless spirits, who were continually exciting them to reject the proposed new government, and thus from various motives.

Many still retained an affection for Egypt, the land of their nativity; and these, whenever they felt any inconvenience or hardship, though the natural and unavoidable effect of their change of situation, exclaimed against their leaders as the authors of their trouble, and were not only for returning into Egypt, but for stoning their deliverers\*. Those inclined to idolatry, were displeased that their golden calf was destroyed. Many of the chiefs thought the new constitution might be injurious to their particular interests, that the profitable places would be engrossed by the families and friends of Moses and Aaron—and others, equally wellborn, excluded.†

In Josephus and the Talmud, we learn some particulars, not so fully narrated in the scripture. We are there told, that Corah was ambitious—

#### NOTES.

\* Numbers, chap. xiv.

† Numbers, chap. xvi. ver. 3. And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them,—wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation?

of the priesthood, and offended that it was conferred on Aaron, and this, as he said, by the authority of Moses only, without the consent of the people. He accused Moses of having, by various artifices, fraudulently obtained the government, and deprived the people of their liberties; and of conspiring with Aaron, to perpetuate the tyranny in their family.

Thus, though Corah's real motive was to supplant Aaron, he persuaded the people that he meant only the public good; and they, moved by his insinuations, began to cry out, "Let us maintain the common liberty of our respective tribes; we have freed ourselves from the slavery imposed upon us by the Egyptians, and shall we suffer ourselves to be made slaves by Moses? If we must have a master, it were better to return to Pharaoh, who at least fed us with bread and onions, than to serve this new tyrant, who, by his operations, has brought us into danger of famine." Then they called in question the reality of his conferences with God, and objected the privacy of the meetings, and the preventing any of the people from being present at the colloquies, or even approaching the place, as grounds of great suspicion.

They accused Moses, also, of peculation, as embezzling part of the golden spoons and the silver chargers, which the princes had offered at the dedication of the altar\*, and the offerings of gold by the common people†, as well as most of the poll tax‡; and Aaron they accused of pocketing much of the gold, of which he intended to have made a molten calf. Besides peculation, they charged Moses with ambition; to gratify which passion, he had, they said, deceived the people, by promising to bring them to a land flowing with milk and honey; instead of doing which, he had brought them from such a land, and that he thought light of all this mischief, provided he could make himself an absolute prince.§ That to support the

new dignity with splendor in his family, the partial poll-tax already levied and given to Aaron§, was to be followed by a general one¶, which would probably be augmented from time to time, if he were suffered to go on promulgating new laws, on pretence of new occasional revelations of the divine will, 'till their whole fortune were devoured by that aristocracy.

Moses denied the charge of peculation; and his accusers were destitute of proofs to support it, though facts, real, are in their nature capable of proof. "I have not," said he, with holy confidence in the presence of God "I have not taken from this people the value of an ass, nor done them any other injury." But his enemies had made the charge with some success among the populace, for no kind of accusation is so readily made, or easily believed, by knaves, as the accusation of knavery.

In fine, no less than two hundred and fifty of the principal men "famous in the congregation, men of renown\*\*," heading and exciting the mob, worked them up to such a pitch of phrensy, that they called out, "Stone 'em, stone 'em, and thereby secure our liberties; and let us choose other captains that may lead us back into Egypt, in case we do not succeed in reducing the Canaanites."

On the whole, it appears, that the Israelites were a people jealous of their new acquired liberty, which jealousy was in itself no fault; but, that when they suffered it to be worked upon by artful men, pretending public good, with nothing really in view but private interest, they were led to oppose the establishment of the new constitution, whereby they brought upon themselves much inconvenience, and misfortune. It farther appears, from the same inestimable history, that when after many ages, that constitution was become old and much abused, and a

#### NOTES.

\* Numbers, chap. vii.

† Exodus, chap. xxxv. v. 22.

‡ Numbers, chap. iii. and Exodus, chap. xxx.

§ Numbers, chap. x. ver. 13. "Is

it a small thing, that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in this wilderness, except thou makest thyself altogether a prince over us?"

¶ Numbers, chap. iii.

§ Exodus, chap. xxx.

\*\* Number, chap. xvi.

amendment of it was proposed, the populace, as they had accused Moses of the ambition of making himself a prince, and cried out, "stone him, stone him;" so, excited by their high priests and scribes, they exclaimed against the Messiah, that he aimed at becoming king of the Jews, and cried out, "crucify him, crucify him." From all which we may gather that popular opposition to a public measure is no proof of its impropriety, even though the opposition be excited and headed by men of distinction.

To conclude, I beg I may not be understood to infer, that our general convention was divinely inspired, when it formed the new federal constitution, merely because that constitution has been unreasonably and vehemently opposed; yet I must own, I have so much faith in the general government of the world by providence, that I can hardly conceive a transaction of such momentous importance to the welfare of millions now existing, and to exist in the posterity of a great nation, should be suffered to pass without being in some degree influenced, guided, and governed by that omniscient, omnipresent and beneficent ruler, in whom all inferior spirits live, and move, and have their being.

*Philadelphia, April 8, 1788.*



*Observations on the new constitution: by Mr. Mandrillon, of Amsterdam, author of the "American Spectator."*

THE united states of America, while fighting for liberty, early perceived, that the most certain means of insuring the fruit of their victory was to occupy themselves in forming a constitution, capable of making the laws respected and satisfactory to the people: but as it was difficult to foresee the changes that might happen in respect to the constitution, the united states, by their act of confederation and perpetual union, reserved to themselves the right of revising the articles of this confederation and of engrafting hereon such alterations and amendments as should be deemed necessary for the public good.

As the association of all the states had no other object but the formation of a consolidated republic; it was es-

sential to give to this union, that is to say, to the government of this federal republic, the energy and force requisite to accomplish the general design of the league, without derogating from the prerogatives which compose the sovereignty and legislative authority of each individual member of the confederacy. To effect so desirable an improvement, delegates, appointed by every state, met at Philadelphia, in conformity to a circular recommendation of congress; and there held their national assembly, under the name of the convention.

The experience of all ages hath proved that it is impossible for a state to support itself in peace and prosperity, if the laws do not fix invariably the rights of the sovereign and the people; by defining and determining the extent and limits of each power in such manner as not to be productive of abuse, on the part of the supreme authority, or disobedience, on the part of the people. Such hath been, to the present hour, the constant study of the Americans. Let our vows ascend to heaven, that their generous efforts may be crowned with the most splendid success, and the most perfect felicity!

And ye! Oh my dear fellow-citizens—ye, whom two centuries of prosperity have not been able to guarantee from an almost entire subversion—ye, to whom providence seemed to have exclusively confided the sceptre of the sea and the wand of Mercury, ye have now the superlative mortification of contemplating those precious pledges, which constituted your glory and happiness, escaped from your hands. Had your ancestors, after having vanquished Philip, occupied themselves more with their constitution than their conquests, ye would have found yourselves sheltered from the revolutions that equally prejudice all the parties into which ye are divided. Reclaim not your liberty—the attempt would be vain; that daughter of the skies, cannot reign but among a virtuous people. American people! preserve your morals and your laws, if ye wish to preserve your country happy and free!!!

Souls of sensibility! ye, who cherish humanity, read the letter and

details annexed \*; the translation of which I present with the more pleasure, as they are new monuments of glory for America, and for the great men who do honour to that country. Ye will continue also to admire and respect the virtues and sublime talents of general Washington, whose name alone is more expressive than any eulogium that could possibly be formed.



*An account of the life and character of Mr. John Pierce, paymaster general in the united states, and sole commissioner for settling the accounts of the army; who died at New-York, August 1788.—Written by Col. David Humphreys, late aid-de-camp to his excellency general Washington.*

THE observation is not unfounded, though often invidiously made by those who were hostile to American independence, that the late war gave celebrity to many persons who would otherwise have remained in obscurity, or only been known in some narrow corner of the continent. It was the nature of the colonial establishments to circumscribe the sphere of action, cramp the expansion of the mind, or confine its pursuit to professional objects: hence the want of distinction might have been naturally imputed to the degrading influence of the system, not the want of abilities to fill the most important posts of an independent government. As the theatre and prospects became extended, men's actions and views grew proportionably greater. No sooner were the united colonies changed, by a perilous elevation, from the dependent condition of provinces to the precarious rank of sovereignty; than motives of duty, emulation and glory roused the peaceful citizens to assume and dignify different characters, in support of independence. The same necessity, that propelled the farmer, the merchant, the lawyer, and the mechanic to the field, awakened, perhaps, in their unconscious breasts, the dormant powers of genius, and consecrated their achievements to immortal fame. In

#### NOTE.

\* The letter to congress and the constitution.

such an unusual, if not unprecedented revolution, the variety of offices to be filled, the diversity of talents requisite to perform their functions, and the equality of pretensions among the competitors, must have been peculiarly favourable to unprotected merit. The recent death of Mr. Pierce, a gentleman who owed his promotion to himself alone, occasioned these reflections and will apologize for this short account of him. His life will furnish a practical lesson of virtue rewarded and a grateful incitement to our countrymen, who may hereafter be engaged in public affairs, to persevere in the career of patriotism. While one life after another, of those who have served their country, in various stations, during the revolution, become extinct; it is a tender and melancholy duty for their surviving associates to drop a tear over their graves, and to draw such true, though unembellished likenesses, of the departed patriots, as may serve to keep their merits in remembrance, long after the perishable part shall have been mingled with its congenial dust.

Mr. John Pierce was a native of Litchfield in Connecticut. His father and grand-father, men in moderate circumstances, but of reputable characters, pursued the occupation of potters. In a society remarkable for an equal distribution of property, a general diffusion of knowledge, and an ancient habit of regarding merit as the best recommendation; inducement can never be wanting for young men to rely, with uncommon confidence on their own genius and exertion. An education calculated for real usefulness may be obtained, perhaps, at less expence and with more facility in the state where Mr. Pierce was born than in any other part of America. He was instructed in the learned languages, and instituted in the rudiments of polite literature, at one of those grammar schools, which are established by government, in every county town, in the state of Connecticut. He afterwards read law with an attorney, and was admitted to the practice, at the commencement of the late war. But finding, from the turbulence of the times, that the prospect was unfavourable at the bar, and that his services might be useful with the



my, he went as a clerk into a commissary's store at the northward. From thence he became an assistant in the pay office of the separate army, in the same department. The junction of the three corps, which had served the year before separately, under the orders of gen. Wallington, gen. Putnam and gen. Gates, at the White Plains in 1778; and the consequent designation of colonel Trumbull, his principal, left him in the character of deputy to colonel Palfrey, the paymaster general, at the head quarters of the main army.

The tide in human affairs at length brought Mr. Pierce to the moment, which was to prove the crisis of his fortunes. When colonel Palfrey was appointed consul general to France, several gentlemen of fair pretensions, were candidates for filling the first seat in the pay office, which had thus become vacant. Nor will it easily be comprehended by those who are possessed of European ideas, respecting the disposal of ministerial appointments, how a young man, like Mr. Pierce, who had risen from a low station, on a civil staff, without fortune, without influence, without friends, should have been nominated to an office of much trust and importance. It was a lot to have conducted the whole business with the main army for some time before the vacancy took place: and fortunately for him, the advantages to be derived from a manly understanding, indefatigable application and flexible honesty, were known and appreciated. The commander in chief, impressed with an idea that Mr. Pierce could perform the duties with great celerity and ability, interested himself somewhat on the occasion. While the matter was yet depending before congress, his excellency wrote commendatory letters to some of his private correspondents, and had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the result. On the 17th of January 1781, Mr. Pierce was elected pay-master general; and, before the dissolution of the army, commissioner for settling their accounts. His conduct, in transacting so complicated business which devolved upon him, fully justified the confidence that had been reposed in him, by these appointments. The public, in the former, was infinitely

accumulated by the poverty of the military chest and the defect of regular payments. It is known that the want of money to discharge the arrears, left an unsettled account between the public and every individual, who belonged to the army. These accounts were liquidated, and certificates of the balances were signed in the hand writing of Mr. Pierce. This was a most arduous task, in the accomplishment of which, innumerable perplexities and embarrassments must have occurred. No stronger testimony can be adduced of his clearness in settling the accounts, independence in rejecting improper claims, and candour in allowing such as had a title to admission, than the approbation of congress, the board of treasury, the officers and privates of the army.

Nature had done much more for him, than was generally imagined when he first entered the service; for he was then remarkably uncouth in his figure, awkward in his manners, and forbidding in his address. Strong powers of mind, amiable dispositions, and sensible looks, he possessed, or rather concealed, under this unpromising disguise. Upon hearing of precious jewels in some unexpected place, one is naturally led to enquire in what kind of casket they are contained. The exterior of Mr. Pierce is readily described. He was about five feet seven inches high, of a slender form, delicate constitution, thin visage, pale complexion, aquiline nose, and piercing eyes. The jostlings of an army quickly rubbed off the rough points of rusticity; and the habits of society soon made his deportment appear not only unembarrassed and easy—but even, to a certain degree, engaging and graceful. It was observable that our young officers profited by their opportunities in a wonderful manner; so that the captains, the subalterns of the military staff, at the close of the war, would not, perhaps, have suffered by a comparison † with officers

NOTE.

† This observation was made by some enlightened and distinguished foreigners, after the siege of York Town, upon seeing officers of several nations together, viz. American, French, English, Scotch, Irish, and German.

of a similar grade, in any service of Europe. Mr. Pierce had a better basis than most of them to build his character upon. His mind was singularly susceptible of improvement; and he assiduously employed in its cultivation those intervals from the duties of his office, which method and diligence had enabled him to vindicate for his own. He had read the best writers in the English language. To a keen relish for the belles lettres, he joined such poetical talents, as sometimes displayed themselves in the composition of verse with fluency and correctness. In his friendly epistles his diction was copious and sententious. His fashion of thinking was bold, yet just, and his official writings were distinguished for conciseness and perspicuity of style. He evidently thought well of his own capacity; but in thus thinking, he only did an act of justice to himself, and echoed the sentiment of the public. Sometimes in conversation with his intimate acquaintances, he indulged himself in expressions that favored of vanity; but it was a venial vanity, arising from a consciousness of having deservedly made his way in the world, and of having merited the distinction he had acquired. It originated not from the supercilious pride, that keeps the possessor aloof from social enjoyment; nor did it check the current of active benevolence, that flows for the sons and daughters of affliction.

Our republic never had a more faithful officer in its service; and the nation, which shall be as ably served, will find occasion to applaud its good fortune. His friends were witnesses to the sensibility of an undisguised soul, and approved the tenor of a private life without a stain. Nearly two years before his death, he married miss Bird, a daughter of doctor Bard, of New-York. His conduct in all the domestic relations was truly of the most refined and exemplary species. As he could not be surpassed in demonstrations of conjugal tenderness, filial piety, and fraternal affection, the warmest commendation will be in no danger of degenerating into exaggerated eulogium. To use the elegant expression of the elegiac poet, "Heaven did a recompense as largely send." The sunshine of his days was more fel-

dom interrupted by the clouds of adversity, than might reasonably have been expected, in this tempestuous world. By the fair profit of his offices, and just regard to economy, he had made an independent, but not a great, estate. He was happy in receiving unequivocal proofs of esteem from congenial generals under whom he acted, and a great number of the most respectable individuals on the continent. In the course of thirteen years' laborious service, the late paymaster general had little reason as any man in the union to complain of the neglect or ingratitude of his countrymen; the object of this account is, that there may be no one to accuse, at least some of his survivors, of forgetfulness and silence.



*Extracts from a "memoir to the American philosophical society." inscribed to Hugh H. Brackenridge, esq.*

*(Continued from page 135.)*

THE animal of which I speak, without a name, but, as far as I could observe, it is about the size of a two year old colt, though it has not the least resemblance of the equine or horse kind; but is distinguished from the first place, by the jambe, or loe being bare of hair or feathers; whereas the finia of Bengal is hairy, or rather has a kind of wool on this part. However, I am persuaded this is not at all of the ape kind, but rather of the buzzard, having a long beak not little resembling a sword-fish, with small owlet eyes, and a tuft of feathers if feathers they may be called, which are joined together like a piece of leather, but have a soft down upon the like that of a goose.

Barbaroussa, in his travels through Japan, describes an animal somewhat like this, and ranks it with the furred, or four-toed heron; but it is evident, from the octagonal form of the ears, that it cannot be of this species. In short, it cannot be referred to any class that I know, of all those that either Gregoire de Roliver describes to be in his native country of Peru, or what Hasselquist tells us are to be found in the province of Altage in Tartary; so that on all hands, we conclude, that it is not of any known

genus, but wholly a new animal, and approaching nearer to the cogitation of men, than the elephant or ouranoutang, or indeed any other of the irrational creatures. Irrational! I am at a loss to say, if it is irrational. It has not the use of speech, it is true, but what the Scotchman said of the owl, when he saw the sign of it at Edinburgh, may be said of this, what it wants in speaking, it pays away in thinking; for it has evidently a philosophic taste and disposition of enquiry, and therefore I have called it the virtuoso. This is what I conceive distinguishes it from all other animals, even independent of form, feathers, or any thing else of corporal appearance.

It was about sixty miles from Carlisle, in this state, that I saw it, in the cleft of a rock, on the north mountain, as I was looking for a strayed horse, with a bridle in my hand. The rock was on the summit of a hill, and I could have a full view of it from the bottom, the trees being thin and no underwood to check the view. I did not venture to approach near, or to examine it then perfectly; but returning next day with Rowland Harris and his four sons, I came near to it, and threw it the handle of a jock-a-ley knife that I happened to have in my pocket. It took it up with seeming admiration, and holding it between its paws, as you would a prism to the sun, it eyed it, still turning and observing it with great attention. I could almost discover, by the expression of its countenance, it was at a loss to determine whether it was ivory or bone. Perhaps it might take, as L'Escot did the cat's tail, for a garnished parsnip.

Amongst the things which this animal had before him, I observed the rim of a spinning wheel, which he had plundered from the settlement; and, as it seemed to me, might have mistaken it for one of the vertebrae, or back-bone joints of some large animal. Several bones were amongst its feet, but what particularly struck me, was the head of a small rake, which, as far as I could judge, it might imagine to be the jaw bone and teeth of some great rhinoceros.

I approached this extraordinary animal, Rowland Harris and his sons

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before mentioned, being at my back, and came within three paces of it, while, in the mean time, it remained undisturbed, viewing through its paws a horn comb, which he had got, and taking it, I conceive, for a kind of shell-fish. It is not a small thing, you know, that will disturb a philosopher in his reveries, and this animal evidently having the cogitation and enquiry of a virtuoso, which led me to call it so, is of the same retired and absent mind, intent only on the nature and properties of things before it. I had thought to put my hand across its neck, that it might not bite; but just as I was going to lay hold of it, I became sensible of a musky smell, and retired. But, on reflecting since, I am disposed to think this may be what philosophers mean by instinct, of which this animal has a great share, even coming up to a degree of reason; be this as it may, I am considering what notice it might be proper to take of this wild creature. As it discovers the same taste, would it be exceptionable to introduce it as a member of your institution? if you admit, as is said, in some instances, men with the ignorance of beasts, why not beasts with the sagacity of men? this is well known to have been done in almost all societies, literary or otherwise, that have been formed. I say nothing of Caligula, who made his horse a senator; for that being in a despotic monarchy, ought not to be a precedent in a free government.

Being informed that your society has become a party thing, and that it no longer remains a question whether the individual is learned, or only knows b from a bull's foot, but whether he is for the constitution, or against it, it may be a question, with regard to this animal, should it come in nomination, of what side he is, and the members not knowing this, may black-ball him. This is a hardship, for I question much if it has made up its mind on the subject. But this I will say, that coming down to this city, it will naturally put up at the black bear, or the sign of the opossum, where the constitutionalists usually meet; for seeing the shapes of these creatures, to the view of which it has been accustomed on the mountains, it will go to them. But whatever it does out of

I

doors, if it takes my advice, when it is amongst you, it will act as becomes a philosopher, and have nothing to do with party. However, after all, let it do as it will, it is ten to one but it is classed with one or the other. The republicans will say, it is a skunk, and indeed from its personal appearance, it will be difficult to wipe off the imputation. The constitution-ists, on the other hand, if it does not go with them on all questions, will insinuate that it is the image of some disaffected person, who, being tamed and feathered in the war, has fled through Conococheague to the north mountains, and there remained until the feathers have grown to its skin, and it has lost the speech of man. If this should be the case, and it should get into the assembly, it would overturn the government. I should be sorry the newly-adopted sons should get it over, though I know they will do what is in their power; for if they want a caricature, it will be a real one, and adorn their plates the best. I know it naturally belongs to them in the scale of things, but being a native of the country, their claim can by no means comprehend it.

In this day of lightness and vanity, when all men are attempting wit, and so many hit it, it may be thought that my account of this beast, is not the narration of a plain truth, but is allegorical; and that, by it, I have some individual in my eye of the human species, who has been admitted into your body. I declare I mean no such thing: it is really and absolutely a beast. This being averred, it may be thought that I mean to treat with ridicule this respectable society, in proposing it as a member. Far am I from any thing of this kind; I have no such intention. It is true, that, until lately, I could not have believed, that learning or understanding was not a prerequisite of admission; but this was owing to my extravagant ideas of philosophic pride and dignity; which ideas I had drawn from my reading the old books, and conversing with Archimedes and Newton, Pythagoras and Boyle; with the schools of the ancients, and the societies of modern Europe; but had not considered your body, and observed that it was composed of heterogeneous materials; that

with a latitude becoming philosophers and in a spirit truly catholic, you admit all. In accomplishment of the words of the scripture, "Jew and Gentile are brought in; the middle wall of partition is broken down; the illiterate and the incapable of knowledge are introduced. Nay, any are excluded, they are the more intelligent; so that your mysteries are hid from the "wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes."

I have had no life with my man Pad dy ever since the admission of Oric be fore-mentioned; for he will be in too he thinks he knows as much as Oric and I believe he does; but, by the bye, they are both as ignorant as my horse; yet, that being no material objection, I would give him leave, were it not that I cannot conveniently spare his time. I have a great many things to do in the evenings, such as running of errands and the like, so that I cannot conveniently permit him to be out of the way. It will be a great disappointment to him, if I do not give him leave, for he has been preparing a memoir for several days past, tho', by the bye, he has had the assistance of one of your body; it is on the colour of whiskey, which, you know, is the *aqua mirabilis* of the ancients. I am told that a jug of it has been found in the ruins of Herculaneum. If there is any of your body that understand the quality of that liquor, I wish to God you would send him over to Italy, to see if there is any more of it, for being upwards of a thousand years old it must be rare stuff indeed.

After what is said, there can be no one who will imagine that I disapprove of this free ingress which is given to all men, especially the ignorant by your society, for it is meet that such should be instructed. Besides unless that those of all kinds of knowledge, from the highest to the lowest parts of nature, are present, how should your institution answer the great end of collecting and communicating general information? For instance, should it be proposed as a question, what are the indicia or distinguishing marks of the age of a full grown horse? What could be said unless you had by you, as a member of your body, some old groom or horse-farmer to instruct on this:

You know the grounds are two of distinguishing and deciding on this point :

1. The caudaneous or tail-marks, and 2. the maxillary or jaw-bone marks. I shall leave them to be handled by some ingenious member in due time, singly or together, as may seem proper. It is true, when justice M'ingan was a member of congress, he was much offended with me for asking him the age of my horse, though I well knew he was a perfectockey ; but surely it can be no degradation to a naturalist to be thought killed on this subject.

You have, as far as I can understand, a great many trades amongst you ; but there is one thing, in which, if I am rightly informed, you are deficient, that is a weaver. Suppose now the question should be, in weaving yard wide cloth, of how many splits must a fifteen hundred reed consist ? What could be done without a tradesman, inasmuch as the maxim is, *Unicuique in arte sua perito redendum est* ? I would therefore propose Allen M<sup>r</sup> Alpin, as a member, one of the adopted sons two, who is as good a weaver, though I say it, who recommend him, as ever came from Paisley ; and though he has so much of the dialect of that country as to be rather unintelligible to an American ; yet, when he writes, he spells nearly the same way that our weavers do, making allowance for the idioms, and some peculiar words, such as poke for bag, and a sneeshin for a pinch of snuff, and the like.

I see in your transactions, two or three learned dissertations on the use of chimnies : pray, have you any one amongst your body, that could give a dissertation on the nature of foot ? There is a sweeper, that I sometimes see, an intelligent young man, but rather of a dusky complexion, that from long experience must have a thorough knowledge of this element, and could give information ; but I do by no means mention him as a member, for I cannot give my word that he is either a constitutionalist or a republican. The truth is, I believe, he knows nothing about it, as few do who talk of it ; most of the violent advocates that I have met with, seeming to think it is something in the shape of a grey horse.

The Pennsylvania farmer's letters.

(Continued from page 286.)

#### LETTER II.

My dear countrymen,

THERE is another late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional, and as destructive to the liberty of these colonies, as that mentioned in my last letter ; that is, the act for granting the duties on paper, glass, &c. \*

The parliament unquestionably possesses a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great-Britain, and all her colonies. Such an authority is essential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies ; and necessary for the common good of all. He, who considers these provinces as states distinct from the British empire, has very slender notions of justice, or of their interests. We are but parts of a whole ; and therefore there must exist a power somewhere, to preside, and preserve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the parliament ; and we are as much dependent on Great-Britain, as a perfectly free people can be on another.

I have looked over every statute relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time ; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the stamp-act administration †. All before are cal-

#### NOTES.

\* 7 Geo. III. ch. 46.

† For the satisfaction of the reader, recitals from the former acts of parliament relating to these colonies, are added. By comparing these with the modern acts, he will perceive their great difference, in expression and intention.

The 12th Cha. II. chap. 18, which forms the foundation of the laws relating to our trade, by enacting that certain productions of the colonies should be carried to England only, and that no goods shall be imported from the plantations but in ships belonging to England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick, or the plantations, &c. begins thus ; For the increase of shipping, and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength

culated to regulate trade, and preserve or promote a mutually-beneficial intercourse between the several constituent parts of the empire; and though many of them imposed duties on trade, yet those duties were always imposed

with design to restrain the commerce of one part, that was injurious to another, and thus to promote the general welfare. The raising a revenue thereby was never intended.

Thus the king, by his judges in h

## NOTE.

of this kingdom is so much concerned," &c.

The 15th Cha. II. chap. 7. enforcing the same regulation, assigns these reasons for it. "In regard his majesty's plantations, beyond the seas, are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woollen, and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supplying of them; and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves," &c.

The 25th Cha. II. chap. 7, made expressly "for the better securing the plantation trade," which imposes duties on certain commodities exported from one colony to another, mentions this cause for imposing them: "Whereas by one act, passed in the 12th year of your majesty's reign, entitled, An act for encouragement of shipping and navigation, and by several other laws, passed since that time, it is permitted to ship, &c. sugars, tobacco, &c. of the growth, &c. of any of your majesty's plantations in America, &c. from the places of their growth, &c. to any other of your majesty's plantations in those parts, &c. and that without paying custom for the same, either at the lading or unlading the said commodities, by means whereof the trade and navigation in those commodities, from one plantation to another, is greatly increased; and the inhabitants of divers of those colonies, not contenting themselves with being supplied

## NOTE.

with those commodities for their own use, free from all customs (while the subjects of this your kingdom of England have paid great customs and impositions for what of them hath been spent here) but, contrary to the express letter of the aforesaid laws, have brought into divers parts of Europe great quantities thereof, and do also vend great quantities thereof to the shipping of other nations, who bring them into divers parts of Europe, to the great hurt and diminution of your majesty's customs, and of the trade and navigation of this your kingdom for the prevention thereof," &c.

The 7th and 8th Will. III. chap. 22, entitled, "An act for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses in the plantation trade," recites that, "notwithstanding divers acts, &c. great abuses are daily committed, to the prejudice of the English navigation, and the loss of a great part of the plantation trade to this kingdom, by the artifice and cunning of ill disposed persons: for remedy whereof, &c. And whereas in some of his majesty's American plantations, a doubt or misconception has arisen upon the before mentioned act, made in the 25th year of the reign of king Charles II. whereby certain duties are laid upon the commodities therein enumerated, (which by law may be transported from one plantation to another, for the supply of each others wants) as if the same were, by the payment of those duties in one plantation, discharged from giving the securities intended by the aforesaid acts, made in the 12th, 22d, and 23d years of the reign of king Charles the II. and consequently be at liberty to go to any foreign market in Europe," &c.

The 6th Anne. chap. 37, reciting the advancement of trade, and encouragement of ships of war, &c. grants to the captors the property of all prizes carried into America, subject to such customs and duties, as if the same had been first imported into

arts of justice, imposes fines, which together amount to a considerable sum, and contribute to the support of government: but this is merely a consequence arising from restrictions, at only meant to keep peace, and prevent confusion; and surely a man

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any part of Great Britain, and from hence exported, &c.

This was a gift to persons acting under commissions from the crown, and therefore it was reasonable that the terms prescribed in that gift, should be complied with—more especially as the payment of such duties was intended to give a preference to the productions of British colonies, over those of other colonies: however, being found inconvenient to the colonies, about four years afterwards, this act was for that reason, so far repealed, that another act “all prize goods, imported into any part of Great Britain, from any of the plantations, were made liable to such duties only in Great Britain, in case they had been of the growth and produce of the plantations.”

The 6th Geo. II. chap. 13, which imposes duties on foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, imported into the colonies, shews the reasons thus—“whereas the welfare and prosperity of your majesty’s sugar colonies in America, is of the greatest consequence and importance to the trade, navigation, and strength of this kingdom; and whereas the planters of the said sugar colonies, have of late years fallen into such great discouragements, that they are unable to improve or carry on the said trade, upon an equal footing with the foreign sugar colonies, without some advantage and relief being granted them from Great Britain: for remedy whereof, and for the good and welfare of your majesty’s subjects,” &c.

The 29th Geo. II. chap. 26, and the 11th Geo. III. chap. 9, which continue the 6th Geo. II. chap. 13, declare, that the said act hath, by experience, been found useful and beneficial, &c. These are all the most considerable statutes relating to the commerce of the colonies; and it is thought to be utterly unnecessary to add any observations to these extracts, to prove that they were all intended solely as regulations of trade.

would argue very loosely, who should conclude from hence, that the king has a right to levy money in general upon his subjects. Never did the British parliament, till the period above mentioned, think of imposing duties in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue. Mr. Grenville first introduced this language, in the preamble to the 4th of Geo. III. chap. 15, which has these words, “and whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in your majesty’s said dominions in America, for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same: we your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, being desirous to make some provision in this present session of parliament, towards raising the said revenue in America, have resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rates and duties hereinafter mentioned,” &c.

A few months after came the stamp act, which reciting this, proceeds in the same strange mode of expression, thus—“and whereas it is just and necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty’s dominions in America, towards defraying the said expences, we your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, &c. give and grant,” &c. as before.

The last act, granting duties on paper, &c. carefully pursues these modern precedents. The preamble is, “Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in your majesty’s dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards the further defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions, we your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, &c. give and grant,” &c. as before.

Here we may observe an authority expressly claimed and exerted to impose duties on these colonies; not for the regulation of trade; not for the preservation or promotion of a mutually-beneficial intercourse be-

tween the several constituent parts of the empire—heretofore the sole objects of parliamentary institutions; Yet for the single purpose of levying money upon us.

This I call an \* innovation—and a most dangerous innovation. It may, perhaps, be objected, that Great Britain has a right to lay what duties she pleases upon her † exports, and it makes no difference to us, whether they are paid here or there.

To this I answer. These colonies require many things for their use, which the laws of Great Britain prohibit them from getting any where but from her. Such are paper and glass.

That we may legally be bound to pay any general duties on these commodities, relative to the regulation of trade, is granted; but we being obliged by the laws to take them from Great Britain, any special duties imposed on their exportation to us only, with intention to raise a revenue from us only, are as much taxes upon us, as those imposed by the stamp-act.

What is the difference, in sub-

#### NOTE.

\* “It is worthy observation, how quietly subsidies, granted in forms usual and accustomed (though heavy) are borne; such a power hath use and custom. On the other side, what discontentments and disturbances subsidies, framed in a new mould, do raise (such an inbred hatred novelty doth hatch) is evident by examples of former times.”

Lord Cook's 2d institute, p. 33.

† Some people think that Great Britain has the same right to impose duties on the exports to these colonies, as on the exports to Spain, Portugal, &c. Such persons attend so much to the idea of exportation, that they entirely drop that of the connection between the mother country and her colonies. If Great Britain had always claimed, and exercised an authority to compel Spain and Portugal to import manufactures from her only, the cases would be parallel. But as she never pretended to such a right, they are at liberty to get them where they please; and if they choose to take them from her, rather than from other nations, they voluntarily con-

sent to pay the duties imposed on them. It is a question of justice and right, whether the sum is raised upon us by the rate mentioned in the stamp-act, on the use of paper, or by these duties on the importation of it. It is only the edition of a former book, shifting sentence from the end to the beginning.

Suppose the duties were made payable in Great Britain.

It signifies nothing to us, whether they are to be paid here or there. Had the stamp-act directed, that all the paper should be landed at Florida, and the duties paid there, before it was brought to the British colonies, would the act have raised less money upon us, or have been less destructive of our rights? by no means: for as we were under a necessity of using the paper, we should have been under the necessity of paying the duties. Thus, in the present case, a like necessity will subject us, if this act continues in force to the payment of the duties now imposed.

Why was the stamp-act, then, pernicious to freedom? it did not enact, that every man in the colonies should buy a certain quantity of paper. No: it only directed, that no instrument of writing should be valid in law if not made on stamped paper, &c.

The makers of that act knew full well, that the confusions, which would arise from the disuse of writings, would compel the colonies to use the stamped paper, and therefore to pay the taxes imposed. For this reason the stamp-act was said to be a law, that would execute itself. For the very same reason, the last act of parliament, if it is granted to have any force here, will execute itself, and will be attended with the very same consequences to American liberty.

Some persons, perhaps, may say that this act lays us under no necessity to pay the duties imposed, because we may ourselves manufacture the articles on which they are laid; whereas by the stamp-act, no instrument of writing could be good, unless made on British paper, and that too stamped.

Such an objection amounts to no more than this, that the injury resulting to these colonies, from the total disuse of British paper and glass, was



or be so afflicting as that which could have resulted from the total disuse of writing among them; for by that means even the stamp-act might have been eluded. Why then was it universally detested by them, as slave-ry itself? Because it presented to these devoted provinces nothing but a choice of calamities, embittered indignities, each of which it was worthy of freemen to bear. But no injury a violation of right, but the greatest injury? If the eluding the payment of the taxes imposed by the stamp-act, would have subjected us to a more dreadful inconvenience, than the eluding the payment of those imposed by the late act—does it then follow, that the last is no violation of our rights, tho' it is calculated for the same purpose the other was, that is, to raise money upon us, without our consent.

This would be making right to contend, not in an exemption from injury, but from a certain degree of injury.

But the objectors may further say, that we shall suffer no injury at all by the disuse of British paper and glass. We might not, if we could make as much as we want. But can any man, acquainted with America, believe it is possible? I am told there are but two or three glass-houses on this continent, and but very few paper-mills; and suppose more should be erected, long course of years must elapse, before they can be brought to perfection. This continent is a country of planters, farmers, and fishermen; not of manufacturers. The difficulty of establishing particular manufactures in such a country, is almost insurmountable. For one manufacture is connected with others, in such a manner, that it may be said to be impossible to establish one or two, without establishing several others. The experience of many nations may convince us of its truth.

Inexpressible, therefore, must be our distresses, in evading the late act, by the disuse of British paper and glass. Nor will this be the extent of our misfortune, if we admit the legality of that act.

NOTE.

\* Either the disuse of writing, or the payment of taxes imposed by others without our consent,

Great-Britain has prohibited the manufacturing iron and steel in these colonies, without any objection being made to her right of doing it. The like right she must have to prohibit any other manufactures among us. Thus she is possessed of an undisputed precedent on that point. This authority, she will say, is founded on the original intention of settling these colonies; that is, that she should manufacture for them, and that they should supply her with materials. The equity of this policy, she will also say, has been universally acknowledged by the colonies, who never have made the least objection to statute for that purpose; and will appear by the mutual benefits flowing from this usage, ever since the settlement of these colonies.

Our great advocate, Mr. Pitt, in his speeches on the debate concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, acknowledged, that Great-Britain could restrain our manufactures. His words are these—"This kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets, without their consent." Again he says, "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets, without their consent."

Here, then, my dear countrymen, rouse yourselves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you once admit, that Great-Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, for the purpose of levying money on us only, she then will have nothing to do, but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture—and the tragedy of American liberty is finished. We have been prohibited from procuring manufactures, in all cases, any where but from Great Britain (excepting linens, which we are permitted to import directly from Ireland.) We have been prohibited, in some cases, from manufacturing for ourselves; and may be prohibited in others. We are therefore exactly in the situation of a city besieged, which is surrounded by the works of the besiegers, in every part

but one. If that is closed up, no step can be taken, but to surrender at discretion. If Great-Britain can order us to come to her for what necessities we want, and can order us to pay what taxes she pleases before we take them away, or even when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as any part of the world can shew in wooden shoes, and with uncombed hair.

Perhaps the nature of the necessities of dependent states, caused by the policy of a governing one, for her own benefit, may be elucidated by a fact mentioned in history. When the Carthaginians were possessed of the island of Sardinia, they made a decree, that the Sardinians should not raise corn, nor get it any other way than from the Carthaginians. Then by imposing any duties they would upon it, they drained from the miserable Sardinians any sums they pleased; and whenever the oppressed people made the least movement to assert their liberty, their tyrants\* starved

## NOTE.

\* That the plan of governing the colonists, by withholding necessities of life, and by practising other horrid, cruel devices, was, at the time of publishing these letters, seriously considered in Great Britain, and in what light colonies were viewed there, was manifested by following measures of administration, and may partly be shewn by these extracts from political essays published in London, and, as it was said, under the auspices of the ministry.

"It appears that the grand evil attending them was, the settlement of so considerable a part in a climate incapable of yielding the commodities wanting in Britain.

"Migrations to these ought totally to have been prevented, and encouraged only to the beneficial colonies."

After mentioning some contrivances to diminish the number of inhabitants in "unprofitable" parts of the country, the author proceeds—what I shall therefore venture to propose is, that the government, through the means of a few merchants acquainted with the American trade, that can be tolerably depended upon, should establish factors at Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and a few other ports, for the sale of such cargoes of British ma-

them to death or submission. This may be called the most perfect kind of political necessity.

## NOTE.

manufactures as should be consigned them, and to consist of such particularly as were most manufactured in the province, with directions immediately, and continually to undersell such colony manufactures.

"The ships which carried out cargoes, should be large, bulky, &c. for the sake of bringing back large quantities of deal timber, boards, &c."

"But I laid down as a rule to proceed upon, that trade, fishing, and manufacturing, were put an entire stop among the colonies. If the sugar lands contained ten millions of people as destitute of necessities as they at present, Britain would be as fast of their allegiance as she is at present—provided no power more formidable than herself at sea arose for their protection. The first dependence of our colonies, as well as all their people, is, to change the terms a little upon corn worked into bread, and iron wrought into implements; or, other words, it is upon necessary agriculture and necessary manufacture for a people who do not possess the right to think of throwing off the yoke of another who supplies them with the same. It is an absurd idea—that is, nothing more than supposing, they would throw off their allegiance to axes and spades, and coats and shoes, which is as absurd to imagine. The following, among other effects, would be the consequence of the plan sketched out: the people would depend on Britain for those necessities of life which result from manufactures—I shall add, in respect to Britain's further policy—that she should abide by the boundaries fixed already to the old colonies—that of the rivers' heads; and all further settling to be in new colonies—not suffer any sets of men to navigate the lakes—any provincial troops or militia to be raised—or places of communication from colony to colony—that in proportion as any colony declined in staples and threatened not to be able to produce a sufficiency of them, the inhabitants should receive such encouragement to leave it, as was more than to drain its natural increase."

From what has been said, I think his incontrovertible conclusion may be deduced, that when a ruling state obliges a dependent state to take certain commodities from her alone, it is implied in the nature of that obligation—is essentially requisite to give it the least degree of justice—and is inseparably united with it, in order to preserve any share of freedom to the dependent state—that those commodities should never be loaded with duties, for the sole purpose of levying money on the dependent state.

Upon the whole, the single question is, whether the parliament can legally impose duties to be paid by the people of these colonies only, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue, on commodities which she obliges us to take from her alone, or, in other words, whether the parliament can legally take money out of our pockets, without our consent. If they can, our boasted liberty is but

*Vox et præterea nihil.*

A sound and nothing else.

A F A R M E R.

Nov. 12, 1767.



*Balloons not a modern invention.*

I AM much surprised to find balloons considered as a modern invention. I hope to make it appear they have been known in all ages, and that they have been (unfortunately for mankind) the subjects of amusement and speculation in all countries.

Before I proceed to prove this assertion, I shall define a balloon to be “a contrivance that is carried about at the mercy of the air, and that is not applicable to any thing else.”

Now if this definition of a balloon be admitted (and it is certainly a just one) we shall find balloons both an-

NOTE.

unless new staples were discovered in it.

“This is now the case with those I have distinguished by the title of the northern colonies; in so much that Nova Scotia, Canada, New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, would be nearly of as much benefit to this country, buried in the ocean, as they are at present.”—*Political essays.*

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cient and universal. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall divide them into the following species.

1. A man with abilities and knowledge, without virtue, is a contrivance that is carried about by every wind that favours his inclinations, and is therefore of no use to society. Such a man is a balloon.

2. A man of an extravagant imagination, without judgment to direct it, is likewise a balloon.

3. Lawyers without consciences, doctors without humanity, and parsons without piety, are all nothing but balloons.

4. Orators without method, and writers without ideas, are both balloons.

5. Merchants without capitals, soldiers without courage, and farmers without industry, are all balloons.

6. Schemers of every kind without money, or credit, are balloons.

7. Politicians, who aim at uniting the freedom of savages, with the liberty, safety, and happiness of political society, are balloons.

8. Printers of newspapers without consciences to restrain them from murthering characters, are balloons; but with this difference from common balloons, that they are raised by means of a well known species of stinking air.

9. All governments that consist in a single legislature, whether this single legislature consists of one, or of many persons, are balloons. The present congress of the united states is nothing but a balloon.

11.



*Letter from dr. Fothergill to a gentleman in Massachusetts.*

London, Oct. 20, 1780.

*Respected friend,*

THE difficulty of conveying a letter safely, has been the principal cause of my silence, and not a disregard either to the writer, or the obliging and informing letters, which at three different times I have received from him. I have endeavoured faithfully to make use of the very sensible hints they contained, as far as they lay in my power, for the good of both countries; but in vain. Neither advice, information, nor experience make any impression. The

cause of this insatiation is not a common one, and its effects may turn to our humiliation and amendment, when providence may see meet to turn our hearts to wisdom. It will not, I think, be long in our power to molest you. It is not only France and Spain that are in alliance with you, but most of the states of Europe; they wish to share your commerce; and, at the same time, they wish to humble the pride of this country, whose insolence and haughtiness has created us many, many enemies.

I sometimes flatter myself that there may be at the bottom of this confederacy, a plan highly useful and advantageous to humanity, and yet when I reflect how far short of perfect civilization the foremost powers of Europe are, I almost despair of it. Their union in one point, may produce union in another; and, if the powers of Europe and America could form a college of justice, to which the sovereigns should appeal in all cases, and be bound to obey, what an honour to christianity, and what a saving of blood and treasure! The temple of Janus might then probably be shut; and may it be shut for ever!

I have perused your frame of government with satisfaction. It approaches nearer perfection than any I believe yet in being; and may those who framed it be blessed, and their posterity for ever happy!

The general ignorance that prevails here, of your abilities, intentions, and resources, is inconceivable. I often tell a story that my late deceased friend, dr. Russel, used to relate. He was one morning at the bashaw's divan, at Aleppo, when a countryman brought an antelope, which he said he had just caught, as a present; the bashaw enquired if it were male or female: he stooped down to ask one of the officers, which he would have it to be? Resolved to say what was pleasing, tho' the falsehood might have been detected in a moment. Just so are our superiors too often treated. People tell them what they wish to hear, and thus become the worst of enemies to both sides. And after such kinds of falsehoods have been successfully practised for a time, and at length have been found like the "baseless fabric of a vision," all con-

fidence in any set of men is given up. The passions then take the lead, the effects have been, are, and ever will be felt, beyond what it was possible for the authors of these calamities ever to comprehend.

I have endeavoured, as far as it was in my power, to give the best information I could, to those within my reach, but it was talking to the winds: experience itself will not convince them. But it will not be long that we shall do what we please; we must submit to laws given us by others. But I trust it will be for our good: it will make many think. We are a dissipated, as full of schemes for promoting diversions, as regardless of every thing serious, as if we were in high prosperity. War drains of multitudes; manufacturers especially those who are left, have consequently more chance of employment; they are content with their lot, and think every thing goes on as well as usual; so a general deception prevails from the highest to the lowest; and to doubt of your subjugation, is hereby with many.

I most seriously wish that the calamities which have befallen you, or may yet be permitted to befall you may have the proper effect of humbling your minds, and preserving you gratefully dependent on that invisible arm which has delivered those who honestly trust in it, in all ages. Little did I expect to see the present disunion, rather disjunction; but so it has been wisely permitted to happen. We were growing too great, powerful, proud, and wicked; the source are gradually diminishing, and we are kindly compelled by force, to be less abandoned than we wished to be.

Our new parliament will meet ere long, and follow the steps exactly of the preceding. The minority in general, are far from being better men in the true sense of the word, in my opinion, than their opponents. No two are agreed exactly in the same opinion; and I am afraid there are few amongst them, who would speak theirs even in light matters, to another, were it to save a state from ruin. I give up all hopes of recovery by any human means. We deserve chastisement and must feel it. The affair of Charleston has changed our tone a little, and we trust to the like good fortune

at last. You are supine, negligent, and incautious; most of your losses have originated from this quarter, and nothing will teach you circumspection. The moment you lose sight of immediate destruction, you are asleep.

I wish you could banish oaths entirely. They are an indignity to truth. The dissenters objected to swearing as well as we. Allowing our affirmation is a favour, we own. But why should it not be extended to all? Let us increase the consequence and dignity of simple truth. Guard yourselves from impositions, as much as you can; but let it not be at the expense of the sacred name. I wish, likewise, we could all become so far christians as to forbear fighting. It is the remains of Gothic savageness, unsubdued by the spirit of the gospel. It knows nothing of the immortal soul, or its state in futurity; it is merely the beast that fights, not the man. But the world is not yet ripe for such doctrines. A fœdetic teacher amongst us, arguing on this subject, asks, if it would not be better for mankind in general, if there were no wars? Yes certainly. We are assured that such a time is to come, and whether is it more probable that this disposition shall become general at once, or begin amongst a few, spread further by degrees, and at length become universal? Ought not those few, then, who think in their consciences that to them war is unlawful, to abstain from fighting? most certainly. This we think a good foundation for us to stand upon, without condemning others who are not to be persuaded. Have as much tenderness to such a people as you can. They are the best friends of humanity.

There is nothing tends so much to keep alive the spirit of war, as our education. We take part in all the spirit of heroism displayed with so much elegance by the Greek and Roman historians\*, till the spirit of

christianity, meek, humble, patient, forgiving, is obliterated from our minds. A woful exchange for a system replete with good will to all men! I am not censuring others, I am pleading for ourselves, and most fervently wish the day may be fast advancing, when wars will be no more. I am the brother of all mankind. I know I am writing to a gentleman who has charity enough to enter fully into my sentiments, and to wish there was not a classic extant, capable of producing, cherishing, or confirming such sentiments.

I am obliged to write in haste, tho' the length of this may afford suspicion my time is not always employed to the best purposes. But as I have conceived a very favourable opinion of my very sensible correspondent, I could wish to give him every proof of it in my power.

With fervent wishes for universal peace, the happiness of America, and of every individual in it, that endeavours to promote its real interest, piety and virtue, I am to all such a very cordial friend.

J. FOTHERGILL.

NOTE.

*guage, the heroic character of Alexander, the depredating Macedonian, are said to have been the means of inspiring Charles XII. of Sweden, with those destructive ideas of glory and ambition, which, in the beginning of the present century, caused such dreadful devastation in the northern parts of Europe, dethroned one king, reduced himself to the abject state of a refugee among the Turks, and finally brought on his premature death, at thirty-six years of age, after having so far enervated his kingdom, that it has hardly recovered during the long period of peace, which his wiser though less heroic successors have since afforded it. This furnishes an awful confirmation of the justice of the observation in the text, which, it is hoped, will gradually force conviction on the minds of an enlightened people.---C.*

NOTE.

\* The perusal of Quintus Curtius, and a consequent extravagant admiration of the romantic, or, in classic lan-

# SELECT POETRY.

*Poem, written in Boston, at the commencement of the late revolution.*

FROM realms of bondage and a tyrant's reign,  
 Our godlike fathers bore no slavish chain;  
 To Pharaoh's face th' inspired patriarchs stood,  
 To seal their virtue, with a martyr's blood:  
 But lives so precious, such a sacred seed,  
 The source of empires, heav'n's high will decreed;  
 He snatch'd the saints from Pharaoh's impious hand,  
 And bade his chosen seek this distant land:  
 Then to these climes th' illustrious exiles sped,  
 'Twas freedom prompted, and the Godhead led.  
 Eternal woods the virgin soil defac'd,  
 A dreary desert, and an howling waste;  
 The haunt of tribes no pity taught to spare,  
 And they oppos'd them with remorseless war,  
 But heav'n's right arm led forth the faithful train,  
 The guardian Godhead swept th' insidious plan,  
 'Till the scour'd thicket amicable flood,  
 Nor dastard ambush trench'd the dusky wood:  
 Our fires then earn'd, no more, precarious bread,  
 Nor midst alarms their frugal meals were spread;  
 Fair boding hopes inur'd their hands to toil,  
 And patriot virtue nurs'd the thriving soil;  
 Nor scarce two ages have their periods run,  
 Since o'er their culture smil'd the genial sun;  
 And now what states extend their fair domains  
 O'er fleecy mountains and luxuriant plains!  
 Where happy millions their own fields possess,  
 No tyrant awes them, and no lords oppress;  
 The hand of rule, divine discretion guides,  
 And white-rob'd virtue o'er her paths presides,  
 Each polic'd order venerates the laws,  
 And each, ingenuous, speaks in freedom's cause;  
 The Spartan spirit, nor the Roman name,  
 The patriot's pride, shall rival these in fame;  
 Here all the sweets that social life can know,  
 From the full font of civil sapience flow;  
 Here golden Ceres clothes th' autumnal plain,  
 And art's fair empress holds her new domain;  
 Here angel science spreads her lucid wing,  
 And hark, how sweet the new-born muses sing!  
 Here gen'rous commerce spreads her lib'ral hand,  
 And scatters foreign blessings round the land.  
 Shall meagre Mammon, or proud lust of sway,  
 Reverse these scenes—will heav'n permit the day—  
 Shall in this era all our hopes expire,  
 And weeping freedom from her fanes retire?  
 Here shall the tyrant still our peace pursue,  
 From the pain'd eye-brow drink the vital dew?  
 Not nature's barrier wards our fathers' foe,  
 Seas roll in vain, and boundless oceans flow.—

Stav. Pharaoh\*, stay: that impious hand forbear;  
 Nor tempt the genius of our souls too far;

NOTE.

\* The king of Great Britain,

How oft, ungracious, in thy thankless bleed,  
 'Mid scenes of death, our gen'rous youth have bled !  
 When the proud Gaul thy mightiest pow'rs repell'd,  
 And drove thy legions, trembling, from the field,  
 We rent the laurel from the victor's brow,  
 And round thy temples taught the wreath to grow †,  
 Say, when thy slaughter'd bands the desert dy'd,  
 Where lone Ohio rolls her gloomy tide,  
 Whose dreary banks their wailing bones inspire,  
 What arm aveng'd them ?—thanklets ! was it thine ‡ ?  
 But gen'rous valour scorns a boasting word,  
 And conscious virtue reaps her own reward :  
 Yet conscious virtue bids thee now to speak,  
 Though guilty blushes kindle o'er thy cheek :  
 If wailing wars and painful toils at length,  
 Had drain'd our veins, and wither'd all our strength,  
 How could'st thou, cruel, form the vile design,  
 And round our necks the wreath of bondage twine ?  
 And if some ling'ring spirit rous'd to strife,  
 Bid Russian murder drink the dregs of life ?  
 Shall future ages e'er forget the deed ?  
 And shan't, for this, impious Britain bleed ?  
 When comes the period heav'n predetermin'd must,  
 When Europe's glories shall be whelm'd in dust,  
 When our proud fleets the naval wreath shall wear,  
 And o'er her empires haul the bolts of war,  
 Unner'd by fate, the boldest heart shall fail,  
 And 'mid their guards, auxiliar kings grow pale :  
 In vain shall Britain lift her suppliant eye,  
 An alien'd offspring feels no filial tie,  
 Her tears in vain shall bathe the soldiers' feet,  
 Remember, ingrate, Boston's crimson'd street § ;  
 Whole hecatombs of lives the deed shall pay,  
 And purge the murders of that guilty day ||.

But why to future periods look so far,  
 What force e'er fac'd us, that we fear'd to dare ?  
 Then can'st thou think, e'en on this early day,  
 Proud force shall bend us to a tyrant's way ?  
 A foreign foe oppos'd our sword in vain\*,  
 And thine own troops we've rallied on the plain † †.  
 If then our lives your lawless sword invade,  
 Think'st thou, enslav'd, we'll kiss the pointed blade ?  
 Nay, let experience speak—be this the test,  
 'Tis from experience that we reason best.—  
 When first the mandate shew'd the shameless plan,  
 To rank our race beneath the class of man,

## NOTES.

† The taking of Louisbourg in the year 1745, by general Pepperell.

‡ The same year the king's troops were surprised near the banks of the Ohio ; when our illustrious general Washington covered the retreat, and saved the destruction of the whole army. A body of the French was repulsed at an assault of the provincial lines at the westward, their general taken prisoner, and their whole army compelled to fly back to Canada.

§ The massacre of the 5th of March, 1770.

|| The poet seems to have been very prophetic in this beautiful passage.

\* The extirpation of the neutrals from Nova-Scotia.

† † The provincials covered the retreat from the French lines, at Ticonderoga, when the British general, Abercrombie, was defeated by the marquis Montcalm, in 1758.

Low as the brute to sink the human line,  
 Our toil our portion, and the harvest thine,  
 Modest but firm, we plead the sacred cause,  
 On nature bas'd, and sanction'd by the laws ;  
 But your deaf ear the conscious plea deny'd,  
 Some demon counsel'd—and the sword reply'd ;  
 Your navy then our haven cover'd o'er,  
 And arm'd battalions trespass'd on our shore,  
 Thro' the prime streets, they march'd in war's array,  
 At noon's full blaze, and in the face of day ;  
 With dumb contempt we pass'd the servile show,  
 While scorn's proud spirit scould on ev'ry brow ;  
 Day after day successive wrongs we bore,  
 'Till patience, weary'd, could support no more,  
 'Till slaughter'd lives our native streets profan'd,  
 And thy slaves' hand our hallow'd crimson stain'd,  
 No sudden rage the Russian soldier tore,  
 Or drench'd the pavements with his vital gore,  
 Deliberate thought did all our souls compose,  
 'Till veil'd in glooms, the lonely morning rose ;  
 No mob then furious urg'd th' impassion'd fray,  
 Nor clam'rous tumult din'd the solemn day.  
 In full convene the † city-senate sat,  
 Our fathers' spirit rul'd the firm debate ;  
 The freeborn soul no reptile tyrant checks,  
 'Tis heav'n that dictates when the people speaks ;  
 Loud from their tongues the awful mandate broke,  
 And thus, inspir'd, the sacred senate spoke ;  
 Ye miscreant troops, be gone ! our presence fly  
 Stay, if ye dare : but if you dare, ye die !  
 Ah ! too severe, the fearful chief || replies,  
 Permit one half—the other, instant, flies—  
 No parle, avaunt, or by our fathers' shades.  
 Your reeking lives shall glut our vengeful blades.  
 Ere morning's light, be gone.—or else we swear.  
 Each slaughter'd corpse shall feed the birds of air !  
 Ere morning's light had break'd the skies with red,  
 The chieftain yielded, and the soldier fled.  
 'Tis thus experience speaks—the tell forbear,  
 Nor shew these states your feeble front of war,  
 But still your navies lord it o'er the main,  
 Their keels are natives of our oaken plain ;  
 When the proud mast that bears your flag on high,  
 Grew on our soil, and ripen'd in our sky :  
 ' Know then thyself, presume not us to scan,'  
 Your pow'r precarious, and your issue span.—

Yet could our wrongs in just oblivion sleep,  
 And on each neck, reviv'd affection weep.  
 The brave are gen'rous, and the good forgive,  
 Then say you've wrong'd us, and our parent live \*  
 But face not fate, oppose not heav'n's decree,  
 Let not that curse our mother light on thee.

## NOTES.

† The town meeting at Faneuil-hall.

|| The infamous governor Hutchinson.

\* Her tyrants were too self-conceited, and too obstinate to take the advice of men of the best sense and understanding.—The consequence has been the establishment of liberty and universal commerce in America.



*To the publisher of the American Museum.*

*If I may hope to find a place in a publication, which is honoured with the productions of colonel Humphreys, a name equally dear and illustrious among the sons of freedom and literature, I shall be indebted to you for the insertion of the following lines in the American Museum.*

Dublin, August 2, 1788.

Your affectionate brother,  
W. P. CAREY.

*The incantation.*

*Matacoran, an Indian warrior, curious to know the event of battle, on the eve of an expedition, invokes the shade of his deceased father, from whom, by powerful spells, he receives the sure presages of victory.*

*Scene. A wild country. Moonlight.*

FIVE chiefs of renown by his arrows lay dead,  
Ere the blood of my father in battle was shed ;  
He fell by the side of the dark, winding stream ;  
But the vallies resound with the song of his fame.

How sweet is his sleep in the night of the grave !  
For dear is revenge to the soul of the brave !  
O'er his ashes his foe Potow-ma-mack I tore !  
And sprinkled the mantle of earth with his gore !

Like a tyger, undaunted, he rush'd to the war !  
Like thunder he struck, and spread terror afar !  
As the pleasures of love, or the spring of the year,  
His name to the race of Nuncomar is dear.

The pleasures of love are too mighty to last,  
In a moment the bliss of enjoyment is past !  
The blossoms of spring, in their pride fade away :  
But the laurel of valour shall never decay !

Three scalps of the conquer'd to Podar\* I burn ;  
At whose voice from Ronama†, the spirits return !  
A snake, black with venom, I cast in the flame,  
And call on the shade of my father by name !

In his glory he comes, like a star in the skies !  
He smiles—and the omens of triumph arise,  
He speaks, and the time of my wishes is near,  
When the race of my foes shall in blood disappear !

In the gloom of the forest, securely they sleep,  
But long ere the sun shall illumine the deep,  
This hand, which the demons of ruin shall guide,  
In a tempest of slaughter shall scatter their pride.

*The American Militia.*

NO art excites—nor martial music's charms,  
The soldier's soul to deeds of glory warm,  
Nor hostile arms emblaze the pompful plain,  
Nor guards their naked front the brazen train,  
Untutor'd these in war's experienc'd school,  
By nature brave, and unoblig'd by rule,

NOTES.

\* Podar, the god of the winds, and ruler of deceased spirits.

† Ronama, the abode of the valiant after death,

Their sable arms oft borne in fields of chace,  
 In hostile port their manly shoulders grace,  
 Their martial hands the fleely tomax wield;  
 Thus arm'd, thy sons, Columbia, take the field.  
 No groan of slavery wounds the warrior's ear,  
 No guilt pollutes them, and no scourge they fear.  
 Nor scornful eye, nor mean imperious dare,  
 Insults the spirit of these sons of war.  
 The chief, the soldier, each, familiar, greet,  
 Share the same cup, nor taste distinguish'd meat,  
 One village bore them, and one tutor bred,  
 And to the field one glorious motive led.



*The complaint of Cascarilla. An American ballad.*

THE fairest cedar of the grove  
 Arose less beauteous than my love;  
 The pride of all our Indian youth,  
 For valour, constancy, and truth.

His eyes were bright as morning dew,  
 His lips the Nepal's \* crimson hue;  
 His teeth, the silver plume so white  
 That wings the spotless bird † of night.

For me, th' unerring lance he threw,  
 For me the stedfast bow he drew;  
 Chac'd the fleet roe thro' mead and wood,  
 Or lur'd the tenants of the wood.

Mine was the spoil, the trophies mine,  
 The choicest skins my cot to line;  
 While for the youth a wreath I wove,  
 With flow'rs new gather'd from the grove.

But, ah!—those happy hours are fled;  
 I weep my dear Panama dead!  
 The clang of war his bosom fir'd,  
 He fought—was conquer'd—and expir'd,

Untomb'd—unshelter'd—lo! he lies:  
 No maid to close his faded eyes,  
 With flow'rs to deck his mournful bier,  
 Or greet his ashes with a tear!



*The bulls and the lion.—A fable.*

S A F E on the lion's old domain,  
 The bulls enjoy'd the flow'ry plain;  
 To conquer oft' the lion tried,  
 But, sorely push'd on every side,  
 The monarch soon was taught to yield—  
 The bulls, united, kept the field.  
 With grief we read the dismal tale,  
 That art supply'd where strength did fail:

NOTE.

\* The plant on which the cochineal is nourished; its blossoms are of beautiful red.

† The American owl, of a delicate white, equal to snow.

New schemes and tricks the lion tries,  
To make the sturdy bulls his prize,  
And by his jealous hints and fears,  
Set all together by the ears.

His engines were not set in vain,  
Suspicion agitates their brain ;  
They soon grew fearful of each other,  
Each scorn'd and shunn'd his fearful brother,  
Each feels his consequence—his pride ;  
They doubt each other ; they divide.

For want of friendship's pow'rful stay,  
The bulls become an easy prey—  
The lion sees his conquest done,  
And slays the thirteen, one by one.

We thus (it must appear to all)  
United stand—divided fall.



*Horace, lib. I. ode XXII. imitated. Inscribed to the  
lady of Samuel Ogle, esq.*

THE christian hero, pure from sin,  
Serene, and fortify'd within,  
Defies the rage of civil jars,  
Assembly-feuds, and foreign wars ;  
Nor wants the troops, brave Amherst led,  
He, safe in sanctity of life,  
From the French sword and Indian knife,  
Ne'er dreads a circumcision of the head.

Whether he purposes to go  
Thro' Apalachian rocks and snow,  
Canadian forests, Funda's frost,  
Or bleak Ontario's barb'rous coast ;  
Or visits Niagara's falls,  
With soul, not liable to fear,  
He sees tremendous dangers near ;  
Smiling, he sees ; superior to them all.

'Tis true, fair friend ; no evil can  
Surprise the heav'n-protected man.  
—As thro' thy pleasing lawns I stray'd ;  
(While virtue, like a blooming maid,  
Employ'd my thoughts on all her charms)  
From neighb'ring groves, with threat'ning eyes,  
A buffalo of monstrous size,  
Rush'd sudden forth, nor gave my soul alarms !

Such never drank Ohio's floods,  
Or bellow'd in Virginian woods ;  
Such, and so fierce, did ne'er advance  
Gainst Spanish don, with daring lance ;  
Such ne'er in Hole of Hockley \* bled.  
Yet me, unarm'd, the savage saw,

NOTE.

\* Notorious for bull baiting.

With fear and reverential awe,  
Spurning the ground, he came, he gaz'd, he fled.

Place me on Hudson's dreary shore,  
Where icy mountains, bursting, roar ;  
Where hyperborean tempells blow ;  
Where tree or shrub can never grow ;  
(Virtue, bright goddess ! I'm prepar'd !)  
Place me, where howling swamps extend,  
A gloomy wild, without an end !  
Yet virtue there shall be her vot'ry's guard !

Cast me amidst the hissing brood,  
When sultry Sirius † fires their blood ;  
Where from th' inhospitable brake  
Dire basilisks their rattles shake :  
Yet, virtue, thou shalt cheer the place :  
And, strongly imag'd in my mind,  
Within my raptur'd heart inshrin'd,  
Shalt sweetly talk, and smile with Ogle's grace !  
*Kent, in Maryland, October 25, 1758.*



*Elegiac ode, sacred to the memory of general Greene.*

SAY, shall the bards of ancient Greece and Rome,  
In all the pathos of impassion'd woe,  
Mourn with their country, at the hero's tomb,  
And fire a world to emulation's glow ?  
Shall weeping muses quit Pierian groves,  
To deck the sod, where rest the good, the brave,  
And shall the warrior, whom an empire loves,  
Repose, unsung, unhonour'd in the grave ?

Forbid it, heav'n ! Columbia claims the song :  
Touch'd with her griefs, I sweep the plaintive lyre :  
To her, to Greene, immortal strains belong—  
An angel's pencil, and a seraph's fire.  
Whilst sacred truth, from realms of light divine,  
Shall pour the tide of intellectual day,  
And lead my footsteps to the hero's shrine,  
Where patriots guard, and freemen watch the clay.

When first Britannia bath'd her sword in gore,  
His soul, indignant, spurn'd the peaceful shade ;  
Instant he arm'd, to brave the lion's roar,  
And the keen terrors of the Highland blade.  
Prompt at his call, to hostile fields he led  
The hardy yeomen of his native isle\*,  
True sons of liberty—whom virtue bred,  
Strong for the labours of Herculean toil.

Mild of access—in him, no little pride  
Obscur'd the greatness of a noble mind :  
He felt for all—the soldier at his side  
Brought down the sweetest “milk of human kind.”

NOTES.

† The dog-star.

\* General Greene commanded the troops raised by the state of Rhode Island, the first campaign of the late war.

For council honour'd—in the camp below'd  
Sagacious, cool, amid the storm serene—  
Heroes rever'd—applauding States approv'd—  
And Albion trembled at the name of Greene.

Oft have his limbs the frozen earth compress'd,  
Whilst round his head the watry torrent pour'd :  
Thick clouds the curtains to his couch of rest,  
Where the bleak wind and midnight hail-storm roar'd :  
And oft advanc'g with the solar ray,  
His banners flam'd to meet the lightning's glare,  
In torrid realms of more than burning day—  
Sad haunts of death, and plagues, and putrid air.

These hallow'd truths, inscrib'd on glory's roll,  
Written in blood on honour's purple vest,  
Shall gallant warriors, born of kindred soul,  
With conscious pride, and martial zeal attest.  
Illustrious men ! ye nerv'd his mighty hand,  
To crush the savage on the warlike plain ;  
When to the south he wheel'd his conquer'ing band,  
And broke the iron of opprellion's chain.

Around the shores, which Hudson's billows lave †,  
His laurel wreaths shall ever verdant bloom,  
And Trenton's cypress shade the hero's grave,  
Whilst pensive Princeton mourns his early tomb.  
August abodes ! ye heard the trumpet's sound,  
Which bade his columns range, his squadrons form,  
Ye saw his courfers snuff th' embattled ground,  
And Greene, triumphant, rule the vengeful storm.

Array'd in tears—and garb of sable hue,  
See Brandywine the chieftain's hearse attend,  
And Germantown ‡ lament—and Monmouth, rob'd in yew ;  
And Ashley's waters wail their godlike friend.  
Immortal grounds ! the theme of ev'ry age,  
Your meanest dust shall speak the hero's praise,  
Here bolted vengeance burst with tenfold rage,  
And there he drove the lightning's rapid blaze.

Nor less illustrious are the banks of Dan,  
Or Guilford's fields, where feats of bold emprise  
Proclaim the genius of the matchless man :  
Through all the regions, mark'd by azure skies,  
Ye saw his arms the vollied thunders deal,  
Which check'd Cornwallis in his mid career,  
With Tarleton's sword, and Rawdon's murd'rous steel,  
And savage Balfour pal'd with guilty fear.

Illustrious spots of earth's high favour'd mould !  
What, though no clarions swell to dire alarms,  
And no proud chief, in pomp of burnish'd gold,  
Leads on his troops in the bright glow of arms :

#### NOTES,

† On Hudson's banks, at Trenton, Princeton, and Brandywine.

‡ At Germantown, Monmouth, and in South-Carolina, general Greene was honoured with distinguished command.

Yet shall the vet'ran there recount the tale  
Of armies rais'd, uncloth'd, unfed, unpaid,  
Who flood the summer's heat, the winter's gale,  
Nor turn'd their bosoms from the tyrant's blade.

Such were the men, who own'd the pow'r of Greene,  
When the shrill music, length'ning down the line,  
Urg'd rank on rank, to try the dubious scene,  
And combat hosts, by despots thought divine.  
Thrice honour'd chief ! the work of death is past,  
Thy task completed, smiling peace descends,  
Hush'd is the din—and mute the trumpet's blast,  
And ardent warriors greet as ancient friends.

Mature in life—with endless honour crown'd—  
Too bright for earth, and fit for purer skies,  
Celestial bands his mighty deeds resound,  
Whilst thus, aloud, a prince of angels cries :  
“ At God's decree, by heav'n's high throne, I swear,  
“ 'Tis done ! 'tis done ! his time shall be no more !  
“ Thou king of death, descend on wings of air,  
“ And waft the hero to his native shore.”

Th' obedient monarch clefth' ætherial way,  
His golden darts were tip'd with sacred fire,  
He rode the chariot of eternal day,  
And, fleet as lightning, past th' applauding choir,  
His radiant form the hero kenn'd afar,  
Resolv'd in death to boast supernal fame,  
He mounted swift, lash'd on the burning car,  
And tow'r'd sublime in robes of solar flame.

According spirits tun'd the song of love,  
From heav'nly harps was heard triumphant praise,  
Which breath'd thrice welcome to the climes above,  
In the mild music of harmonious lays.  
A pause ensu'd—the melting lyre was still,  
And this the voice which trumpets roll'd around,  
“ Go, fix the hero's throne on glory's hill,  
“ And be the chief, by mightiest warriors crown'd.”

The laurel wreath was borne in Warren's hand,  
The great Montgomery thron'd th' immortal Greene,  
The gentle Mercer join'd the festive band,  
And gallant Laurens grac'd the glorious scene.  
Uncounted vet'rans throng'd the bless'd abodes—  
Loud swell'd the notes to extacy divine,  
And Spartan heroes, next in rank to Gods,  
Proclaim'd with Wolfe the palm of merit thine.

Errata in the September Museum.

Page 257, col. 1, line 37, dele *them*. P. 258, col. 1. l. 12, for *remains* read *remains*. Line 54, for *mechanical* read *the mechanical*.—Page 261, col. 1. line 3. for *descriptions* read *distinctions*. Col. 2, line 20, for *eastern* read *eastern*. Line 22, for *parity* read *purity*. Line 48 for *judicials* read *judicials*. Line 57 for *swallow* read *swallow*. Line *penult.* after *judicial* add *or.* Page 260, col. 2, line 49, for *as* read *is*. Page 262, col. line 21, after *are to*, add *be represented, will*. Page 263, col. 2. line 6. *now* read *know*. Line 13, for *unattached*, read *unattached*. Line 28, *union* read *unions*, Line 34 for *bound* read *bounded*.

London, September 2.

Sept. 3. There are letters in town from France, which state, that not only the parliaments will be re-established, but that the states-general, which were to meet the first of May next, will be assembled on the first of January.

On Saturday last, at 12 o'clock, the archbishop of Sens, prime minister of France, was dismissed from his employments, in consequence of the disorders occasioned by his edicts of the 16th and 18th ult. His dismissal was followed by that of the whole party who have advised the king to contend with his parliaments. On Monday evening, M. Neckar was nominated minister and director-general of the finances; his appointment was received in Paris with an universal joy. This intelligence comes by a courier extraordinary, arrived yesterday from Paris to the French ambassador.

The deficit is now almost five millions sterling per annum ! For the archbishop, like his predecessors, left the revenue worse than he found it !

A very bloody engagement has happened between the Swedes and Russians, on the borders of Finland. Every thing that could animate the

In the onset the Russians had considerably the advantage, and attacked the left wing of the Swedish force with great bravery and effect—taking from them the whole of their artillery, with 500 prisoners. The king, at the head of a few regiments, instantly flew to their relief, and the soldiers, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, rallied and charged afresh with the greatest fury and conduct, and put to flight the whole of the Russian army. The count Mutchin Pousbin and 4000 prisoners, with the whole artillery, fell into the hands of the Swedes.

The grand duke retreated with the scattered remains of his army into the fortress of Wyburg, which was immediately invested by the king of Sweden.

The capture of Wyburg is of the last importance to Russia, for should it fall, Petersburg must be open to every danger and attack, and in all probability will surrender. The plunder of this place would pay the expences of the whole war.

The above news is confirmed to us through various channels, and leaves but little room to doubt. It comes from three different quarters.

The report of a second engagement at sea between these powers, as it now comes to us, leaves little room to doubt its veracity. Letters from Pillau and Konigsberg speak of it as certain. The loss of the Russians is two ships of the line, which, it is said, are arrived at Stockholm. The fight took place between Helsingfors and Revel.



Charleston, October 18.

Yesterday, a committee, appointed by the senate to take into consideration the state of the republic, brought up a report, which declared the distressed state of the country to be so great as to call on the wisdom of the legislature for relief, and that a bill should be brought in for that purpose. On the yeas and nays being called,

there appeared to be for a bringing in a bill 12, against it 6.

A letter from Grenville, dated October 9, says "The people here have entered into a resolution to stop all sheriffs' sales, and actually effected it last Friday. They yesterday met on the same business, but the matter was compromised before the sheriff came."



*Albany, September 20.*

On Thursday last, his excellency the governor and other commissioners returned to this city from Fort-Schuyler; where they have held treaties with the Onondaga and Oneida Indians. These nations have ceded all their lands to this state. The lands, on both sides of the river, whereon the Onondaga village stands, being a tract of about nine miles in length, and about eight miles in breadth, are to remain for ever for the use of the Onondagas; and the lands, for one mile around the salt lake, are to remain for the common benefit of the citizens of the state, and the Onondagas, to furnish fuel for making salt: a very large tract is, in like manner, to remain for the use of the Oneidas.—The lands, so to remain for the Onondagas and the Oneidas, are, however, not to be sold, leased, or in any other manner alienated or disposed of by these respective nations. A tract of four miles in breadth, and extending from the line of property to the western boundary of the Oneida territory, is also appropriated for the benefit of the Oneidas; with respect to which, they have a power to make leases for twenty-one years. The lands, for one mile on each side of Fish-creek, are to remain ungranted, and to be for the common benefit of the citizens of the state and the Oneidas, to encamp and land on; and an half mile square, at the distance of every six miles, along the northern bank of the Oneida lake, is to remain for the same purpose.

The Oneidas have stipulated, that a tract of ten miles square, on the north side of the Oneida lake, shall be granted to mr. Penect, of Schenectady, as a benevolence from their nation to him; and a tract of two miles square is also to be granted to mr. Peraline,

in satisfaction of an injury done to him by one of their nation.

Of the lands reserved for the use of the Oneidas, the Stockbridge Indians, and also the New-England Indians, under the pastoral care of the rev. mr. Ocum, are to have their present respective settlements. The former, six miles square, and the latter two miles in breadth and three miles in length. The Oneidas have also requested, that a mile square, adjoining to the tracts of mr. Dean, and of the lands to be reserved for their own use, should be granted to mr. Bleeker, in return for his frequent good offices to them.

One thousand crowns in silver and goods to the amount of about two hundred pounds, were paid to the Onondagas, and the state is to allow them annually five hundred dollars.—Two thousand dollars in silver—good to the amount of eight hundred pounds, and provisions to the amount of four hundred pounds, were paid to the Oneidas, and they are to be allowed annually six hundred dollars.

During the treaty, a deputation of about seventy persons from the Seneca nation, waited on the commissioners. Their visit, however, was only intended as a mark of respect; their sachems and principal chiefs having, previous to the treaty at Fort-Schuyler, set out to attend the general treaty at Muskingum.



*Salem, September 30.*

Accounts from the city of Marietta say, that within 12 months past, more than 10,000 emigrants have passed that place to Kentucke and other parts on the Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. The greater part of these are not owners of any lands in the countries to which they have migrated, but expect to become purchasers; and many of them would have become settlers on the Ohio company's tract, had the arrangements of the company been so far completed as to hold out the necessary encouragement to them.

At a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company, on the banks of the Muskingum, July 2d, it was resolved, that the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, be called Marietta;



hat the reserved public square in the city, including the buildings at the block-houses, be called *Campus Martius*; the elevated square, No. 11, *Quadranaon*; No. 19, *Capitolium*; the square No. 61, *Cecilia*; and the great road through the covert way to *Quadranaon*, *Sacra Via*.



Winchester, October 22.

We are informed, that an expedition was set on foot against the Indians, the beginning of last month, to be conducted by general Martin. The men under his command amounted to about four hundred and fifty, who marched to some of the Chickawago towns without interruption; but in attempting to cross a very rocky mountain to one of their principal towns, a number of the savages who lay hid in the rocks, shot three captains dead, who were in front, and wounded a few of the men: the savages immediately fled into the mountain. The whites killed one Indian, and a Negro, and wounded others. They would have pursued the savages, but having suffered much for want of provision, and no great hopes of a supply, they judged it expedient to return. The field officers are to meet to-morrow, to consult what is best to be done:—It is expected the result will be, either to treat with them, or carry on another expedition. If something effectual does not soon take place, the frontiers of this country will be in a deplorable situation.



Philadelphia, October 1.

Congress, by a resolve of the 16th ult. recommended to the several states, to pass proper laws for preventing the transportation of convicted malefactors from foreign countries into the united states.

October 8.

On Saturday last a motion was made in the general assembly for recommending the letter from the convention of New-York, signed by Governor Clinton, to the attention of the next assembly. After a short debate, the motion was negatived by 38 against 23.—

October 15.

One night last week 33 of the criminals, commonly called wheelbarrow men, broke out of the jail of this city; since which several of them have been retaken; but the remainder have resumed their former practices of depredation upon the persons and property of the inhabitants. Their custom is to change clothes with those they rob.

The assembly of Connecticut have passed an act for preventing the importation of convicts from foreign countries—another to prevent negro traffic—and one to organize congress.

October 31.

This day the associate presbytery of Pennsylvania met in the hall of the university, and ordained the rev. D. Goodwille, and the rev. John Anderson, to the holy ministry. The rev. Thomas Beveredge presided in the ordination of mr. Goodwille, and preached in the forenoon, from 2 Cor. iv. 1. Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not. The rev. William Marshall presided in the ordination of mr. Anderson, and preached in the afternoon, from Prov. xi. 30. He that winneth souls is wise.



## MARRIAGES.

In Philadelphia, John Caldwell, esq. to miss ——— Caldwell.

At Pittsburgh, lieut. Matthew Ernest to miss Kitty Wilkins.

In Baltimore, mr. Standish Barry to miss Thomson.

In New York, Jacob Hockstrasser, esq. to miss Judith Hone. Mons. de Marcelleine to miss Catharine Achley. Mr. James Bleecker to miss Bache.

In Boston, mr. Joseph Tony to miss Betsey Gendell. Mr. John Adams to miss Fanny Cowing.

At Salem, the rev. John Murray to mrs. Judith Stephens,



## DEATHS.

In Philadel. miss Mary Rhoads. Mr. Matthias Landenbeger, Major Thomas Casdorp. Mr. Thomas Micklethwait.

In Lancaster, major John Dovic. At Lewes, miss Anne Molliten.

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## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1788.

## The VISITANT.

*(Continued from page 320.)*No. VI. *On modesty, bashfulness, diffidence, and the contrary qualities.*

WHY do we dislike the man who expects from us too great a reward to his own merit? I think the answer is obvious, because, by preferring himself, he undervalues us; self-love immediately takes the alarm, and refuses his demand. Forwardness is like a painter, who would point out to the beauties of his own performance; but we choose rather to discover them ourselves, that our admiration may seem to arise from our own discernment. The opposite quality to this is modesty, a term that bears sometimes a very vague signification; which is owing, in some measure, to this, that its appearance is frequently counterfeited by qualities of a different nature. The terms, modesty, bashfulness, and diffidence, are often used indiscriminately; it may not be amiss, therefore, to enquire into the origin, nature, and merit of the qualities to which they properly belong.

The duties of humility may be divided into two sorts; the first are those which forbid us to entertain too high an opinion of our own perfections; the others enjoin a proper sense of our failures and imperfections. Upon these branches of humility, are founded the two first of the abovementioned qualities. Modesty is that virtue which keeps us from expecting, as our right, the esteem and veneration which our good qualities seem to deserve: and it is evident that modesty must appear universally amiable, because goodwill and approbation are a tribute in our own power, and we choose to bestow them as we please. As modesty is founded on humility, so they are inseparably connected; we cannot form the idea of an humble

man, without supposing him, at the same time, modest; nor of a modest man, without supposing him humble; for he, who has a proper sense of his own merits, will not challenge an undue esteem for them, and his not doing this is a sure evidence that he has a proper sense of them.

Bashfulness is that quality which discovers to men the sense we have of our own failures and imperfections. The vice directly opposed to it is impudence. The bashful man is ashamed of his faults; but the impudent man is not sensible of them. Bashfulness is frequently esteemed a foible; which may easily be accounted for, because it supposes some fault, without which it would not exist; but I choose rather to call it a virtue, for we are pleased to see men conscious of their defects, and this acknowledgment is the best apology they can make for them. Sometimes, however, we are sensible of all the appearances of bashfulness, without any fault in ourselves which can give rise to them. This proceeds from sympathy; we suppose ourselves in the situation of the person who occasions our confusion, and have the same sensations which we think he ought to feel.

I think modesty and bashfulness may be always known from each other by the distinction I have laid down, viz. that the latter produces in us the disagreeable idea of some defect which occasions it, and therefore gives us pain, although it is, at the same time, engaging; but the former gives us a pleasure, which is not attended with this disagreeable idea. And this leads me to observe, that our admiration of bashfulness extends no farther than to this single good quality; but we cannot admire modesty, without admiring, at the same time, those virtues from which it derives its value.

The other quality, which has passed for modesty, is diffidence; this is too

weak a sense of any good quality we possess, and an insufficiency to call it forth to action. Diffidence is never to be allowed a virtue, but a weakness, because it suppresses a man's virtue, and hides it from the world, even when he has a mind to exert himself. A celebrated writer has observed, that "modesty is, to the other virtues in a man, what shade in a picture is to the parts of the thing represented; it makes all the other beauties appear conspicuous, which would otherwise appear but a wild heap of colours." But then it is necessary that this shade in our actions should be very justly applied; whereas diffidence renders it too strong.—In this case it hides our good qualities, instead of shewing them to advantage. The vice directly opposite to diffidence is presumption. They both occasion disagreeable sensations; but with this difference, that the uneasiness produced by the first, is in favour of the person for whom we feel it; but that which we receive from the other, is attended with a dislike of him who causes it. Modesty and confidence possess the medium of these two opposite extremes; the former being more allied to diffidence, and the latter to presumption; confidence may engage respect; but modesty adds to respect the more valuable acquisitions of love and esteem.

These qualities, which I have been examining, are frequently mistaken for one another, and hence it happens that such very different ideas are expressed by the word—modesty. If a man declines speaking his sentiments, in company, upon subjects which he is not acquainted with, it is ascribed to his great modesty; another confesses, by a blush, that he is at a loss how to acquit himself properly, and we immediately call him very modest; such a one (as it is said) would be very agreeable, if it were not for his modesty; and many a man loses every opportunity of pushing his fortune in life, because, forsooth, nature has made him extremely modest. No wonder, then, that in many cases, modesty is esteemed an indifferent and even unfortunate endowment; hence, people conclude that it is possible for a man to be too modest; and, to avoid that imputation, they frequently run into those vices which are the most remote from it.

I must request my fair readers in

particular, to make a proper distinction between modesty and those qualities which assume its appearance; because I have known many of their more humble devotees think themselves accomplished gallants, for no other reason but because they are not too modest. Flavia pities some shamefaced fellows because he is too modest—for (say she) it is a disadvantage to the young man. Belvidero concludes from this that modesty is a quality that will never recommend him to the fair sex; he gets rid, as fast as he can, of what little share nature has bestowed on him; he takes every opportunity of affronting virtuous women; and is pleased to find that he is not too modest, but is admirably calculated to please the ladies. Favillo values himself because he conceals in what he thinks constitutes a clever fellow; he drinks, he swears, he wenches, and would not, for the world, that his mistress should think him deficient in any of these accomplishments, lest she should despise him for being too modest. A young fellow is taught that, to qualify himself for the company of the fair sex, he should rub a little brass on his face, as the expression is, lest he should be laughed at for too modest. Now it is obvious that many, judging too hastily from appearances, will be apt to conclude that whatever pretensions may be made for form's sake—the ladies themselves are not too modest.

An entire indifference to the esteem and approbation of the world, has frequently assumed the appearance of the amiable quality I am speaking of. Modesty is a virtue, because it sheds lustre on all the virtues of the mind; but this must needs be a vice, since it naturally tends to destroy them. The man who challenges our admiration and he that shews himself indifferent to it, are offensive from the same principle, viz, that of self-love; the former affronts us by insisting on it as his right; the latter by thinking it not worth courting.

The universal sense of the world in favour of modesty, may appear from this reflection: that when a man sets forward to discover the opinion he entertains of his own good qualities, they endeavour to observe in him for imperfections, and are always ready to place him in the most unfavourable light. On the other hand, we are ev-

tentive to the merit of a modest man, and take a pleasure in discovering those excellencies which he is not ambitious of exposing.—In doing this, we gratify our love of justice, which always operates strongly, unless where it is opposed by self-love or some other powerful principle.

Modestly stamps a value upon every good quality that a man can possess: on the other hand, suppose the same qualities to exist without this virtue, and they immediately lose all their value—nay, they are frequently changed into the most odious vices. How amiable is the practice of piety! But if you imagine it destitute of that modesty which vaunteth not itself, piety becomes hypocrisy, and, instead of a saint, you have a pharisee. Without modesty, the philosopher is a cynic, and the orator nothing but a vain babbler; or, if the precepts of the former, and eloquence of the latter, are not adorned by this virtue, they must at least appear to be so; they must sue for admittance into the mind, not demand it. Pride and obstinacy keep the door; and they may be courted, but not forced.

I am persuaded, that to cultivate modestly would be the most effectual method to improve the pleasures of society, by removing many impediments to useful and entertaining conversation. The opposite quality is founded on pride, and the genuine offspring of them both are arrogance and obstinacy—the most inveterate enemies to social intercourse. As the proud man has too high an opinion of himself, he will demand more respect than he really deserves; as he thinks too meanly of others, he will shew them less respect than they are entitled to. But as the modest man knows himself, and pays a due deference to other men, he will never set up his own good qualities as the object of his company's admiration, nor think his sentiments a standard for others; when he is contradicted, he is willing to discover his mistake, and if he is mistaken, to acknowledge it. The temper of the former shews itself in presumption to his superiors, in haughtiness to his equals, and in insolence to his inferiors; but the behaviour of the latter is adorned with the opposite qualities of submission, respect, and concession. In short, modesty recom-

mends us to all men, because it pleases all; and it cannot fail to please all, since in every instance it compliments their judgment. It is necessary every where, and at all times; nothing can excuse the want of it—Without it even our good qualities become odious, and virtue is nothing but a name.

Modestly is reckoned more indispensably necessary in the fair part of our species, and its opposite qualities are in them much more conspicuous than in us. In a future paper I shall take occasion to consider the reason of this difference, and to infer from the principles I have laid down, some observations which should have an influence on their behaviour in life. 1.

*Philadelphia, March 7, 1768.*



## ATTICUS.

*(Continued from page 318.)*

*No. V. Various characters.*

THERE are many mistakes in deportment and conduct, among such of our acquaintance, as, on many accounts, we highly value, which it is not often easy to mention to the persons most immediately concerned therein; and yet such as we wish were more the subjects of their consideration: as I have assumed the task of giving, now and then, a little gentle admonition, it may not be amiss, to attempt to shew such features, as I have hinted at, in a kind of perspective to my readers; perhaps, they may see a likeness of something in themselves, which hath hitherto been overlooked, and which, to be amended, only requires a closer attention; but I guard against any applications to the grief or injury of any other persons. I dislike personal satire, and utterly abhor detraction; nor could any thing sooner make me throw away my pen, than to be made, or counted the vehicle of illwill or defamation. I endeavour to draw from human nature, assisted, I acknowledge, by observations on a variety of mixed companies, and thro' a numerous acquaintance; but without intending any one character to represent any particular person, either living or dead: and these remarks. I beg my reader to carry with him, though my future papers, as well as the present.

Emilius is a man of established character, as to morals, and has many good qualities ; yet in his conversation and business, he assumes an air of importance and self-sufficiency, that is a barrier against any intimacies even with such, as, on some occasions, he would be glad to place confidence in ; to that though in his younger days, he made an acquaintance with a few persons who continue to shew him some regard, he knows nothing of the pleasures and benefits which arise from real friendship ; and, as his present habit of behaviour forbids almost the approach of any new acquaintance, what will he do, if he outlives the present set ? One would think the support which a man wants on so many emergencies in the decline of life, would be a sufficient inducement to Emilius, to be more affable in his manners, and more susceptible of trust in some fellow beings of his own sex, or of forming a more tender connexion with some worthy woman, where he might enjoy all the sweet intercourses of friendship, without suspicion of selfishness or danger of deception.

Tendrus is so much alive to the kindest sensations, that he embraces every acquaintance with the openness and warmth that is only due to tried friendship ; hence he is often seen to take part with the unprincipled and worthless ; he gives credit to the false and designing ; he is deceived frequently by the cunning impostor, and when he perceives it, has understanding enough to determine to be more upon his guard ; yet again and again, by specious pretences, the milkiness of his nature is imposed upon, and with abilities and a disposition which would endear Tendrus to the intimacy of the most worthy, he becomes the dupe of the flatterer, and the companion of the debauched ! How then Tendrus learn more prudence and resolution ? By examining into the characters of those who intrude upon his good nature, and push themselves into connexions which are so injurious to him : then enquire of his judicious friends, how they manage to keep such vermin at a proper distance ; and resolve, however unpalatable, to take their prescription and advice.

How can the most niggardly disposi-

tion be reconciled with the love of ostentation ? Ask Crito, who in his conversation pretends to great tenderness for people in distress ; will talk in raptures of the public spirit, schemes of our hospital and the betting-house, and prattle, with seeming ardor, the goodness of any individual who sends liberal assistance to the poor when he casually hears of it : but if you look into the lists of public donation you will not find Crito's name there and if any opportunity offers of knowing his private conduct, he will be found to be wholly intent upon increasing his heap, and very careless not to part with any thing, unless trifles may sometimes escape (when he sees) to silence the voice of the clamorous beggar. If Crito would renounce either his covetousness, or his fondness for appearing to be what he is not, there might be room to hope for a cure of his other distempers : but while he retains both, what can be done to help him ?

Timon, with a capacity, which properly employed, would acquire the love and veneration of a large family and an extensive circle of acquaintance is despised at home, and dreaded abroad. He seems to wonder sometimes why it is so ! It is because he is either ill-natured, or affects such behaviour as makes him counted for nothing. Instead of associating dignity with ease, at his table, and among his dependents, he is austere, fierful, and unforgiving ; when one mistake or fault is committed, it reminds him of many former ones, which the culprit is to be reproached with. Nor is this treatment confined only to the view of his own family ; it often breaks out before strangers. Can it be any cause of wonder, that such a man is frequently complaining for want of good servants ? When Timon visits any one of his acquaintances, he is always discovering something amiss, either in greater or lesser matters, for none escape him ; and this not only furnishes him with something to talk about while there, often very disagreeable to those who are faulted, but to repeat when he goes to another house, this returns, by some channel or other to the knowledge of the first family who are further irritated at being the subject of his remarks behind their

sacks. And yet Timon wonders that he is not beloved by his neighbours ! But enough of this subject : the ridiculous and mischievous effects of ill-nature cannot be described in one character.

ATTICUS.

*Philadelphia, May 25, 1767.*



*A series of letters on education. Ascribed to the rev. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton college.*

*Continued from page 315.*

LETTER X.

LET us now proceed to consider more fully what it is to form children to piety by example. This is a subject of great extent, and, perhaps, of difficulty. The difficulty, however, does not consist either in the abstruseness of the arguments, or uncertainty of the facts upon which they are founded, but in the minuteness or trifling nature of the circumstances, taken separately, which makes them often either wholly unnoticed or greatly undervalued. It is a subject, which, if I mistake not, is much more easily conceived than explained. If you have it constantly in your mind, that your whole visible deportment will powerfully, though silently, influence the opinions and future conduct of your children, it will give a form or colour, if I may speak so, to every thing you say or do. There are numberless and nameless instances, in which this reflexion will make you speak, or refrain from speaking, add, or abstain from, some circumstances of action, in what you are engaged in ; nor will this be accompanied with any reluctance in the one case, or constraint in the other.

But I must not content myself with this. My profession gives me many opportunities of observing, that the impression made by general truths, however justly stated or fully proved, is seldom strong or lasting. Let me therefore descend to practice, and illustrate what I have said by examples. Here again a difficulty occurs. If I give a particular instance, it will perhaps operate no farther than recommending a like conduct in circumstances the same, or perfectly similar. For example, I might say, in speaking to the disadvantage of absent per-

sons, I beseech you never fail to add the reason why you take such liberty, and indeed never take that liberty at all, but when it can be justified upon the principles of prudence, candor, and charity. A thing may be right in itself, but children should be made to see why it is right. This is one instance of exemplary caution, but if I were to add a dozen more to it, they would only be detached precepts ; whereas I am anxious to take in the whole extent of edifying example. In order to this, let me arrange or divide what I have to say, under distinct heads. A parent who wishes that his example should be a speaking lesson to his children, should order it so as to convince them, that he considers religion as necessary, respectable, amiable, profitable, and delightful. I am sensible that some of these characters may seem so nearly allied, as scarcely to admit of a distinction. Many parts of a virtuous conduct fall under more than one of these denominations. Some actions perhaps deserve all the epithets here mentioned, without exception and without prejudice one of another. But the distinctions seem to me very useful, for there is certainly a class of actions which may be said to belong peculiarly, or at least eminently, to each of these different heads. By taking them separately, therefore, it will serve to point out more fully the extent of your duty, and to suggest it when it would not otherwise occur, as well as to set the obligation to it in the stronger light.

1. You should, in your general deportment, make your children perceive that you look upon religion as absolutely necessary. I place this first, because it appears to me first both in point of order and force. I am far from being against taking all pains to shew that religion is rational and honourable in itself, and vice the contrary ; but I despise the foolish refinement of those, who, through fear of making children mercenary, are for being very sparing of the mention of heaven or hell. Such conduct is apt to make them conceive, that a neglect of their duty is only falling short of a degree of honour and advantage, which, for the gratification of their passions, they are very willing to relinquish. Many parents are much

more ready to tell their children such or such a thing is mean, and not like a gentleman, than to warn them that they will thereby incur the displeasure of their Maker. But when the practices are really and deeply criminal, as in swearing and lying, it is quite improper to rest the matter there. I admit that they are both mean, and that justice ought to be done to them in this respect, but I contend that it should only be a secondary consideration.

Let not human reasonings be put in the balance with divine wisdom. The care of our souls is represented in scripture as the one thing needful. He makes a miserable bargain, who gains the whole world, and loses his own soul. It is not the native beauty of virtue, or the outward credit of it, or the inward satisfaction arising from it, or even all these combined together, that will be sufficient to change our natures and govern our conduct; but a deep conviction, that unless we are reconciled to God, we shall, without doubt, perish everlastingly.

You will say, this is very true, and very fit for a pulpit, but what is that class of actions that should impress it habitually on the minds of children? Perhaps you will even say, what one action will any good man be guilty of—much more habitual conduct—that can tend to weaken their belief of it? This is the very point which I mean to explain. It is certainly possible that a man may at stated times give out that he looks upon religion to be absolutely necessary, and yet his conduct, in many particulars, may have no tendency to impress this on the minds of his children. If he suffers particular religious duties to be easily displaced, to be shortened, postponed, or omitted, upon the most trifling accounts, depend upon it, this will make religion in general seem less necessary, to those who observe it. If an unpleasant day will keep a man from public worship, when perhaps a hurricane will not keep him from an election meeting—if he chooses to take physic, or give it to his children, on the Lord's day, when it could be done with equal ease on the day before or after—if he will more readily allow his servants to pay a visit to their friends on that day than any other,

though he has reason to believe that they will spend it in junketing and idleness—it will not be easy to avoid suspecting that worldly advantage, what determines his choice.

Take an example or two more up this head. Supposing a man usual to worship God in his family; if sometimes omit it—if he allow even little business to interfere with it—company will make him dispense with it, or shunt it from its proper season—believe me, the idea of religion being every man's first and great concern is in a good measure weakened, if not wholly lost. It is a very nice thing in religion to know the real connexion between, and the proper mixture of, spirit and form. The form, without the spirit, is good for nothing; but on the other hand, the spirit, without the form, never yet exalted. I am of opinion, that punctual and even scrupulous regularity in all those duties that occur periodically, is the way to make them easy and pleasant to those who attend them. They also become, like all other habits, in some degree necessary; so that those who have been long accustomed to them, feel an uneasiness in families where they are generally or frequently neglected. I can not help also mentioning to you, the great danger of paying and receiving visits on the Lord's day, unless when it is absolutely necessary. It is a matter not merely difficult, but wholly impracticable, in such cases, to guard effectually against improper subjects of conversation. Nor is this all, for let the conversation be what it will, I contend that the duties of the family and the closet are fully sufficient to employ the whole time; which must therefore be wasted or misapplied by the intercourse of strangers.

I only further observe, that I know no circumstance from which your opinion of the necessity of religion will appear with greater clearness, or carry in it greater force, than your behaviour towards and treatment of your children in time of dangerous sickness. Certainly there is no time in their whole lives, when the necessity appears more urgent, or the opportunity more favourable, for impressing their minds with a sense of the things that belong to their peace. What shall we say, then, of those parents



who, through fear of alarming their minds, and augmenting their disorder, will not suffer any mention to be made to them of the approach of death, or the importance of eternity? I will relate to you an example of this. A young gentleman of estate in my parish, was taken ill of a dangerous fever in a friend's house at a distance. I went to see him in his illness, and his mother, a widow lady, intreated me not to say any thing alarming to him, and not to pray with him, but to go to prayer in another room, wherein, she wisely observed, it would have the same effect. The young man himself soon found that I did not act as he had expected, and was so impatient that it became necessary to give him the true reason. On this he insisted, in the most positive manner, that all restriction should be taken off, which was done. What was the consequence? He was exceedingly pleased and composed; and if this circumstance did not hasten, it certainly neither hindered nor retarded his recovery.

Be pleased to remark, that the young gentleman here spoken of, neither was, at that time, nor is yet, so far as I am able to judge, truly religious; and therefore I have formed a fixed opinion, that in this, as in many other instances, the wisdom of man disappoints itself. Pious advice and consolation, if but tolerably administered, in sickness, are not only useful to the soul, but serve particularly to calm an agitated mind, to bring the animal spirits to an easy flow, and the whole frame into such a state as will best favour the operation of medicine, or the efforts of the constitution, to throw off or conquer the disease.

Suffer me to wander a little from my subject, by observing to you, that as I do not think the great are to be much envied for any thing, so they are truly and heartily to be pitied for the deception that is usually put upon them by flattery and false tenderness. Many of them are brought up with so much delicacy, that they are never suffered to see any miserable or afflicting object, nor, so far as it can be hindered, to hear any affecting story of distress. If they themselves are sick, how many absurd and palpable lies are told them by their friends? and as for

physicians, I may safely say, few of them are much conscience-bound in this matter. Now, let the success of these measures be what it will, the only fruit to be reaped from them is to make a poor dying sinner mistake his or her condition, and vainly dream of earthly happiness, while hastening to the pit of perdition. But, as I said before, men are often taken in their own craftiness. It oftentimes happens that such persons, by an ignorant servant, or officious neighbour, or some unlucky accident, make a sudden discovery of their true situation, and the shock frequently proves fatal. Oh! how much more desirable is it—how much more like the reason of men, as well as the faith of christians—to consider and prepare for what must inevitably come to pass? I cannot easily conceive any thing more truly noble, than for a person in health and vigour, in honour and opulence, by voluntary reflection to sympathize with others in distress; and by a well-founded confidence in divine mercy, to obtain the victory over the fear of death.

2. You ought to live so as to make religion appear respectable. Religion is a venerable thing in itself, and it spreads an air of dignity over a person's whole deportment. I have seen a common tradesman, merely because he was a man of true piety and undeniable worth, treated by his children, apprentices, and servants, with a much greater degree of deference and submission, than is commonly given to men of superior station, without that character. Many of the same meanesses are avoided, by a gentleman from a principle of honour, and by a good man from a principle of conscience. The first keeps out of the company of common people, because they are below him; the last is cautious of mixing with them, because of that levity and profanity that is to be expected from them. If, then, religion is really venerable when sincere, a respectable conduct ought to be maintained, as a proof of your own integrity, as well as to recommend it to your children. To this add, if you please, that as reverence is the peculiar duty of children to their parents, any thing that tends to lessen it, is more deeply felt by them than by others who observe it. When I have seen a parent, in the presence

of his child, meanly wrangling with his servant, telling extravagant stories, or otherwise exposing his vanity, credulity, or folly, I have felt just the same proportion of sympathy and tenderness for the one, that I did of contempt or indignation at the other.

What has been said, will, in part, explain the errors which a parent ought to shun, and what circumstances he ought to attend to, that religion may appear respectable. All meanness, whether of sentiment, conversation, dress, manners, or employment, are carefully to be avoided. You will apply this properly to yourself. I may, however, just mention, that there is a considerable difference in all these particulars, according to men's different stations. The same actions are mean in one station, that are not so in another. The thing itself, however, still remains; as there is an order and cleanliness at the table of tradesmen, that is different from the elegance of a gentleman's, or the sumptuousness of a prince's or nobleman's. But to make the matter still plainer by particular examples. I look upon talkativeness and vanity to be among the greatest enemies to dignity. It is needless to say how much vanity is contrary to true religion; and as to the other, which may seem rather an infirmity than a sin, we are expressly cautioned against it, and commanded to be swift to hear, and slow to speak. Sudden anger, too, and loud clamorous scolding, are at once contrary to piety and dignity. Parents should, therefore, acquire, as much as possible, a composure of spirit, and meekness of language; nor are there many circumstances that will more recommend religion to children, when they see that this self command is the effect of principle and a sense of duty.

There is a weakness I have observed in many parents, to shew a partial fondness for some of their children, to the neglect, and, in many cases, approaching to a jealousy or hatred of others. Sometimes we see a mother discover an excessive partiality to a handsome daughter, in comparison of those that are more homely in their figure. This is a barbarity, which would be truly incredible, did not experience prove that it really exists. One would think they should rather

be excited by natural affection, and give all possible encouragement to those who labour under a disadvantage, and bestow every attainable accomplishment to balance the defects outward form. At other times, we see a partiality which cannot be accounted for at all, where the most ugly, peevish, froward child of the whole family, is the favourite of both parent. Reason ought to counteract these errors; but piety ought to extirpate them entirely. I do not stay to mention the bad effects that flow from them, my purpose being only to shew the excellence of that character which is exempted from them.

The real dignity of religion will also appear in the conduct of a good man towards his servants. It will point out the true and proper distinction between condescension and meanness. Humility is the very spirit of the gospel. Therefore, hear your servants with patience, examine the conduct with candor, treat them with all the humanity and gentleness that is consistent with unremitted authority when they are sick, visit them in person, provide remedies for them, sympathize with them, and shew them that you do so; take care of their interests; assist them with your counsel and influence to obtain what is their right. But, on the other hand, never make yourself their proper companion; do not seem to taste their society; do not hear their jokes, or ask their news, or tell them yours. Believe me, this will never make you either beloved or esteemed by your servants themselves; and it will greatly derogate from the dignity of true religion in the eyes of your children. Suffer me, also, to caution you against that most unjust and illiberal practice of exercising your wit in humorous strokes upon your servants, before company, or while they wait at table. I do not know any thing so evidently mean, that is, at the same time, so common. It is, I think, just such a cowardly thing as to beat a man who is bound; because the servant, however happy a reprieve might occur to him, is not at liberty to answer, but at the risk of having his bones broken. In this, as in many other particulars, reason, refinement, and liberal manners, tend to exactly the same thing.

with religion; and I am happy in being able to add, that religion is generally the most powerful, as well as most uniform principle of decent conduct.

I shall have done with this particular, when I have observed, that those who are engaged in public, or what I may call political life, have an excellent opportunity of making religion appear truly respectable. What I mean is, by shewing themselves firm and incorruptible, in supporting those measures that appear best calculated for promoting the interest of religion, and the good of mankind. In all these cases, I admire that man who has principles, whose principles are known, and whom every body despairs of being able to seduce, or bring over to the opposite interest. I do not commend furious and intemperate zeal. Steadiness is a much better, and quite a different thing. I would contend with any man who should speak most calmly, but I would also contend with him who should act most firmly. As for your placebo's, your prudent, courtly, compliant gentlemen, whose vote in assembly will tell you where they dined the day before, I hold them very cheap indeed, as you very well know. I do not enter farther into this argument, but conclude at this time, by observing, that public measures are always embraced under pretence of principle; and therefore, an uniform uncorrupted public character is one of the best evidences of real principle. The free-thinking gentry tell us, upon this subject, that "every man has his price." It lies out of my way to attempt refuting them at present, but it is to be hoped there are many whose price is far above their reach. If some of my near relations, who took so much pains to attach me to the interest of evangelical truth, had been governed by court influence in their political conduct, it had not been in my power to have esteemed their characters, or perhaps to have adhered to their instructions. But as things now stand, I have done both from the beginning, and I hope God will enable me by his grace, to continue to do so to the end of life. I leave the other particulars to the next letter, and am,

Sir,  
yours, &c.

VOL. IV, No. V.

*Thoughts on the present situation of the united states: by Tench Coxe, Esquire.*

THE late revolution has rendered the American states an object of universal observation. The nature of the causes, which produced it, occasions the fate of this country to be deeply interesting to every friend of mankind. To form opinions from several unpleasant circumstances which have occurred since the return of peace, would lead the world to conclusions less favourable than the true state of our affairs would justify. To promote the confidence of the American in the condition of his country, and to inspire with a well grounded expectation from her future fortunes, those foreigners, who have extended to us an eye of esteem and regard, is a duty the most pleasing and important.

In order to ascertain truly our present situation, it will be necessary to examine, without reserve, the occasions of dishonour and distress which have occurred in the united states.

The assumption of a new form of government in any country, is necessarily preceded by the suppression of the old one.—In this crisis, the human passions naturally rise, and require more than an ordinary power to keep them within due bounds. The government, which the nation assumes, is of course less energetic, at such a moment than others of the same form, which have been exercised for a series of years; and the particular form, which the united states adopted, is of less energy in its own nature, than that which they had suppressed. Under these circumstances, it is not a matter of wonder that government should have been weak in America for several years after the peace: but when we remember, that a war of considerable duration, accompanied with invasion, rendered it necessary to dispense occasionally with every species of civil authority, that was not requisite to the preservation of liberty, we shall see that a general relaxation in our administration was inevitable. Hence the insurrection of Shays, and all the temporary disorders in the united states.—Hence, among other causes, that conviction of the indispensable necessity of an efficient

B

federal head, which has pervaded every mind—Hence the present happy prospect of a firm and steady government under our new constitution.

The situation of America, in the time of the war, rendered the collection of taxes absolutely impracticable, and the attempt unwise and dangerous. A paper medium was introduced in lieu of all the ordinary ways and means of established nations. Political necessity impelled the states to enforce its reception. To give complete circulation to that medium, or to relinquish the contest, were the alternatives. A measure thus dictated by necessity, had become too familiar to the state legislatures and the people. What had really proved the means of salvation in the war, was resorted to, from considerations of public convenience and private interest, after the peace. Habituated to the use of paper money and legal tenders, several of the states, without reflecting on the consequences, issued large emissions. It is needless—it would be extremely painful—to recount the evils they have produced. A general conviction of the danger and dishonour, to which this practice subjected us, concurred with other circumstances in producing the late federal convention, who, by the provisions of the constitution they devised, have prevented all future trials of this pernicious and unjust measure.

The imprudence of the European and of the American merchants, the first in giving, and the last in taking extensive credits, and the immense speculations of uninformed adventurers in our trade, have contributed greatly to the disorders of our country. The farmer and the citizen, in want of many conveniences during the war, were tempted by credits, as unbounded as the importations, to purchase articles beyond their wants, and, in too many instances, not suited to their circumstances. Hence arose the cry for paper money (now for ever interdicted)—Hence instalment laws, and other invasions of the rights of property—Hence that just, honourable and salutary clause of the new constitution, rendering absolutely null and void every future law that would impair the obligations of contracts.

When peace was restored to the

united states, an ardent commercial spirit appeared throughout the union—and pervaded all the walks of life. Every man was tempted to throw his money into foreign commerce. The desire of gain, and fear of tender law, conspired to produce this conduct. Trade was overdone and often badly conducted. Moreover, the effect of the revolution upon our commerce were not then discovered, and the most judicious merchants made unprofitable voyages, by resuming branches of business, which had ruined the fortunes of themselves and their fathers in former times. These mistakes are now at an end, and with them the injuries they produced.

Besides the circumstances already mentioned, some others, of a temporary nature also, contributed to disorder and distress us; but experience, exertion, and the acquisition of a energetic federal government (the want of which was deeply injurious) have at length relieved us.

After thus unreservedly pointing out the principal causes of our past disorders, it will be satisfactory to our friends at home and abroad, to see the superiority of our present condition over our colonial situation, and to view the ground on which they may hereafter rely for happiness and prosperity in the united states.

Before the revolution, large revenues were collected in this country and transported in solid coin to Europe. This is no longer the case—America, on the contrary, is relieved exceedingly in regard to the expence of government, by supplying all the articles required, from her agriculture, her commerce, or her manufactures. The principal executive, and frequently the judicial officers of our government, were formerly sent from Britain, and when they returned thither carried with them the property they had acquired here. This also is now at an end.

The monopoly of our trade deprived us of immense sums, which are now gained by the merchant or saved by the consumer in America. The India company sold their teas to our factors in Europe for more sterling than we now pay in currency for them here—so of china, cotton goods, &c. These supplies are now brought to us

all foreign nations, and, what is all better, by our own ships—The same observations may be made upon all foreign produce and manufactures, confined in the united states. But the monopoly of our trade did not endure: our exports were materially affected. The revolution has given us the demand of France for tobacco, and of other colonies for our lumber and some other articles—the sale of ginseng, &c. in India, that of rice, indigo, and tobacco in all the north of Europe, and so of other things, the real benefits of which are proved by the prices of all our produce for several years since the peace.

When we remember the moderate capitals which were employed in commerce before the revolution, and compute the great sums that will be necessary in the trade to China, India, Russia, Holland, France, Portugal, Spain, and places not formerly open to our ships, or many of whose goods we could not then import, we shall find an ample field for commerce. The difficulties in our trade have been exceedingly increased by the total want of national regulations, and by the dormant property, in goods and debts, which has distressed our merchants. Every day is bringing a remedy for these evils.

It is well known that before the revolution every obstruction was thrown in the way of American manufactures, by the government of England. Seeing that we had a country bounding with fine lands, they had only a jealousy about those manufactures that required not many hands; and when the enterprize of America could have introduced water mills, to save manual labour, they did not restrain from a parliamentary prohibition. Freed from these restraints, the united states are now bent upon every species of manufacture in which manual labour is cheap, or can be, in a great degree, dispensed with. Fire, water, horse, and machines are the means by which we may carry on the most profitable manufactures known at this time in the world. Breweries, still-houses, distilland salt works, powder and paper mills, sugar houses, rolling and tanning mills, oil-mills, and that great object, the cotton manufacture, are a-

mong the number. The importance of some of these is not at all known among ourselves. I presume there are few even in Pennsylvania, who have been informed that one thousand tons of plate iron and nail rods are annually made in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. The total expulsion of foreign beer, and converting the manufacture into an article of exportation, is a great transition. Manufactures, in many instances, have surpassed the point of saving, and are becoming assistant to commerce. Three or four callico printers, with very moderate capitals, might exceedingly promote the profits of the East India merchant, and, by the cheap and simple operation of printing the white callicoes of India and China, might rapidly decrease and finally suppress the importation from Europe. The manufacture of cotton goods might also assist the East India trader, by working up imported cotton warp, which is made upon much lower terms in China and India than in England. Before we conclude the article of manufactures, it will be necessary to take more particular notice of *ONE ALL-IMPORTANT FACT* upon that subject. Previous to the revolution, though we attempted many things in which manual labour was saved, yet there was no expectation that an ingenious complication of mechanism would ever be effected by which all the benefits of thousands and tens of thousands of hands could be given to this country. This discovery, capital as it is, could prove but a temporary source of separate profit to any European nation, as the self-interest and vigilance of their neighbours would sooner or later obtain the secret from them. Accordingly we find the Flemings and the French have already established several works upon the English plan. But the united states are so peculiarly circumstanced as to obtain the utmost benefits of these new and capital inventions. Her manufacturers, by machines, placed at the distance of three thousand miles from all rivals, and enjoying a very great demand for low priced goods, will be long, very long protected in the profits of those machines by charges of 20 to 30 per cent. that will arise on the importati-

on of foreign articles; and while our vacant lands call for millions of people to draw forth their fruits, these invaluable machines, employed in one instance on a new article of produce [cotton] which they have introduced, will furnish most of the manufactures that will be necessary to clothe and supply them.

Whoever is really and minutely informed in the affairs of the united states, and considers with due care and candor the preceding hints, will not hesitate to admit that the monied capitals, which we could command at any period since the settlement of the country, are unequal to the advantageous plans of internal and foreign commerce that the observations of the few last years have presented to us. The nature and channels of trade were so materially altered by the revolution, that those, who found their accustomed branches had been cut off, or had become unprofitable, hastily concluded that we had lost our commerce entirely. But the opinion has been found on reflexion and experience extremely erroneous. The collection of their outstanding monies is all that is now necessary to our own citizens, which the late reform in our governments has fully secured to them—and there is an ample field for well informed and judicious foreigners to engage to advantage with fresh capitals, especially in manufactures.

As the towns and cities of the united states promise happiness and profit to the merchant, and particularly to the manufacturer who shall come from abroad, for an unbounded scene of certain advantage, and of substantial comfort, is offered by the country to farmers and persons desirous of creating landed estates. In the populous and ancient countries, excellent lands are to be procured on easy payments, and on terms far inferior to the most ordinary farms in any part of Europe; and in those countries which are more thinly inhabited, a year's rent of an inconsiderable European farm, will purchase a valuable tract of unimproved lands: for example, in the states of Pennsylvania and New-York, within a day's sailing of navigable water leading to their respective capitals, lands are to be bought (of an excellent quality) for the trifling price

of four, five and six shillings sterling per acre.

'Tis in vain that the rivals or enemies of such a country attempt to mislead or deceive the monied men, the manufacturers and farmers of Europe. Every man among them must see that there is not upon earth another scene, which affords upon the same terms equal means of subsistence, comfort and of wealth—A short residence gives the emigrant from any country, of every language and every religion, the rights and privilege of a citizen. Whatever may be his faith or mode of worship, the law place him beyond the reach of all interference with what his feelings, judgment and his conscience dictate him as right. No man can exercise over him any civil authority but his own free and uncontrolled vote. When a knowledge of his character and his establishment in the country shall have given to the people a sufficient evidence of his interest in and attachment to the community, he may be called to those offices, which he will have before contributed to confer upon others.

Such have been the causes of temporary disorder in the united states—such the ground upon which, from want of information or from design too strong reproach has been heaped upon our country—such are the prospects of our farmers, our manufacturers, and our merchants—and such the strong inducements to the people of the European nations, of every description, to make America their home. *Philadelphia, Oct. 1788*



*To the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting manufactures and useful arts:*

The report of the committee for manufactures.

**T**HIS committee, considering the business, in which they are engaged, had attracted the public notice, and that it would be expedient some account should be given of the progress and present state of the institution, in August last began an enquiry into the state of their funds, the stock of goods, machines, and utensils by which they are enabled to lay before you the following statement, ar

they flatter themselves it affords a pleasing prospect of future success.

It is now about twelve months since this society was formed, and subscriptions were entered into, some of which, from various causes, have not yet been paid. They therefore state the amount of the subscriptions received to the 23d August, and shew the manner in which the money hath been applied. Amount of cash received of contributors, when exchanged for specie, £. 1327 10 6 From this, deduct for machines, utensils and fitting up the house for the manufactory, 453 10 2

Which leaves a circulating capital of £. 874 0 4

With a view to meet one idea of the subscribers, the employment of the poor, and to promote the other objects of the institution, the committee purchased a quantity of flax, and employed between two and three hundred women in spinning linen-yarn during the winter and spring, and also engaged workmen to make a carding engine, and four jennies of forty, forty-four, sixty, and eighty spindles, for spinning of cotton; and as soon as the season would permit the house to be fitted up, they were set to work. It is unnecessary to observe on the difficulties which occur in so arduous an undertaking, as attempting to establish manufactures in a country not much acquainted with them, such as finding artists and making machines, without models, (or but imperfect ones.) The committee have further had various obstructions thrown in their way by foreign agents, of which you have already been informed. From these causes, it happened that it was the 12th of April before the first loom was set to work: the number has been since increased to twenty-six, and in them have been wrought the following goods to August 23d.

Of jeans	2959 1-2 yards,
Corduroys	197 1-2
Federal rib	67
Beaver suttan	57
Plain cottons	1567 1-2
Linen	925
Tow linen	1337 1-2
	7111 yards

Besides in the looms two hundred yards of jeans, corduroys, cottons, and linen, out of which manufactured goods, they had sold, at that time, of jeans, dyed cotton and linen yarn, fine and tow linen, &c. to the amount of four hundred and forty eight pounds, five shillings and eleven-pence half-penny, besides which, in order to shew the state of the factory to the 23d of August, in a clearer light, they subjoin the following statement of the stock account.

# S T O C K.

Dr. To cash	£. 1327 10 6 1-2
To debts due sundry persons	375 9 0
To profit	72 4 9 1-2

£. 1775 4 4

Cr. By utensils, &c.	£. 453 10 2
Goods on hand and at the bleachers' and printers'	732 14 11
Materials and linen yarn on hand	550 2 6
Outstanding debts	38 16 9

£. 1773 4 4

In addition to the enumerated articles manufactured to the 23d of August, we annex the following to November 1st.

Jeans	759 1-2 yards
Corduroys	382 1-2
Flowered cotton	39
Cottons	2005
Flax linens	123
Tow ditto	494
Bird eye	123

4016 yards

And about two hundred and forty yards of different kinds of goods now in the looms, the whole amounting to eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-seven yards; and there has also been manufactured by the twisting mill, about one hundred and eighty-five pounds of plain, coloured, and knitting thread: since the first of August also, a hundred and ninety yards cottons have been printed; and it may be observed, that the want of proper bleachyards, and the difficulty of procuring persons well skilled in bleaching, contributed to prevent the quantity being printed which was intended.

The committee have now laid before you a statement of their proceedings, and might adduce many arguments to prove the propriety, and, indeed, the necessity of giving every encouragement to establish this valuable branch of internal trade; but they apprehend that the motives, which gave birth to the association, have not lost their energy, either from the result of these experiments, or the prospect of future success: and they do not hesitate to add, that every view of the subject fully proves the peculiar importance of the cotton manufacture to this country, and the possibility (with proper exertions) of giving it a permanency, which, they doubt not, will prove a source both of private and public wealth. Impressed with those sentiments, and feeling sensibly our late dependence on foreign nations for many of the most useful articles in life, it is certain, that unless there are great exertions of virtue and industry, we must still remain in the same disadvantageous situation; whilst, on the other hand, if we pursue the plan of establishing manufactures amongst ourselves, we thereby open an extensive field of employment for persons of almost every description.

SAMUEL WETHERILL, jun.  
chairman, pro tem.

*Report of a committee of the board of managers on the above.*

The committee of the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Society of arts and manufactures, to whom was referred the above report of the manufacturing committee, concerning their transactions, and the present state of the factory, having conferred with those gentlemen, and fully investigated and considered the subject, deem it their duty to offer the following facts, and remarks thereon, with a view to public information.

In the latter part of the year 1787, the society had obtained subscriptions to an amount sufficient to enable them to open a factory. The general wish of the manufacturing committee, at that time, was to obtain some of those machines, which, by a substitution for manual labour, enable the most agricultural countries to manufacture to very great advantage; but as nothing of that kind could be then obtained, and as the approaching winter made the employment of the poor a

great object; and further, as the latter was deemed by many, one of the principal end to be obtained by a public factory, they determined to purchase a quantity of flax, which they dealt out for spinning, to between two and three hundred women. The manufacturing committee were of opinion, that little profit could be expected from making linen; flax being worth at that time ten-pence half-penny per pound, and they had then no demand for linen-yarn for any other fabric. Thus circumstanced, a large quantity of linen-yarn was spun of flax, which cost from nine-pence to ten-pence half-penny per pound, and for some small parcels even eleven-pence was paid. Out of the thread two thousand nine hundred and forty yards of linen were made, with out much expectation of profit, and sufficient quantity remained, to make the chain of near sixteen thousand yards of plain cottons, fustians, jeans, and corduroys: of which, however, but little more than half that quantity is yet manufactured. From the zeal and activity of the members of the society measures were at length fallen on, to obtain two complete machines, one for carding raw cotton, and the other known by the name of a jenny, for spinning cotton yarn. Animated by this acquisition, the manufacturing committee were enabled (on the 12th of April 1788) to begin the manufacture of jean cottons, and fustians, which were very substantial and good, and were eagerly bought up at the same prices as the foreign, by people of various circumstances and situations in life, until the want of demand for summer clothing put a stop to the sale for the present year.—The committee, however, being unable to procure some necessary implements for cutting and finishing winter cotton goods, such as corduroys, thicksets, and velvet, have been obliged, contrary to their wishes, and the evident interest of the subscribers, to continue the manufacture of summer articles, when they should have been preparing for the winter demand, and have therefore only wove seven hundred and forty nine yards of federal rib and corduroys, and these were all unfinished on the 20th of September, for want of the implements mentioned above.

By the statement of the stock or ma



manufacturing fund on the 23d of August, a profit appears of twenty-two pounds, four shillings and two-pence half-penny, though the goods sold amounted to no more than four hundred forty eight pounds five shillings even-pence half-penny. Your committee find from a careful examination, that the then remaining goods might be expected to yield a profit also; but they think it best and safest to run their estimate upon the whole value of the manufactures made at that period. They remark, then, that goods made in the factory, up to August 23d, to the amount of seven hundred and thirty-two pounds, fourteen shillings and eleven-pence, have yielded a profit of seventy-two pounds, four shillings and nine-pence half-penny, clear of all expenses, that is, ten per cent. in four months, or ten per cent. on each operation: for, from temporary difficulties, of which some have been mentioned, and others yet are to be stated, there have not been sales to the amount of the little sum of circulating money, with which the committee commenced their business, though four, five, or even six operations might be performed in a year. Thus it appears, that this new and untried business has, in the first essay of an inexperienced but a judicious and attentive committee, produced a profit, at the rate of thirty per cent. per annum on the active capital.

A variety of obvious circumstances, attending this experiment, concur to render the prospects of the cotton manufacture much more encouraging than it is proved to be by the profits above-mentioned. The price given for flax was from nine-pence to ten-pence half-penny, and it may now be purchased of a good quality, of the remains of last year's crop, at seven-pence. The attention paid this season to the cultivation of that article, affords every reason to expect that it will be bought at six-pence half-penny, and lower in future years. Already then as half the raw materials fallen as a hundred and fifty to a hundred, the value of all the goods having been hitherto made of linen yarn. The cotton that has been worked up, cost on medium two shillings and seven-pence three-farthings per pound, and may now be procured at two shil-

lings to two and three-pence, a reduction of price that could hardly have been hoped for, considering the many restraints laid by foreign nations on the exportation of that article. The southern states, which have begun the cultivation of cotton, will keep it at a reasonable price, should it succeed there, and of this there remains very little doubt. Dyeing and calendring heretofore cost four-pence per yard, but these probably will be done hereafter on much lower terms. Spinning and weaving have been more expensive than they will be in future, for the factory being partly to employ the poor, the manufacturing committee were less particular about wages than a person would be, who should carry on the business as his private occupation. It will be proper to inform the board, that many more spinners and weavers offered than could be then employed in the factory.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that more economy of day-labour, and less waste of raw materials would take place in a private manufactory than in this public one, when it is remembered, that each member of the manufacturing committee had a separate private business to pursue. This circumstance led to the employment of a person to attend the sales of the goods at constant wages, which, if the manufacturer did it himself, would leave an addition to his profit; or if the factory were ten times as great, that business might be done by one person.

The Philadelphia goods considerably exceeded British articles of the same kind in weight, so that a great saving might be made in the quantity of raw materials used. In the mean time they must be considered by every reflecting consumer, as really worth more money than European goods of the same fineness, for that which is heaviest will be proportionally substantial and lasting.

The price of labour having been heretofore a just objection to manufacturing in the united states, it is evident that the acquisition of machines must be a capital advantage. As they have been found to yield so handsome a profit on so small a scale, and where the manufacture is one half of linen yarn, which the machines do not make, so it is very certain that

more extensive machines, moved by horses or water, and a cotton chain, as well as a cotton filling, mill increase the manufacturer's profit exceedingly; and the saving of manual labour being the great object, your committee consider these two circumstances as worthy of the most particular notice, and that they should always be kept in remembrance.

Water machines have been found best adapted to making the cotton chain, but until they shall be obtained, cotton yarn, fit for warp, it is believed, may be imported to yield a profit directly from India, and thus many manufactures be rendered in another instance advantageous to foreign commerce. As the European companies carefully avoid the importation of cotton yarn, the American merchants will have no rivals in the purchase of that article, which is much more compact, according to its value, than china ware, bohea teas, and some other India goods. The American ships from India proper, having abundance of room, may bring it with great convenience.

The want of one implement, called the burner, to finish the jeans, prevented their appearing as fine as they really were, and probably occasioned a diminution of the price. This being now obtained, the manufacture will bring its real value, and better sustain a comparison with imported goods.

Should any private person or company establish a cotton manufactory, several advantages would be gained in the present state of things, besides the reduction of flax, cotton, fuel, provision, rents, and labour. The carding machine, for instance, which cost one hundred pounds, may now be obtained for sixty pounds or less. A jenny of eighty spindles, which cost the society twenty eight pounds, can now be procured for fifteen pounds, and so of the smaller implements and utensils. Weavers might be got from the country, on more moderate terms, and new hands, who may emigrate, perhaps still lower. An evident loss of money arose from the want of a proper bleachyard—a difficulty that cannot long continue. The workmen, except two, were unskilled in the cotton branch, and though linen weavers become excellent weavers of cotton goods, yet it took

some part of the time between April and August, and occasioned some expence to instruct them. Most of the spinners with the machines, had much to learn, and little means of instruction, whereas any number may now be taught. The factory was in a remote place, the best that offered to make the experiment, but a private manufacturer, when making a permanent establishment, would choose a situation in which his goods would sell quick and to the best advantage.

Your committee, being anxious to ascertain the real profits on the cotton manufacture, and wishing to check their estimate by every method, their power, requested of two of the most experienced members of the manufacturing committee (long used in the cotton business) an accurate calculation of the expence of making a given quantity of olive coloured jeans with a linen chain. This was accordingly done by each without any communication between them, and the particulars were minutely set down. Flax was rated at 7d. and cotton 2s. 3d. per pound; weaving at 1s. 6d. per yard; dyeing and calendring at 1s. 6d. &c. The result of one estimate was 2s. 5d. and of the other 2s. 4d. 1d. per yard for olive coloured jeans, equal in appearance to the British quality which was sold in the piece at 3s. 6d. per yard, last summer. It must be observed, that the American goods, which the calculation was made, were above half an inch wider and much heavier than the imported, and that rates of labour and prices of the raw materials were fixed, on a medium, rather higher than they would prove to a careful manufacturer. This fact may give very great satisfaction, as it confirms the truth of those consequences which have been drawn from the foregoing investigation.

Your committee, having carefully examined into every part of this business, and thus fully stated to the board the facts and observations that occurred to them, impressed with the clear conviction of the importance of the cotton branch, beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms, the prosecution of this manufacture by free subscriptions, until a knowledge and due sense of its value, shall induce some proper persons, either citizens

A N S W E R.

*Philadelphia. July 30, 1776.*

I Received late the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official dispatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon on submission; which I was sorry to find, as it must give your lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now sending foreign mercenaries to deluge our country with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held dear; but, were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you. I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured; you can never confide again in those as fellow subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit, by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

But your lordship mentions "the king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies." If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship power to treat with us for such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think

foreigners, to undertake the business.

GEORGE CLYMER,  
TENCH COXE.

The above report being read and proved, was ordered for publication.  
S. B. M'KEAN, Secretary.



Letter from lord Howe to Dr Franklin.

*Eagle, June 20, 1776.*

Cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I re sent you, in the state I received m, to be landed, without adding a rd upon the injurious extremities in ich our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

You will learn the nature of my commission from the official dispatches, ich I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Regarding all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet h the disposition in the colonies, ich I was once taught to expect.

most flattering hopes of proving viceable, in the object of the king's eternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep seated prejudices of America, and necessity of preventing her trade mpassing into foreign channels, must p us still a divided people, I shall, in every private as well as public tive, most heartily lament, that it is the moment wherein those great ects of my ambition are to be achieved; and that I am to be longer de ved of an opportunity to assure t personally of the regard with ich I am your most sincere and faithful humble servant.

H O W E.

P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending a letter at the time it was dated, and e been ever since prevented by ns and contrary winds, from getting hence to inform general Howe he commission with which I have satisfaction to be charged, and of being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12th July.

Benjamin Franklin, esquire, Philadelphia.

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a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances; but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as possible, the mischief done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength to be derived from a friendship with us: yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation—her lust for dominion, as an ambitious one—and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one—(none of them legitimate causes of war)—will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and will continually goad her on in these ruinous, distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the cruises formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

I have not the vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war: for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase—the British empire; for I know, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy which wet my cheeks, when at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation, under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and, among

the rest, some share in the regard of lord Howe.

The well-founded esteem, which I permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the ground of which, as described in your letter, is “the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels:” to me it seems, that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, the cheapness and goodness of commodities; and that the profits of trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and holding it, fleets and armies. I consider a war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will relinquish so odious a command, and return to more honourable private station. With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to

my lord, your lordship's most  
obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN

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*On public credit.—In a letter to a friend.*

Sir,

YOU ask me, if we shall not soon have better times? to answer no, and to say that I think there is no prospect of it, without assigning a reason for what I say, would be to leave the matter where it was before you asked the question; unless my opinion, without the principles, where I have formed it, would be satisfactory; which I have no right to suppose would be the case. To assign my reasons, would be opening a wound, which I have not time to fu-

verse, even if you had patience to send me through it. But I shall employ a moment's leisure on the subject.

Public faith, among the Romans, is considered as the jewel of the commonwealth, and he who attempted to injure it, was considered as the greatest enemy of the state. This is when their government was in its highest perfection.

Public credit is the necessary offspring of public faith; and without no nation on earth can exist, under the enjoyment of a free constitution and government. What I mean by free constitution, is such a form of commonwealth as considers property existing, independent of government, and government formed for the support and protection of it; and that protection flowing from "standing promulgated laws," carried into execution by "known and authorized judges;" and equally and impartially applying to each member of the state. I mean, in fine, a form of government established by the people, which secures them their property as their own, against rapine, and under no controul of legislation, and is a law to the legislature authority itself. In such a government, public credit is absolutely necessary to the existence of the state, because no government can have resources for every emergency; and foreigners therefore are often obliged to apply to the people, for the loan of that property, which cannot be taken without their consent.

But in an arbitrary government, where the executive, judicial, and legislative authority are all alike, in the hands of the sovereign power, property is considered as derived from, and merely protected by, the government, and is rather a possessory loan, than a right; and the sovereign power has no need of credit; public faith among the subjects is of no consequence; it answers the purpose of credit, and the monarch takes what he wants, and compels thanks for leaving the residue: and who is there in our day, and in our country, that does not realize the distinction between these forms of state policy? if there is any one that does not, I will venture to pronounce him a slave, and urge him to the realms of Sweden, Denmark,

Russia, or Prussia, where he may enjoy slavery at his ease, and in the highest perfection.

If public credit, is then so necessary to the very existence of a state, you will ask me why these states are destitute of it, and how they shall procure it? As to the united states, as a nation, they never had any national credit. Have patience; I will explain myself; to do which, it is necessary to fix the true meaning of national or public credit.

Here, then, I say, that credit is the forcing an opinion upon another, who is possessed of something which we want, and which we have no right to take from him without his consent, that if he delivers it to us, we will pay him an equivalent for it, according to the compact made between the parties.

Here, then, public faith is the first, and most substantial foundation of this opinion: for as no process of coercion can be issued against a government holding sovereign power, unless the lender believes that the state has such a sacred regard to public faith as not to violate the compact, the opinion necessary to credit can never be formed. But should the possessor of the property wanted on loan, have a full conviction of the government's regard to public faith, the next enquiry will be, whether the contractors, the agents of the state, have power to comply with the contract. To raise a conviction of this, the practice is in Europe to lay a duty upon a certain article supposed to be sufficiently productive to answer the purpose, and to consider the fund thus raised, as sacredly the property of the creditor who loans upon it, as any thing else he possesses—the idea, then, that the government has authority to compel the payment of that duty, and that they never will take back, or violate the pledge, gives national credit. This example might serve for thousands that might be put.

Previous to the confederation, congress had no powers at all, but what arose from the voluntary consent of the people. They recommended, and the people, for their own safety, complied. It is true, they anticipated national faith, which, in itself, was a great novelty. They made paper

bills for a currency, and obtained loans; but it was not because they possessed power to support a national faith, or resources to fund their debts. It was because the people hoped that they would, at a future period, possess these requisites to credit. The majority of the people in America appeared to be ready to sacrifice all they had, in support of a war, commenced in defence of their freedom; and thereby substituted enthusiasm for that opinion which is necessary to national credit; while the minority, having no love for, or regard to the measures of congress, were compelled by fear, to deliver up their proportion of property, or perhaps more, when they would not have done it as a voluntary loan to the public. These things seldom happen in a country, and it would be a great and fatal mistake, to depend upon these exertions, under a regular and systematical government.

When the confederation was made, it gave no authority to congress, whereon a public credit might be raised. I have observed, that the opinion, on which public credit is founded, is that of the existence of a power to comply with engagements, and of such a regard in the nation, to public faith, that it cannot be violated. By the confederation, congress have the powers of making war and peace, but have no authority to raise a penny, to pay a soldier, or to buy him a ration of provisions. They have authority to borrow money, but have no resources to pay, or assure the payment of one farthing of principal or interest. They are called a federal government, but this is only a sound, without force or efficacy. For government, at all times, means a man, or body of men vested with coercive powers, and capable of issuing and compelling obedience to civil precepts. But congress can issue no one civil precept. The life of government is its energy; and this depends altogether upon the appointment, power, and amenability of the executive officers; but congress can appoint no civil officer, nor is any one amenable to them.

Nor would the nation have been one whit better off, if all the states of the union had granted the impost in the same manner that Massachusetts has granted it. By this grant, the trial of

all forfeitures, is to be in the court common pleas in the county where the seizures are made. The court is not of the appointment of the federal government, amenable to it, or having any connexion, in their official capacity, with it. Who then would lend congress money, or give them credit a fund, which this state might annihilate in a moment, by repealing the laws for holding such a court, or subverting the session of it, as it have frequently done? One or two influential characters might very probably annihilate a fund so ill supported, at any time. One remark ought not to be omitted, that is, that the same time when the legislature of Massachusetts made this grant, people out of doors were clamorous to subvert the court of common pleas, and the legislature were countenancing of them by considering it a grievance, and by taking measures to render it so very contemptible, as that no man of ability and common decency, might in future take a part in it.

I believe, sir, I have now sufficiently explained myself, that you will justify my saying that the united states never had any credit as a nation, because they never, in a union, possessed national powers, or national resources. But I see the objection, which will stand ready to make, "that they have borrowed money of foreign nations, and under the auspices of foreign courts, which could not be done without public credit."

I do not consider this as evidence of public credit. It is clearly evidence of an opinion of the lenders that the united states had, as a people or territory, property sufficient to pay loans. But whether the united states, as a government, have power, or regular legal resources to pay or not, never be indispensibly material to foreign creditors. The sovereigns who have loaned money, depend immediately upon their own force to compel payment; they will neither petition nor sue, but by arms; and the foreign subjects, who are our creditors, depend upon the faith of their own governments ultimately to secure their demands.

Though there ought not to be admitted an idea, that the united states

will ever be abandoned enough to make these measures necessary, I yet state the principle, to shew that we have no sense of such a national credit as is necessary to our political existence, nor can we ever have it, until congress are vested with proper powers.

Awake then, my dear sir, arouse your neighbours, convince them of the consequence of public credit, and let us all unite in an object of such immense magnitude, and so worthy the pursuit of every patriot.

TRIBUNUS.

Boston, May, 1787.



*Letter to the president, vice-president and committee of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, from the committee of the London society for promoting the abolition of the slave-trade.*

Gentlemen,

**Y**OUR favour of the 20th of October last, and the certificates which accompanied it, were much to our satisfaction. We hope the labour you have so kindly bestowed, in collecting the latter, will prove useful. We shall be further obliged by your forwarding the authentic documents you mention, respecting the treatment of the slaves in the southern states, and the West India Islands, it being contended that the instances of inhumanity are very rare. The certificates have been submitted to the perusal of several who have actively interested themselves in promoting our common object.

But our opponents seem already sensible of the futility of a plea so extremely weak as that founded on a supposed incapacity of the black people to enjoy the blessings of freedom and civilization. Their arguments, or rather their insinuations, have latterly been more particularly confined to the impolicy of abolishing the slave-trade, on which, they would have it believed, the existence of the plantations, and the consequent revenue of this kingdom essentially depend. On the other hand, it is contended, and we trust, on much better authority, that neither injury to the plantations,

nor defalcation of the revenue, would eventually ensue. To the doubts indullionally suggested by some, who are interested in favouring the former opinion, we may partly attribute the prayers of some of the numerous petitions which have already been presented to the house of commons, requesting the mere regulation of a commerce which no possible modification can rectify. But we are inclined to believe that many of them were so expressed from inadvertency, or the want of a thorough knowledge of the subject.

Remembering the declarations of the American congress, so frequently repeated during the contest with Britain, we could not but flatter ourselves that the late convention would have produced more unequivocal proofs of a regard to consistency of character, than an absolute prohibition of the proposed federal government from complying with the acknowledged obligations of humanity and justice for the term of twenty-one years. We much regret that your nervous address\* on the occasion, had not an effect more adequate to the importance of the subject. What may be the event of the parliamentary business, is yet uncertain—at present the prospect is encouraging.

And though we are aware how liable those expectations are to fail, which depend upon simple and honest principles, when opposed by the intrigues of wealth and power, yet we can scarcely avoid flattering ourselves with the hope, arising from the number and respectability of the patrons of this undertaking, that it will at length be successful. Our adversaries who had, till lately, been remarkably quiet, probably because they held our endeavours in contempt, have now taken the alarm, and use every artifice of sophistry and misrepresentation to defeat our purpose; one of their most plausible allegations is, that if the British nation should lay down the trade, other nations will take it up, and therefore the condition of the Africans would not be improved, though England would sustain a considerable

NOTE.

\* See American Museum, vol. III. page 404.

lufs. The reply is obvious ; that this nation ought to do what is right, let others do as they please ; and we have a strong persuasion that, on the whole, the African trade is a losing one to this country.

It is, however, our present wish, that an appeal might be made to the humanity of other countries and governments ; and, for this purpose, we commenced a correspondence in France, and a society is now forming there, whose object it will be to diffuse the knowledge of this traffic, and to shew it in its true colours. It may, perhaps, be in your power to assist our views of thus extending the sphere of action.

The privy council is now engaged in enquiries into the slave trade, and the colonial slavery ; and we expect the subject will shortly be investigated in parliament.

The university of Cambridge have expressed their sense of it in a very forcible petition to the house of commons ; and the clergy of the established church, in many other parts, have equally testified their zeal in the common cause.

Many counties, cities, and towns have petitioned. Amongst the cities, we have the satisfaction to enumerate Bristol, one capital seat of the African trade. The presbyterian, independents, and baptists have petitioned collectively ; and the religious society called quakers, have repeated their application on the occasion : more petitions are expected from various quarters.

The attempts to retrieve the national character, and assert the common rights of nature, have awakened the attention and excited the good wishes of people of all descriptions.

It was only necessary that the torch of truth should be lighted, to flash conviction in the face of humanity ; but avarice is wilfully blind. One solitary petition came up against us from the town of Liverpool : yet we are not without well-wishers, and even advocates, in that seminary of slave traders.

As much useful information is contained in the historical account of Guinea, published by your late worthy fellow citizen, A. Benezet, we are printing another edition, with a view

to give it a more extensive circulation. We shall herewith send you some copies of this committee's report to our society at large ; and also such other of the tracts lately published here, on the subject, as we can collect—some of these you may think proper to republish. And we shall be obliged by any returns of the same kind you may be able to make.

Referring you to our report for further information respecting our proceedings, we have only to repeat our sincere wishes, that yours may meet with the success they deserve.

*Signed by order of the committee of the London society for promoting the abolition of the slave trade,*

GRANVILLE SHARP,  
chairman.

London, February 28, 1788.



*Essay on negro slavery,*

NO. 1.

**A** MIDST the infinite variety of moral and political subjects, proper for public commentation, it is truly surprising, that one of the most important and affecting should be so very generally neglected. An encroachment on the smallest civil or religious privilege, shall fan the enthusiastic flame of liberty, till it shall extend over vast and distant regions, and violently agitate a whole continent. But the cause of humanity shall be basely violated, justice shall be wounded to the heart, and national honour, deeply and lastingly polluted, and not a breath or murmur shall arise, to disturb the prevailing quiescence, or to rouse the feelings of indignation against such general, extensive, and complicated iniquity.—To what cause are we to impute this frigid silence—this torpid indifference—this cold inanimated conduct of the otherwise warm and generous Americans?—Why do they remain inactive, amidst the groans of injured humanity, the shrill and distressing complaints of expiring justice, and the keen remorse of polluted integrity?—Why do they not rise up to assert the cause of God and the world, to drive the fiend injustice into remote and distant regions, and to exterminate oppression from the face of the fair fields of America?



When the united colonies revolted from Great-Britain, they did it upon this principle, "that all men are by nature, and of right ought to be free."—After a long, successful, and glorious struggle for liberty, during which they manifested the firmest attachment to the rights of mankind, can they so soon forget the principles that then governed their determinations? Can Americans, after the noble contempt they expressed for tyrants, meanly descend to take up the scourge? Blush, ye revolted colonies, for having apostatized from your own principles.

Slavery, in whatever point of light it is considered, is repugnant to the feelings of nature, and inconsistent with the original rights of man. It ought therefore to be stigmatized for being unnatural; and detested for being unjust. 'Tis an outrage to providence, and an affront offered to divine Majesty, who has given to man his own peculiar image.—That the Americans, after considering the subject in this light—after making the most manly of all possible exertions in defence of liberty—after publishing to the world the principle upon which they contended, viz. "that all men are by nature and of right ought to be free," should still retain in subjection a numerous tribe of the human race, merely for their own private use and emolument, is, of all things, the strongest inconsistency, the deepest reflexion on our conduct, and the most abandoned apostacy that ever took place, since the Almighty fiat spoke into existence this habitable world. So flagitious a violation can never escape the notice of a just Creator, whose vengeance may be now on the wing, to disseminate and hurl the arrows of destruction.

In what light can the people of Europe consider America, after the strange inconsistency of her conduct? Will they not consider her as an abandoned and deceitful country? In the hour of calamity, she petitioned heaven to be propitious to her cause. Her prayers were heard. Heaven pitied her distress, smiled on her virtuous exertions, and vanquished all her afflictions. The ungrateful creature forgets this timely assistance—no longer remembers her own sorrows—but basely commences oppressor in her turn.—

Beware, America!—pause—and consider the difference between the mild effulgence of approving providence, and the angry countenance of incensed divinity!

The importation of slaves into America, ought to be a subject of the deepest regret, to every benevolent and thinking mind.—And one of the greatest defects in the federal system, is the liberty it allows on this head. Venerable in every thing else, it is injudicious here; and it is to be much deplored, that a system of so much political perfection, should be stained with any thing that does an outrage to human nature. As a door, however, is open to amendment, for the sake of distressed humanity, of injured national reputation, and the glory of doing so benevolent a thing, I hope some wise and virtuous patriot will advocate the measure, and introduce an alteration in that pernicious part of the government.—So far from encouraging the importation of slaves, and countenancing that vile traffic in human flesh; the members of the late continental convention should have seized the happy opportunity of prohibiting for ever, this cruel species of reprobated villainy.—That they did not do so, will for ever diminish the lustre of their other proceedings, so highly extolled, and so justly distinguished, for their intrinsic value.—Let us, for a moment, contrall the sentiments and actions of the Europeans on this subject, with those of our own countrymen. In France, the warmest, and most animated exertions are making, in order to introduce the entire abolition of the slave-trade; and in England, many of the first characters of that country, advocate the same measure, with an enthusiastic philanthropy. The prime minister himself is at the head of that society; and nothing can equal the ardour of their endeavours, but the glorious goodness of the cause.—Will the Americans allow the people of England, to get the start of them in acts of humanity? Forbid it shame!

The practice of stealing, or bartering for human flesh, is pregnant with the most glaring turpitude, and the blackest barbarity of disposition.—For, can any one say, that this is doing as he would be done by? Will

such a practice stand the scrutiny of this great rule of moral government? Who can, without the complicated emotions of anger and impatience, suppose himself in the predicament of a slave! Who can bear the thoughts of his relations being torn from him by a savage enemy: carried to distant regions of the habitable globe, never more to return; and treated there, as the unhappy Africans are, in this country? Who can support the reflexion of his father—his mother—his sister—or his wife—perhaps his children—being barbarously snatched away by a foreign invader, without the prospect of ever beholding them again? Who can reflect upon their being afterwards publicly exposed to sale—obliged to labour with unwearied assiduity—and, because all things are not possible to be performed, by persons so unaccustomed to robust exercise, scourged with all the rage and anger of malignity, until their unhappy carcases are covered with ghastly wounds, and frightful contusions? Who can reflect on these things, when applying the case to himself, without being chilled with horror, at circumstances so extremely shocking?—Yet hideous as this concise and imperfect description is, of the sufferings sustained by many of our slaves, it is nevertheless true; and so far from being exaggerated, falls infinitely short of a thousand circumstances of distress, which have been recounted by different writers on the subject, and which contribute to make their situation in this life, the most absolutely wretched, and completely miserable, that can possibly be conceived.—In many places in America, the slaves are treated with every circumstance of rigorous inhumanity, accumulated hardship, and enormous cruelty.—Yet, when we take them from Africa, we deprive them of a country which God hath given them for their own: as free as we are, and as capable of enjoying that blessing. Like pirates, we go to commit devastation on the coast of an innocent country, and among a people who never did us wrong.

An insatiable, avaricious desire to accumulate riches, co-operating with a spirit of luxury and injustice, seems to be the leading cause of this peculiarly degrading and ignominious practice,

Being once accustomed to subsist without labour, we become soft and voluptuous; and rather than afterwards forego the gratification of our habitual indolence and ease, we countenance the infamous violation, and sacrifice at the shrine of cruelty, all the finer feelings of elevated humanity.

Considering things in this view there surely can be nothing more justly reprehensible or disgusting, than the extravagant finery of many country people's daughters. It hath not been at all uncommon to observe as much gauze, lace and other trappings, on one of those country maidens, as had employed two or three of her father's slaves, for twelve months afterwards, to raise tobacco to pay for. 'Tis an ungrateful reflexion, that all this frippery and affected finery, can only be supported by the sweat of another person's brow, and consequently, only by lawful rapine and injustice. If these young females could devote as much time from their amusement, as would be necessary for reflexion; or, was there any person of humanity at hand who would inculcate the indecency of this kind of extravagance, I am persuaded they have hearts good enough to reject, with disdain, the momentary pleasure of making a figure, in behalf of the rational and lasting delight of contributing by their forbearance, to the happiness of so many thousand individuals.

In Maryland, where slaves are treated with as much lenity, as, perhaps, they are any where, their situation is to the last degree ineligible. They live in wretched cots, that scarcely secure them from the inclemency of the weather; sleep in the ashes or on straw; wear the coarsest clothing, and subsist on the most ordinary food that the country produces. In all things, they are subject to their master's absolute command; and, of course, have no will of their own. Thus circumstanced, they are subject to great brutality, and are often treated with it. In particular instances, they may be better provided for in this state, but this suffices for a general description. But in the Carolinas, and in the island of Jamaica, the cruelties that have been wantonly exercised on those miserable creatures, are without a precedent in any other part

of the world. If those who have written on the subject, may be believed, it is not uncommon there, to tie a slave up, and whip him to death.

On all occasions impartiality in the distribution of justice, should be observed. The little state of Rhode-Island, hath been reprobated by the other states, for refusing to enter into measures respecting a new general government; and so far it is admitted that she is culpable. But if she is worthy of blame in this respect, she is entitled to the highest admiration for the philanthropy, justice and humanity, she hath displayed, respecting the subject I am treating on. She hath passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves into that state, and rebidding her citizens to engage in the iniquitous traffic. So striking a proof of her strong attachment to the rights of humanity, will rescue her name from oblivion, and bid her live in the good opinion of distant and unborn generations.

Slavery, unquestionably, should be abolished, particularly in this country; because it is inconsistent with the declared principles of the American revolution. The sooner, therefore, we set about it, the better. Either we should set all our slaves at liberty, immediately, and colonize them in the western territory; or, we should immediately take measures for the gradual abolition of it, so that it may become a known, and fixed point, that, ultimately, universal liberty, in these united states, shall triumph.—This is at least we can do, in order to evince our sense of the irreparable outrages we have committed, to wipe off theodium we have incurred, and to give mankind a confidence again, in the justice, liberality, and honour of our national proceedings.

It would not be difficult to shew, were it necessary, that America would soon become a richer and more happy country, provided this step was adopted. That corrosive anguish of persevering in any thing improper, which now embitters the enjoyment of life, would vanish as the mist of a foggy morn doth before the rising sun; and we should find as great a disparity between our present situation, and that which would succeed to it, as the difference between a cloudy winter, and

a radiant spring.—Besides, our lands would not be then cut down for the support of a numerous train of useless inhabitants—useless, I mean, to themselves, and effectually so to us, by encouraging sloth and voluptuousness among our young farmers and planters, who might otherwise know how to take care of their money, as well as how to dissipate it.—In all other respects, I conceive them to be as valuable as we are—as capable of worthy purposes, and to possess the same dignity that we do, in the estimation of providence; although, the value of their work apart, for which we are dependent on them, we generally consider them as good for nothing, and, accordingly, treat them with the greatest neglect.

But, be it remembered, that their cause is the cause of heaven; and that the Father of them as well as of us, will not fail, at a future settlement, to adjust the account between us, with a dreadful attention to justice.

O T T I E L L O.

Baltimore, May 10, 1788.



*A short essay on diseases from the air. Attempting to shew that most diseases are caused by miasmata in our air; with an enumeration of some of them; and the further prosecution of this subject recommended to philosophers and physicians. By the reverend Mattheu Wilson, D. D. of Leves.*

HIPPOCRATES, called the divine old man, was not ashamed most frequently to acknowledge human ignorance, and ascribe the latent causes of many diseases to the invisible powers, calling the first cause [τὸ θεῖον] that something divine, &c. He says in one place, "A physician ought to know diseases of the same kind, how much they exceed the strength of the body; and should also learn to discover if any thing more than human be in the disease: He ought, besides, early to observe the differences of the diseases that daily reign among the people, nor be ignorant of the state of the seasons."

Honest Sydenham, who carefully invelligated the genus of diseases, found, that in a particular epidemic constitution of the air, the intercurrent

rent diseases partook of the nature of the reigning epidemic, though at common times entirely different in their own natures. He found also, that in the winter of 1675, all the pleuritic patients were seized with pains in the head, back, and limbs, which distinguished the then reigning fevers.

The most laborious and most useful of medical writers, baron Van Swieten, observes, "that vernal intermittents are altogether different from autumnals, and their nature, symptoms, issues, duration, and cure are utterly unlike.—The ephamera, the most simple of continual fevers, passes through its different stages, without the least danger; yet the British ephamera made great havock. Both diseases were called by the same name; the duration was the same; but they terminated very differently." He also tells us, "He has seen an epidemic pleurisy, which would not admit venesection, and the common methods of cure," &c. This I have often seen in Suffolk. Now, in all these cases, we are taught, not only the method of prudently watching nature, but a clear view of the causes of diseases, as residing in the air.

The incomparable Boerhaave (aphorisms 1406 and 1407) observes, "The cause of the variety of diseases is so latent, that physicians have not been able hitherto to deduce it from any sensible abuse of the non-naturals:—and yet, as epidemic diseases attack many at once, and may be avoided or excluded by fire, or wind, it is generally believed, that their causes reside in the air."

Hippocrates wisely said, "diseases partly arise from our way of living, and partly from the air which we breathe. When many (says he) are seized with the same disease at the same time, the cause is chiefly to be attributed to what is common to all, and made use of by all. This can only be the air, which we draw in inspiration. Our way of living is not the cause, as is apparent, since the disease attacks both young and old, men and women; those who live freely, and those who live abstemiously; those who live on milk and sowens, and those who eat bread and use wine moderately; those who use much exercise, and those who use but little: therefore

the cause cannot be in our food or manner of life, since those who live most differently and oppositely, are taken with the same diseases." Here it is demonstrated, that the cause, however latent, of epidemic diseases reside in the air; though it is granted that errors in diet may pre-dispose the body to be more easily susceptible of the malignant fumes, and make its vages more dreadful; so, when the English, who greedily fed on flesh, were generally perished by the sweating sickness, Caius, an English writer, declares, that the Scots and French almost wholly escaped, in the same illness. Yet the diet alone can never occasion an epidemic disorder.

Lord Bacon (the morning star of our philosophical day) observes, "That wind is air itself, in a state of motion, carrying along with it everything it contains. Hence different effects of the same kind in different places. Thus the south wind in Africa brings fair weather, and is healing enough; but in England it is generally rainy, and if it continue long without rain, it produces malignant and dangerous fevers. Hence it appears, that by the wind, an infinity of particles may be carried from one place to another, even to the most distant. That exhalates from all bodies; all animals, dead and living; all vegetables, poisonous or salutary. Sweet or corrupted; all minerals, even poisonous and sulphureous exhalations from earthquakes and volcanoes, and from pits dug by daring men—all, all the fumes are diffused in the air, and may be wasted by it in a collected state in remote countries, or be dispersed and weakened by the winds. Therefore winds may do good, by dispersing noxious vapours, or infinite damage to mortals by conducting them in a collected state: thus plagues and pestilential fevers have spread."

In this climate, where I have practised physic largely, and kept a faithful register of the weight of the air, the heat and cold, weather and wind, near thirty years, I scarce know that we have any diseases, but such as are endemic or epidemic, or at least greatly affected and influenced by the seasons, and state of the air.

Innumerable observations, in all the known world, evince, that epidemics

feases, which are the chief here, all arise from miasmata unknown in the air, (whatever the state of the air may be, whether heavy or light, cold or hot, &c.) viz. impure seeds of festing diseases; for this poisonous matter enters every part of our bodies.

Boerhaave observes, "The causes of diseases reside in the air, rather from the variety of exhalations contained in it, which mix with our fluids, or from their stimulus disorder our bodies, than by any remarkable change in the sensible qualities of the air, as observation teaches."

The judicious Van Swieten confirms this doctrine from Sydenham's and his own experience. He observes, that it is evident enough, that the causes of these diseases are in the air; that what that is in the air, which produces them, is a matter of great difficulty to determine. He observes, for many years, three times a-day, he remarked the height of the barometer, thermometer, the course and strength of the winds, the quantity of rain, the changes of the air, &c. yet did not thereby gain the least knowledge of the origin of epidemic diseases.

Sydenham confesses, he also lost his labour in the same way; and observes, that years perfectly agreeing in the sensible quantities of air, were nevertheless productive of very different tribes of diseases. He further observes, that many diseases, as pleuritis and quinies, which generally proceed from sudden heat immediately following intense cold, are only intercurrents, and entirely different from the reigning epidemic.

Yet, after all, the noxious exhalations, which are mixed with the air, are altogether different from pure air itself. These causes may sometimes be discovered, but more generally are concealed from our knowledge. That roffer and memphitic exhalations do sometimes mix with the air, and produce plagues, malignant fevers, and often sudden death, the natural histories of various caves, pits, fractures of mountains, earthquakes, and even mines, and the fate of miners, abundantly demonstrate.

None doubted that the plague at Vienna, A. D. 1343, was occasioned by the infectious, poisonous exhalations

of the earthquake which immediately preceded it.

It is a well known history, that the celebrated health-restoring spring, at St. Udalrick, in the suburbs of Vienna, at the time of the plague, exhaled an infectious stench, by which we read that several thousands perished. It is indisputable, in the low and maritime countries of America and Europe, after inundations by storms, &c. when the sea brings much grass, weeds and leaves, wood, and sometimes fishes, upon the neighbouring marshes, fields and woods, corrupting in heaps, (vegetable and animal putrefaction united) that then the inhabitants are greatly afflicted with lasting and fatal epidemic fevers. Nay, even in hot weather, when there are only calms, every year, agues and remittents, &c. are produced by the putrid exhalations of stagnant waters, lakes, ponds, and morasses. [See professor Cullen and Rollo's diseases of the army, at St. Lucia, &c.]

Dr. Huxham remarks, that the earth, when frozen, emits few or no exhalations; but when thaw comes on, after a long frost, then epidemic fevers break out.

Yet, though putrid exhalations are generally noxious, one putrefaction sometimes stops or corrects another. Tanners, and those who live among the stench of rotten hides and offals, have sometimes escaped the plague.

At Lyons and Marseilles, the streets, which were narrow and dirty, suffered much less by the plague than the open and clean streets. During the plague at London, the physicians ordered all the privies and shores to be opened, when the foetid stench is said to have abated the plague. The plague at Oczakow was stopped by a violent shock of an earthquake, which perhaps then produced a cure, as others cause the plague. Sprinkling the streets with wine once stopped the plague at Athens: and the penetrating vapours exhaling from fermenting new wine, in the time of the vintage, suppressed the plague raging about the Moselle. The stench of stoves, coals, store-houses of spices, and the ship-carpenters' effluvia of pitch and tar, have all been illustrious means of preserving those persons who lived among these vapours.

But here we must remark, that all epidemic diseases are not propagated by human contagion, from one human morbid body to another, though some are evidently very contagious. Van Swieten observes, that though double tertians (which emulate continual fevers, and rage among great numbers) were often epidemic, he never observed that such patients propagated infection, though they were attended with the worst symptoms, and had strong signs of malignity. He further observes, "The fevers of 1756, from the noxious effluvia of marshes, though attended with exanthemata, gangrenous blotches on the surface of the body, inflamed parotides, and other symptoms of malignity, yet were not contagious; for those who lived in a more healthy air, tho' they received the sick into their houses, were not themselves affected. If those who lived in a purer mountainous air, descended into this morbid valley, they were soon taken extremely ill; but upon their return home, did not spread the contagion."—Yet, on the other hand, it is also certain, that diseases are often caused by common or latent exhalations in the air, which so degenerate the human juices, as to propagate by mere contagion. The small-pox, plague, and fluxes in armies and countries, are a sufficient demonstration of this.

Seeing, then, the causes of diseases are chiefly in the air, and these miasmata seem to be of very different substances, sizes, and angles, it surely must be very ridiculous for young physicians to contend, that one is for Boerhaave, and Swieten, another for Cullen, or any other distinguished name. Boerhaave, indeed, supposed generally the fluids to be most affected, and Cullen the solids, or nervous system. Yet both these professors owned that both fluids and solids were soon affected, and Boerhaave speaks doubtfully [aphorism 1468] whether the miasmata affect the fluids or the solids by their stimulus in the first instance. But what advantage arises from the discovery?—The works of Boerhaave and Van Swieten must defy the teeth of time, as they contain all the history of diseases, and all that have proved remedies, or injuries, from the early ages of the world. And what can we

have more?—They have collected all physical knowledge. Rather than attempt to villify the hard-earned knowledge, by experience of almost three thousand years, let us labour to find preventives and remedies of the seeds of death that mingle with our air.\*

That I may contribute my mite, to this obscure, yet most important en-

#### NOTE.

\* When I consider in what manner physic is very commonly practised, deeply feel for the wretchedness of our people. Many youths who have had a smattering of learning, being put apprentices, neither read and learn the histories, causes, and cures of diseases, in every country of the world with the different symptoms and combinations, in the different places and seasons; nor the diseases and connections of all the parts of the human body. Others, without learning, virtue, and every degree of medical knowledge, on being perhaps only surgeon's mates in an army or armed vessel set up for physicians, having nothing to recommend them besides effrontery and false boasting; with the knowledge of heaping up medicines, sometimes pernicious, and making out: extravagant bills to squeeze the last penny from the poor widows and fatherless. For the honour of human nature, and the great safety of my country, I earnestly wish that every legislature would enact laws to stop this growing evil.

Let it therefore be considered whether every candidate, for physic should not be well taught in the Latin and Greek languages; whether mathematics and natural history be not absolutely necessary; and whether seven years, at least five years, to the best geniuses, of greatest application after the public lectures, be not necessary to the study and practice of physic, before any man obtain the title of business of a physician.

Objection. But mechanics often discover good remedies. Answer. Well, let them be rewarded. But though they have a specific for one out of an hundred species of the same disease, they cannot be trusted in any of the rest, much less in a thousand or other different original diseases.

quiry, permit me to enumerate some things which have infected or poisoned our air, as *miasmata* from grosser bodies; and then the more subtle effects of Plato's subtle matter, not belonging to the Newtonian system, but now well demonstrated by the name of electricity.

As to the first kind, chemistry has discovered many vapours very noxious to human nature, even from gross bodies. In burning of combustible bodies into flame, smoke, soot and ashes, certain corpuscles are emitted, a lench separable from the smoke, supposed to consist of the volatile salt of the plant, waisted into the air, and spirits, from the action of the fire; which humors produce wonderful effects on our bodies. Hence erosions in the eyes, the lungs grow hoarse, and the voice harsh. Hypochondriac and hysterical persons, and those labouring under convulsive asthma, are nearly strangled by such exhalations. Even the fumes of a candle or lamp, extinguished in a close place, have excited convulsions in epileptic persons, and sometimes abortion, and often palpitations of heart, &c. Some bodies thrown on the fire emit exhalations greatly poisonous, as the toxico-dendron, which turns all the company round the fire pale, as if they were dead, and, if the place be close, they fall into many mortal diseases.

It is related of a military officer, that he killed all his company by throwing something on the fire; though it did no hurt to handle or carry it. Sometimes even dough of bread, baked and opened in a close place, is reported to be deadly; and roasting coffee, in a confined air, has produced cardialgia and vomiting. What mischiefs, then, may not arise from burning weeds, often poisonous, to defend against musketoos, &c.? so burning the woods, morasses, &c. may cause many fevers.

And, in thirty years observation, I am convinced, that when the weather is long calm, and the air filled with a vapour-like smoke, the most malignant diseases begin and rage most in Suffex.

Burn sixty pounds of wood in open air, and you have but one pound of ashes, nor can the other pounds be collected by any art: all these exhalations mix with our air, and their effects

are dangerous, though unheeded. But, by burning it in a chemical vessel, Van Helmont and professor Boerhaave found an eternal coal, which it is not possible to consume without open air; but this coal, extinguished in a close room, brings our bodies to death itself; of which many lamented examples have happened in my time.

That some vapour, or *miasmata*, fly from burning charcoal, appears from holding a paper over it, written with solution of ointment: for then only will the writing turn black. Set charcoal on fire in a large room, but shut close, and all the animals in it will die; yet this is not from heat, for the room may be cold; but from the air—either by its destroying something in the air (perhaps electricity or nitre) or else by some poisonous vapour from an innocent body, now deleterious by the force of fire.

Van Helmont, when an old man, finding his ink froze, called for a chafing dish of coals, by which he fell down, and was carried out as dead. Here all the actions of the man were in a moment suspended by the exhalation, which he calls the gas of the wooden coal.

Boerhaave relates many examples of himself and others, and proposes it as the only ready and best remedy, to sprinkle the face and breast with cold water. So of other poisonous vapours, as the grotto del cani, throwing the seemingly dead animal into cold water, if it be not too late, brings again circulation and life.

There are yet many other deadly exhalations from gross bodies, already discovered, as from new built houses, or places white washed with lime, and perhaps the vapour from new painted walls, may be no better. These bring on palsies, and other fatal, commonly incurable, diseases.

So burning the bones, wings, shells, hoofs, and other parts of animals produces so fatal a vapour, as to kill all insects, fleas, chintzes, &c. if the room be only moderately shut up. Boerhaave, I think, tells us of a whole company swooning away by the exhalation of a dog killed by 146 degrees of heat, by the thermometer. If such fatal vapours arise from seemingly harmless vegetables, &c. it is not to be wondered that more dreadful should

arise from fossils. So, cobalt, put upon the fire, raises a thick white vapour, which concretes to the ceiling of a room the strongest poison we know, viz. white arsenic. These vapours even by smelling, kill every kind of animal. If these are raised by subterraneous heat and earthquakes, it will not be wondrous, if death, quicker than the plague, ensues.

I need not add to these, that the vapour of saltpetre, sea salt, and sulphur, raised by the fire, produces vapours that corrode all metals themselves, and destroy all things that have animal life. Hence evidently appears the inexpressible usefulness of the winds, in preserving the lives of men and other animals. For a wind, arising at the place where any of the poisonous vapours happen, presently disperses them from that place, scatters the fatal *miasmata*, weakens their power of mischief, or at least carries them to some other part. To have an idea how the winds dispose of them, we need only look at the wreaths of snow, totally carried from the open fields, and thrown in heaps, where an eddy is made by the obstruction of the blast. In like manner, the deadly exhalations are often stopt and collected in vallies, and sometimes in the suburbs of cities, while the winds have cleared them from the populous part of the town. I would not detain the reader longer. I must not stay to mention the undetermined classes of vegetable poisons, which generally very greatly affect the *liquidum nervosum* and common sensory. How greatly these may affect our atmosphere, is yet unexplored, though some of them we know in some degree. I have somewhere read of two gentlemen at the Hague, who, on tasting only the root of the cenanthe, which resembles hemlock, were seized with great heat of the throat and stomach: then followed vertigo, heart-burn, nausea, and flux of the belly, bleeding at the nose, loss of reason, and violent convulsions, so that both were dead in three hours. On touching napellus, or monks-hood, with the tip of the tongue, the unwary feels pleasure, but soon falls into disorders of the brain, &c. Tobacco at first has some like influence. All kinds of deadly night-shade and its beautiful berries soon kill. Water hem-

lock, in very small quantity, changes all the animal functions, raises horrible imaginations and convulsions, ending life in three or four hours. Thorn-apple, or James-town weed, so common at every door, has like effects, but not so quickly. Henbane feeds render delirious, and destroy every animal power in a short time, &c. &c. But let us proceed very briefly.

The last thing I proposed to mention was electricity, as having very great effects on the air, respecting health and sickness. There is nothing new under the sun. How often has the great Plato, and his subtle matter, and Cartesius, who established subtle matter too, been calumniated and abused, even by great Newtonian philosophers, and especially by their too sanguine pupils! Yet now subtle matter, by electric experiments is clearly demonstrated, which, I venture to foretell, will soon be discovered to be either gravitation, or a superior principle of nature; nay with Plato, a fifth element. If its power increases the more the nearer the sun, as is said to be proved: and if its power is so great in our earth, why may it not be strong enough at the sun to attract and repel comets and worlds, &c.? If professor Saussure and M. Telabert were so electrified that flashes darted from their fingers in crossing the Alps, what may be at the centre of the sun, 94,790,550 English miles distant? [See prof. Ewing's transit of Venus]

Mr. Brydone, F. R. S. in his tour through Sicily and Malta, observes, that the so highly electric, is the vapour of volcanoes; that it has been observed in some eruptions, both of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, that the whole tract of smoke, which sometimes extended above an hundred miles, produced the most dreadful effects,—killing shepherds and flocks on the mountains, blasting trees, and setting fire to houses; the red forked lightning darting from the smoke, &c. so highly electrical are both the crater and the smoke. Yet, to this cause he ascribes the amazing fertility and wonderful vegetation round Mount *Ætna*. “For, from a variety of experiments (says he) it has been found, that an increase of the electrical matter adds much to the progress of vegetation.”



[See Tiberius Cuvalló's complete electricity]

The experiment of electrifying a small capillary syphon, by which, from only slowly dropping, it runs into a full stream, together with the general content of all, who have tried it, seems to prove that it greatly quickens circulation, and drives the animal juices through the smallest and remotest capillary vessels, with greater ease and celerity; hence many obstructions have been removed. All know the great benefit of friction, flannel, and rubbing with silk or flannel; but the late discoveries of electricians shew, that the gymnastic exercises only collect more of the electric fire to that part of the body.

Some have thought, that the electric fluid is (and performs the parts ascribed to) the nervous fluid, the nerves being conductors. However that be, it cannot be doubted, that the disorders, commonly called nervous, as the hypochondria, hysteria, &c. &c. are greatly affected by electricity, and owing to the want of a sufficient quantity of this animating and cheering fluid. All such patients are affected with very uneasy sensations, in a moist air, which carries the electric fire away from them; but when the sun shines, and the damp is fled, that is, when the air again is full of electricity, how cheerful—how revived! All nature rejoices. Though there has been found an instance or two, of persons too full of this fluid; yet this is easily removed, and is a rare case indeed; easily known by emitting sparks of fire, (which I have also seen) and curable by a change of dress. Electricity is now considered by many as a subtle active soul, that pervades and quickens, nay, is the great vivifying principle of nature, and source of our sensibility. When electricity is suspended, as by the sirocco wind, and the air seems totally deprived of it, the whole animal system is strung; all strength and activity is lost; the animal spirits are totally languid, and the nerves want all tension and elasticity; all animals droop and languish, till the electric fluid again returns with a pleasant breeze, to restore the tone, and enliven all nature.—Brydone.

I have only thrown together these

thoughts, for the students of electricity, as they appear founded on real experiments, that gentlemen of leisure and capacity may carry them much farther.

Is it not reasonable hence to suppose, that, by electrical means, the state of the air may be tried, if the particular poisonous exhalations cannot be easily determined? And if it is found unhealthy, may not means be found, by electrifying bodies so highly, that, by repeated shocks, the air may be purified? And may not sometimes fires of odoriferous woods, as guaiacum, the American turpentine, &c. be tried? May not great ventilators be also invented? And, to all these, may not acid fermentations be added? And may not the want of a sufficient quantity, in invalids, of the vivifying electricity, be remedied by cork soles, well filled with bees wax, in their shoes, their heads covered with dry silk caps, and their bodies covered with dry flannel, and then dry silk; which strong repellents might retain an electric vortex or atmosphere about them?

This cannot be called a new system of physic, though perhaps it as much deserves the name, as some publications, which have been called new theories, of late. I only wish to bring back the students of the healing art to follow nature, and still more and more endeavour to advance our honourable art, in procuring the health and happiness of our own species.

Lewes, Feb. 14, 1786.



*Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.*

LETTER VI.

(Continued from page 363.)

SOME of our fellow-citizens have ventured to predict the future fate of united America, if the system proposed to us, shall be adopted.

Though every branch of the constitution and government is to be popular, and guarded by all the balances, that, until this day, have occurred to mankind, yet the system will end, they say, in the oppression of a monarchy or aristocracy, by the federal servants, or some of them.

Such a conclusion seems not in any manner suited to the premises. It

startles, yet, not so much from its novelty, as from the respectability of the characters by which it is drawn.

We must not be too much influenced by our esteem for those characters; but should recollect, that when the fancy is warmed, and the judgment inclined, by the proximity or pressure of particular objects, very extraordinary declarations are sometimes made. Such are the frailties of our nature, that genius and integrity not unfrequently afford no protection against them.

Probably, there never was, nor never will be, such an instance of dreadful denunciation, concerning the fate of a country, as was published while the union was in agitation between England and Scotland. The English were for a joint legislature, many of the Scots for separate legislatures, and urged, that they should be in a manner swallowed up and lost in the other, as then they would not possess one eleventh part in it.

Upon that occasion, lord Belhaven, one of the most distinguished orators of the age, made in the Scottish parliament a famous speech, of which the following extract is part:—

“My lord chancellor.

“When I consider this affair of an union between the two nations, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crouded with a variety of very melancholy thoughts; and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

“I think, I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that, which all the world hath been fighting for, since the days of Nimrod; yea that, for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe, are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were; to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and council of any other.

“I think, I see a national church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into

a plain, upon an equal level with Jew papists, jesuits, arminians, and baptists, and other sectaries, &c.

“I think, I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, who valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own prop charges and expences, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon such an equal foot with the vassals, that I think, I see a pet English excisemen receive more homage and respect, than what was paid formerly to their *quondam* Mackallismors.

“I think, I see the present peer of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-run countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England now walking in the court of request like so many English attorneys, laying aside their walking swords, when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

“I think, I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold asserters of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips and a guard upon their tongues, lest they be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*.

“I think, I see the royal state of boroughs, walking their desolate streets hanging down their heads, under dis appointments; worned out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become 'prentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet, after all finding their trade so fortified by companies, and secured by prescriptions that they despair of any success therein.

“I think, I see our learned judges laying aside their practices and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with *certiorariis nisi prius*, writs of error, verdicts *ejectiones firmæ*, injunctions, *demurrers*, &c. and frightened with appeals and advocations, because of the new regulations, and rectification they meet with.

“I think, I see the valiant and gallant soldiery, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as the reward of their ho-

urable exploits, while their old corps is broken, the common foldiers left beg, and the youngest English corps left standing.

"I think, I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless porridge, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactures, and answered by counterpetitions.

"In short, I think I see the laborious ploughman, with his corn spoiling in his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth; dreading the pence of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry, or do worse.

"I think I see the incurable difficulties of landed men, fettered under a golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

"I think, I see our mariners delirious up their ships to their Dutch partners, and what through pressings and necessity, earning their bread as scullerlings in the English navy. But above all, my lord, I think, I see our patient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, lying in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, tending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with a—*Et tu quoque, mi fili.*

"Are not these, my lord, very afflicting thoughts? And yet they are the last part suggested to me by these dishonourable articles. Should not the considerations of these things vivify these dry bones of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valor and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the English cabbage rocks and colliflowers, that we should shew the least indignation that way? Are our eyes so blinded? Are our ears so deafened? Are our hearts so hardened? Are our tongues so faltered? Are our hands so fettered? that in this our day, I say, my lord, that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being, and well being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes?

"When I consider this treaty as it

hath been explained, and spoke to, before us these three weeks by past; I see the English constitution remaining firm, the same two houses of parliament, the same taxes, the same customs, the same excises, the same trading companies, the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and all ours either subject to regulations or annihilations, only we are to have the honour to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they are pleased to contract more."

Let any candid American deliberately compare that transaction with the present, and laying his hand upon his heart, solemnly answer this question to himself—Whether he does not verily believe the eloquent peer before mentioned, had tenfold more cause to apprehend evils from such an unequal match between the two kingdoms, than any citizen of these states has to apprehend them from the system proposed? Indeed not only that peer, but other persons of distinction, and large numbers of the people of Scotland were filled with the utmost aversion to the union; and if the greatest diligence and prudence had not been employed by its friends in removing misapprehensions and refuting misrepresentations, and by the then subsisting government, for preserving the public peace, there would certainly have been a rebellion.

Yet, what were the consequences to Scotland of that dreaded union with England?—the cultivation of her virtues and the correction of her errors—the emancipation of one class of her citizens from the yoke of their superiors—a relief of other classes from the injuries and insults of the great—improvements in agriculture, science, arts, trade, and manufactures—the profits of industry and ingenuity enjoyed under the protection of laws, peace, and security at home—and increase of respectability abroad. Her church is still eminent—Her laws and courts of judicature are safe—Her boroughs grown into cities—Her mariners and soldiery possessing a larger subsistence than she could have afforded them, and her tradesmen, ploughmen, landed men, and her people of every rank, in a more flourishing condition,

not only than they ever were, but in a more flourishing condition, than the clearest understanding could, at the time, have thought it possible for them to attain in so short a period, or even in many ages. England participated in the blessings. The flock of their union, or ingraftment, as perhaps it may be called, being strong, and capable of drawing better nutriment and in greater abundance, than they could ever have done apart.

“Ere long, to heav’n, the soaring  
branches shoot,

“And wonder at their height, and  
more than native fruit.”

*Philadelphia, April 23, 1788.*

LETTER VII.

**T**HUS happily mistaken was the ingenious, learned, and patriotic lord Belhaven, in his prediction concerning the fate of his country; and thus happily mistaken, it is hoped, some of our fellow-citizens will be, in their predictions concerning the fate of their country.

Had they taken larger scope, and assumed in their proposition the vicissitude of human affairs, and the passions that so often confound them, their predictions might have been a tolerably good guess. Amidst the mutabilities of terrestrial things, the liberty of united America may be destroyed. As to that point, it is our duty, humbly, constantly, fervently, to implore the protection of our most gracious Maker, “who doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men,” and incessantly to strive, as we are commanded, to recommend ourselves to that protection, by “doing his will,” diligently exercising our reason in fulfilling the purposes for which that and our existence were given to us.

How the liberty of this country is to be destroyed, is another question. Here, the gentlemen allign a cause, in no manner proportioned, as it is apprehended, to the effect.

The uniform tenor of history is against them. That holds up the licentiousness of the people, and turbulent temper of some of the states, as the only causes to be dreaded, not the conspiracies of federal officers. Therefore, it is highly probable, that, if ever our liberty is subverted, it will be by one of the two causes first men-

tioned. Our tragedy will then have the same acts, with those of the nations that have gone before us: and we shall add one more example to the number already too great, of a people that would not take warning, nor “know the things which belong to their peace.” But, we ought not to pass such a sentence against our country, and the interests of freedom; though, no sentence whatever can be equal to the atrocity of our guilt, if, through enormity of obliquity or baseness, we betray the cause of our posterity and mankind, by providence committed to our parental and fraternal care.—There is reason to believe, that the calamities of nations are punishment of their sins.

As to the first mentioned cause, it seems unnecessary to say any more upon it.

As to the second, we find, that the misbehaviour of the constituent parts acting separately, or in partial confederacies, debilitated the Greeks under “the amphictyonic council,” and under the Achæan league, and that this misbehaviour ruined Greece. As to the former, it was not entirely an assembly of strictly democratical republics. Besides, it wanted a sufficiently close connection of parts. Tyrants and aristocracies sprung up. After these observations, we may call our attention from it.

’Tis true, the Achæan league was disturbed, by the misconduct of some parts, but, it is as true, that it surmounted these difficulties, and wonderfully prospered, until it was dissolved in the manner that has been described.

The glorious operations of its principles bear the clearest testimony to this distant age and people, that the wit of man never invented such an antidote against monarchical and aristocratical projects, as a strong combination of truly democratical republics. By strictly or truly democratical republics, the writer means republics, in which all the officers are from time to time chosen by the people.

The reason is plain. As liberty and equality, or, as termed by Polybius, benignity, were the foundations of their institutions, and the energy of the government pervaded all the parts, in things relating to the whole, it counteracted, for the common welfare,

the designs hatched by selfishness in separate councils.

If folly or wickedness prevailed in any parts, friendly offices and salutary measures restored tranquility. Thus the public good was maintained. In its very formation, tyrannies and aristocracies submitted, by consent or compulsion. Thus, the Ceraunians, Trezenians, Epidaurians, Megalopolitans, Argives, Hermionians, and Phylagians, were received into the league. A happy exchange ! for history informs us, that so true were they to their noble and benevolent principles, that, in their diet, "no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interest of each part so consulted, as to leave no room for complaints."

How degrading would be the thought to a citizen of united America, that the people of these states, with institutions beyond comparison preferable to those of the Achaean league, and so vast a superiority in other respects, should not have wisdom and virtue enough, to manage their affairs with as much prudence and affection of one for another, as these ancients did !

Would this be doing justice to our country ? the composition of her emperor is excellent, and seems to be acknowledged equal to that of any nation in the world. Her prudence will guard its warmth against two faults, to which it may be exposed—the one, an imitation of foreign fashions, which from small things may lead to great. May her citizens aspire at a national dignity in every part of conduct, private, as well as public ! This will be influenced by the former. May simplicity be the characteristic feature of their manners, which, inlaid in their other virtues and their forms of government, may then indeed be compared, in the eastern fable, to "apples of gold, in pictures of silver." Thus will they long, and may they, while their rivers run, escape the contagion of luxury—the issue of innocence debauched by folly, and the lineal predecessor of tyranny. The other fault, of which, as yet, there are no symptoms among us, is the thirst of empire. This is a vice, that ever has been, and, from the nature of things, ever must be, fatal to republican forms of

government. Our wants are sources of happiness : our desires, of misery. The abuse of prosperity, is rebellion against heaven ; and succeeds accordingly.

Do the propositions of gentlemen who object, offer to our view, any of the great points upon which, the fate, fame, or freedom of nations has turned, excepting what some of them have said about trial by jury, which has been frequently and fully answered ? Is there one of them calculated to regulate, and, if needful, to controul, those tempers and measures of constituent parts of an union, that have been so baneful to the weal of every confederacy that has existed ? Do not some of them tend to enervate the authority evidently designed thus to regulate and controul ? Do not others of them discover a bias in their advocates to particular connexions, that, if indulged to them, would enable persons of less understanding and virtue, to repeat the disorders, that have so often violated public peace and honour ? Taking them all together, would they afford as strong a security to our liberty, as the frequent election of the federal officers by the people, and the repartition of power among those officers, according to the proposed system ?

It may be answered, that they would be an additional security. In reply, let the writer be permitted at present to refer to what has been said.

The principal argument of gentlemen who object, involves a direct proof of the point contended for by the writer of this address, and, as far as it may be supposed to be founded, a plain confirmation of historic evidence.

They generally agree, that the great danger of a monarchy or aristocracy among us, will arise from the federal senate.

The members of this senate, are to be chosen by men exercising the sovereignty of their respective states. These men, therefore, must be monarchically or aristocratically disposed, before they will choose federal senators thus disposed ; and what merits particular attention, is, that these men must have obtained an overbearing influence in their respective states, before they could with such disposition arrive at the exercise of the sove-

reignty in them : or else, the like disposition must be prevalent among the people of such states.

Taking the case either way, is not this a disorder in parts of the union, and ought it not to be rectified by the rest ? Is it reasonable to expect, that the disease will seize all at the same time ? If it is not, ought not the sound to possess a right and power, by which they may prevent the infection from spreading ?

From the annals of mankind, these conclusions are deducible—that states together may act prudently and honestly, and apart foolishly and knavishly ; but, that it is a defiance of all probability, to suppose, that states conjointly shall act with folly and wickedness, and yet separately with wisdom and virtue. FABIUS.

*Philadelphia, April 26, 1788.*

*Address to his excellency Samuel Johnson, esq. governor of the State of North Carolina and president of the late convention held at Hillsborough.*

**WE**, the undersigned citizens of the town of Tarborough, impressed with the liveliest sense of the important motives which influenced the wise and virtuous members of the great federal convention, held at Philadelphia, beg leave to approach your excellency, and express our sincere approbation of the zeal you have displayed, to connect the state of North Carolina to the general union, and to those blessings and happy consequences we expect to flow from a free and energetic government. It is a duty we owe to ourselves, our country and posterity, to publish every testimony of reprobation of the unhappy issue of that public measure which claimed the attention of our late convention in Hillsborough, and to record also our unequivocal applause, of the virtue, patriotism, and exertions, of eighty-two statesmen, whose wisdom and characters, we trust, will yet preserve all that we conceive precious in this life, to ourselves, and future generations.

United in the principles of your excellency, we contemplated with emotions of pleasure and regret, this small, but wise and firm band, struggling against a torrent of popular phrenzy,

excited evidently to extinguish whatever hope remained to restore public faith, revive commerce, and promote agriculture ; and though their effort proved unsuccessful, they are not less entitled to our gratitude ; at least, the exertions, and the federal principle of our numerous adherents, may preserve us from indiscriminate odium and probably recommend us at some future hour of calmness and moderation, to our place in the united government, the only rock of salvation to which we can repose with confidence and safety. Well assured that the most discerning of the majority, began now to comprehend the danger which their conduct was calculated to involve their country, themselves, and their fellow citizens—we publish this declaration of our principles, determined to rise and fall with the union of America ; supplicating your excellency to employ all the constitutional means and influence in your power to convince the adopting states, or the executives, that North Carolina ought not to be included in general criminality, but that a considerable part of her most respectable citizens are still attached to a federal system, from persuasion, that from it alone they can expect exemption from domestic insurrection, defence from foreign invasion, and continuance of the blessing of peace and general prosperity.

*Tarborough, Aug. 20, 1788.*

## ANSWER.

*To the inhabitants of the town of Tarborough.*

Gentlemen,  
**YOU** will be pleased to accept my sincere and grateful thanks for your very polite and patriotic address of the 20th of August last, handed to me this day.

Your approbation of the conduct of the minority in the late convention at Hillsborough, must be highly pleasing to them under the painful disappointment of their endeavours to avoid a separation from the council of the united states.

It gives me pleasure to hear from you, that the most discerning of the majority, now begin to comprehend the dangers in which their conduct was calculated to involve their country. Impressed with such senti-

nents, there is every reason to hope that they will pursue the most effectual means, as soon as possible, to replace his state in the union, in which situation alone she can appear respectable.

I am well assured that the citizens of his state, were at no time averse to a federal government; but the proffered system appearing to many not so perfect as they could wish, and believing that amendments might more certainly be obtained by postponing the ratification, till after the proposed amendments were considered by a general convention, they adopted the measures which you so highly disapprove. These measures were opposed by the minority, who offered reasons in support of their opinion, which, I flatter myself, on a cool and deliberate investigation, will have the weight and influence, which it is to be lamented they had not at an earlier period.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost consideration and regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed)

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

Edenton, September 3, 1788.



*Address of the justices of the court of Abbeville, to the people living on Nolichucky, French-Broad, and Holstein.*

WE have lately, through various channels, received information that the Cherokees, on your side of the mountains, have received many injuries, and suffered very great calamities, from some among you, who pretend to act by the authority of your government, or with the general approbation of the people in your settlement.

While the head men from High-walle were coming to meet in a conference, to which they were invited, a party from your settlement went round, and murdered seven of the Indians, who were peaceably working in their cornfields; nine also were murdered at Chulhowee—thirty have been slaughtered on the Tenahee, and one made a prisoner;—the inhabitants of Chota and five other towns have been forced, by the outrages commit-

ted on them, to abandon their settlements and their crops of corn, and fly to this side of the mountain, for peace and protection. A friendly letter was written to them, requesting them to return and live again in their towns, and also to send in a runner, with a white flag, which they were told was sacred by the law of nations. A few days after this, a party from among you, came to Citico, and there murdered two Indians—men who had remained in their houses. The party then proceeded to Chulhowee, and raised a white flag: on which the Old Tassel, Old Abraham, his son, and the Leech, Indian chiefs, remarkable for their good offices and fidelity in the darkest situation of our affairs, raised a flag on their part, and came out; they came under the protection of a flag of truce, a protection inviolable even amongst the most barbarous people, and in the character of ambassadors, a character held sacred by the law and custom of nations, and by the consent of mankind in every age: but under this character, and with the sacred protection of a flag, they were attacked and murdered.

Your bosoms will, no doubt, burn with resentment at the recital of those unprovoked injuries, as ours did when we received the information—information which we are grieved to find too well authenticated. The objects of these murders and massacres were an harmless and peaceable, and almost defenceless people; circumstances which give them a just claim to the compassion of every humane and noble mind: and it is unworthy that American valour and heroism, which bled in the cause of liberty, and defended it when attacked by the most formidable power, to kill and plunder a few naked unarmed savages, who wish for nothing but to possess their lands, and kill their venison in peace. They are also a free and independent nation, to whom the protection of the united states has been granted, for their freedom and possessions, by the most solemn treaties: and they are our allies and friends—friends who adhered to us in the darkest season of our affairs, when the other Indian tribes, and even a great part of this nation, united against us, to aid the British in their attempts to lay the yoke of slavery on our necks.—These people have also constantly ref-

tified the most friendly disposition towards your settlements; and when attacks have been meditated, or expeditions set on foot against you by the Creeks, have given you timely warning of the danger.

Far be it from us, to imagine that these wanton and inhuman injuries to peaceable and faithful allies—these unmanly attacks upon unarmed and unsuspecting savages—these violations of treaties, infractions of the law of nations and rights of men, and wanton outrages on the feelings of humanity—have been perpetrated by the order, with the approbation, or even knowledge of the whole people whom we now address: you feel, no less warmly than we do, the indignation and horror which such conduct ought to inspire in generous and noble minds; but all people have bad men among them; therefore it is highly incumbent, that the virtuous and considerate part of the community watch over the actions of the undeserving, to prevent them from involving their country in calamities, to gratify their own base and unworthy passions.

By a strict search you may find out the persons who come within the above description; and you are bound, by every tie of justice and honour, duty and sound policy, to restrain such as they are, from similar conduct in future. This is what the Indians themselves have done, in lately sentencing to death one of their people, who was concerned in killing a white man belonging to this state.

We, therefore, being citizens of the united states with yourselves, anticipate the evils that must necessarily flow from the impropriety of passing unnoticed such misconduct in a few individuals, acting from the meanest and basest motives, and which, as far as is known to us, appears to be totally unprovoked on the part of the Cherokees, and which may tend to defeat the treaty now on foot between the Creeks and Georgians, under the auspices of congress; and which, from the just and peaceable dispositions of the Indian chiefs, gives us reason to hope for the most happy effects.

We flatter ourselves this letter will have its due effect, in preventing such disorders for the future, as we can assure you, on our parts, it proceeds

from our sincere affection towards you, and a wish to restore peace and tranquility to all parties.

We have the honour to be,  
very respectfully, &c.

John Bowie, Patrick Calhoun  
Charles Goodwin, Andrew Pickens  
R. A. Replat, Robert Anderson  
R. G. Harper, William Baskin  
William Shaw, A. Hamilton,  
A. C. Jones, James Lincoln.

*Abbeville county, South Carolina,*

July 9, 1788.



*Association of the merchants of Philadelphia, to prevent smuggling, entered into, June 1786.*

**WHEREAS** there is reason to believe that in some late instances the revenue has been defrauded of the duties payable on the importation of merchandise into this state the subscribers, merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, do hereby declare their entire disapprobation of such practices, which, by depriving the state of its revenue, may disable it from doing justice to the public creditors, and materially injure the fair trader. And as these pernicious practices admit of no palliation from any consideration that the monies arising from the impost are to be applied without our consent, to the benefit of foreign masters, so they must be in the highest degree dishonourable and immoral.

The subscribers therefore pledge themselves to the public, and to one another, that they will not only avoid in themselves the practice they reprobate, but will expose it in others, whenever it shall come to their knowledge.



*Petition of the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America, to the honourable the senate, and the honourable house of representatives, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

**THE** society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America, beg leave to shew, that one design of our venerable fathers in emigrating to this land, was professedly to extend the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer among



the savage natives; that this design was exprest and enjoined under both the charters granted by the parent state to this colony; and is, in the opinion of the society, necessary and suitable at all times to be pursued by a people who profess christianity.

That the end for which this society was instituted by the legislature, was to attend to this important circumstance, and prove to the European world, who are at a great expence in pursuing this object among us, that we were not inattentive to it. It is the desire, the design, and the ambition of the society, to pursue the ends and purposes, for which they were incorporated.

The want of funds alone prevents them from exerting themselves in propagating the gospel among the Indians, and extending the means of christian knowledge among those of the inhabitants of this land who are now destitute of them.

They humbly request your honours to recommend to his excellency the governor to issue a brief, to be read in all the churches of this commonwealth, requesting the aid of all piously disposed persons, in carrying on his truly benevolent design, and asking their contributions, in specie, public securities, or any other property, to enable the society to send the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer, among those who are now perishing for lack of vision, and to extend the means of instruction to our fellow citizens in the eastern and other parts of the state, who are now destitute of them.

The society are not insensible of the difficulties and embarrassments of the present day, and they are sorry to ask the aid of their fellow citizens at a time so distressing, but they cannot be easy to remain any longer inactive in pursuing the great objects of their appointment. The collections upon this occasion will be free, and they do not wish them to be so large as to cause distress to any. A mite thrown into the treasury of the society by every individual in the state, would amount to a large sum, and would enable them to publish the glad tidings of great joy among those who are now sitting in darkness, and in the region of the shadow of death.

Your honours will pardon the so-

ciety for addressing you on this occasion, and requesting this favour at your hands; they can scarcely suppose, however, an apology to be necessary for applying to christian rulers upon a subject which relates so immediately to the honour of the Author and Finisher of our faith. Your honours will be pleased to observe, that the society are not asking a favour for themselves, but are supplicating for those, who now suffer in their interest: they are beseeching your honours to pursue a design, of which our venerable fathers never lost sight, and to do what may be highly acceptable to that being, upon whom the welfare of states and empires essentially depends.

They take the liberty to observe, that the peace and harmony which prevailed in general between the Indians bordering on the northern states of the union, and the citizens thereof, during the late war, may in a good measure be attributed to the exertions of the missionaries who were supported among them; and that perhaps it may not now be an object of less political consequence, to continue and encourage their exertions, as the British are practising every art to induce the Indians to retire from among us, into the more interior parts of the continent, that they may secure to themselves exclusively the benefits of the fur trade, and their alliance in any future rupture.

The society cannot doubt the attention of the honourable court to a subject so important; they hope for a compliance with their request, and as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

In the name and by order of the society,

Francis Dana,  
Edward Wiggleworth,  
Peter Thacher.



*Instructions to the deputies appointed by the citizens of Northumberland county, to attend the conference at Lancaster, on the first Monday in November, 1788, to recommend proper persons to represent the state of Pennsylvania in the lower house of the new congress.*

Gentlemen,

**I**N your attendance at the conference to be held at Lancaster, on

the first Monday in November next, for the purpose of recommending proper persons to represent this state in the new congress, we desire you to pay attention to the following instructions :

Let integrity and decency of character be considered as the first qualification—industry and application to business as the second. No brilliancy of talents, or shew of knowledge, should atone for the want of the above qualities. Thirdly, extensive information, and some degree of practice in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, with a general knowledge of the laws of the land, are necessary. But as it may be objected, that men qualified in all the above respects, cannot easily be found—and that different men adapted to the different interests must be chosen, we recommend something of the following kind :

That two able merchants, who may attend to the interests of commerce, one person remarkably attached to the principles of manufactures, and an eminent law character, with four substantial yeomen, should form our representation in congress.

Although as Pennsylvanians we declare ourselves actuated by one common interest, and abhor every idea of national distinction ; yet as a respectable body of our fellow citizens speak the German language, we are of opinion, that a part of the representation should be qualified to do business in that language : and accordingly recommend this subject as a matter worthy of your attention.

W. MACLAY, chairman.

October 16, 1788.



*A proclamation by the president and supreme executive council of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

AS the best and greatest of beings commanded mankind into existence with a capacity for happiness, bestowing upon them understanding and many "good gifts," so when they, by an abuse of the blessings thus entrusted, had involved themselves in guilt and misery, his compassion was extended towards them, and in "his tender mercies," not only "seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night," were continued unto them, but "the

eternal purposes" were revealed, and the heavenly treasure opened, to restore the human race to the transcendent privilege from which by transgression they were fallen : and in this "marvellous work," the laws of righteousness have been with such infinite wisdom adjusted, and united to the obligations of nature, that while they jointly tend to promote the felicity of men in a future state, they evidently co-operate to advance their welfare in the present : and to offend against the sanctions of revelation, or the dictate of reason and conscience, is assuredly to betray the joys of this life, as well as those of another :

Wherefore, as we are entirely persuaded that just impressions of the Deity are the great supports of morality and as the experience of ages demonstrates, that regularity of manners is essential to the tranquility and prosperity of societies, and the assistance of the Almighty, on which we rely, to establish the inestimable blessings on a afflicted country is contending for cannot be expected without an observance of his holy laws, we esteem it our principal and indispensable duty to endeavour, as much as we can, that a sense of these interesting truths may prevail in the hearts, and appear in the lives of the inhabitants of this state, and therefore have thought proper to issue this proclamation, sincerely desiring that they, seriously meditating on the many, signal, and unmerited benefits of public and private import conferred upon them, the affecting invitations and munificent promises of divine goodness, and "the terror set in array" against the disobedient, may be urged to exert themselves in avoiding, discountenancing, and suppressing all vice, profaneness, and immorality, and feeling a due gratitude, love, and veneration for their most gracious, allwise, and omnipotent Benefactor, Sovereign, and Judge, and a correspondent temper of resignation to the dispensations of his supreme government, may become a people "trusting in him, in whom they live and move ; and doing good :

And to the intent that these desirable ends may be forwarded, all persons are hereby fervently exhorted, to observe the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and thereon constantly to

attend the worship of God, as a service pleasing to him who is "a hearer of prayer," and condescends to "inhabit the praises of his people," and profitable to themselves, a neglect of which duty has, in a multitude of instances, been the beginning of a deviation into the ways of presumption, that at length have led into the deepest distresses and severest sorrows.

And as the education of youth is of so much moment to themselves, and to the commonwealth, which cannot flourish, unless that important point be diligently regarded, the sentiments, dispositions and habits being then generally formed, that pervade the rest of their lives, all parents, guardians, masters, and tutors, are hereby strenuously called upon, to discharge the high trust committed to them, and for which they must account, by a faithful attention, that those under their care may be nurtured in piety, filial reverence, submission to superiors in age or station, modesty, sincerity, benevolence, temperance, industry, consistency of behaviour, and a frugality regulated by an humble reliance on providence, and a kind respect for others; that their inexperienced minds may be, by wholesome instructions, fully convinced; that whatever employment they are designed for, virtue will be a chief promoter of success, and irregularity of conduct the greatest obstacle to it; that the intellectual faculties be aided by moral improvements, but not weakened by illicit courses: and in brief, that religion is the friend of their peace, health, and happiness, and that to displease their Maker, or to trespass against their neighbour, is inevitably to injure themselves.

And we expect and hereby require, that all well disposed persons, and especially those in place of authority, will, by their conversation and demeanor, encourage and promote piety and virtue, and to their utmost contribute to the rendering these qualities truly laudable and honourable, and the contrary practices justly shameful and contemptible, that thus the influence of good men, and the dignity of the laws, may be combined in representing the follies and insolencies of scorners and profligates, in directing the weak and thoughtless, and in preserving them from the pernicious contagion.

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on of evil examples: and for further promoting such reformation, it is hereby enjoined that all magistrates, and others, whom it may concern, be very vigilant and exact in discovering, prosecuting, and punishing all persons, who shall be guilty of profanation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, blasphemy, profane swearing or cursing, drunkenness, lewdness, or other dissolute immoral practices; that they suppress all gaming houses, and other disorderly houses; that they put in execution the act of the general assembly, entitled "an act for the suppression of vice and immorality," and all other laws now in force for the punishing and suppressing any vice, profaneness, or immorality: and for the more effectual proceeding herein, all judges and justices, having cognizance in the premises, are directed to give strict charges at their respective courts and sessions, for the due prosecution and punishment of all who shall presume to offend in any of the kinds aforesaid, and also of all such as, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the laws in execution: and that they do, at their respective courts and sessions, cause this proclamation to be publicly read, immediately before the charge is given: and every minister of the gospel is requested strongly to inculcate in the respective congregations where they officiate, a love of piety and virtue, and an abhorrence of vice; profaneness and immorality.

*Given in council; under the hand of the president, and the seal of the state, at Philadelphia, this twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.*

JOHN DICKINSON.



# PROCLAMATION.

*By his excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, governor and commander in chief of the territory of the united states, north-west of the river Ohio:*

*To all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting.*

**WHEREAS**, by the ordinance of congress, of the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of

the territory of the united states, north-west of the river Ohio, it is directed, that for the due execution of process, civil and criminal, the governor shall make proper divisions of the said territory, and proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out that part of the same, where the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject to future alteration, as therein specified.

Now know ye, that it appearing to me to be necessary, for the purposes abovementioned, that a county should immediately be laid out, I have ordained and ordered, and by these presents do ordain and order, that all and singular the lands lying and being within the following boundaries, *viz.*

Beginning on the bank of the Ohio river, where the western boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses it, and running with that line to lake Erie; thence along the southern shore of the said lake, to the mouth of the Cayahoga river; thence up said river to the portage between it and the Tuscarawa branch of Muskingum; thence down that branch to the Forks at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence with a line to be drawn westerly to the portage on that branch of the Big Miami, on which the fort stood, that was taken by the French in 1752, until it meets the road from the lower Shawanie town to Sandusky; thence south to the Scioto river; thence with that river to the mouth, and thence up the Ohio river to the place of beginning—shall be a county, and the same is hereby erected into a county, named, and hereafter to be called, the county of Washington; and the said county of Washington shall have and enjoy all and singular the jurisdiction, rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatsoever to a county belonging and appertaining, and which any other county that may hereafter be erected and laid out, shall or ought to enjoy, conformably to the ordinance of congress before mentioned.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the territory to be affixed, this 26th day of July, in the thirteenth year of the independence of the united States,

and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

Signed, A. ST. CLAIR.

—♦♦♦♦♦

*A message from the president and supreme executive council, to the general assembly of Pennsylvania.*

Gentlemen,

**WE** are happy in the belief, that the affairs of the state, and the prospects of the union, afford a full foundation to address the legislature in terms of congratulation.

The principal difficulties which obstructed the adoption of the federal constitution have been happily overcome; the prejudice and suspicion that were awakened by the appearance of that system, have been gradually lulled, and we can no longer doubt that all those states, which have been successfully allied to obtain the independence of America, will again united in that best means of giving strength, dignity, and stability to a national character. Nor can it be deemed visionary or unreasonable, to ascribe to the influence of the new government, the liberal attention and encouragement which of late has been bestowed upon domestic arts and manufactures; the spirit of industry and economy that has spread itself through every order of society; and the perfect amity which subsists at this period amongst the inhabitants of the several states.

From the same source that has revived the hope of internal order and happiness, we cannot fail to derive the respect and confidence of foreign nations. For in the great intercourse of independent countries the proper title to reciprocal advantage is the power each enjoys of protecting its own commerce, and the disposition which each evinces to maintain its own credit. Experience has demonstrated the inconveniences of government in which that power does not reside, and has taught us to believe, that a more happy effect will naturally flow from a government differently constituted. And while the sovereignties of Europe are suffering all the calamities of an extensive war, it must yield a laudable satisfaction to every patriotic mind, that we enjoy the probable opportunity of improv-

the great advantages that lie before

Impressed with these sentiments, we are ready to declare, that in every act that can promote the welfare of the union, or the interests of this state, we shall, in the manner most beneficial to the public, most cheerfully exercise that jurisdiction which the constitution has confided to us. And as we shall be solicitous on every occasion to concur in the designs, and to advance the intentions of the legislature, we trust that the harmony of our proceedings will produce an additional confidence in our constituents, and give a proper energy to the administration of public affairs.

Gentlemen,

It may be necessary to make provision by law for the appointment of persons to discharge the duties of sheriffs, in cases of contested elections, in which it may not be expedient for the executive immediately to decide, and which the former sheriffs, who have been in office three years, cannot constitutionally act.

The tax laws should in our opinion be revised; the assessments of the public taxes are in many instances unequal, and their collection generally expensive, uncertain, and dilatory.

The following reservations should, in the opinion of council, be made for the commonwealth, viz. 1. Presque Isle, formed by Lake Erie. 2. Le Boeuf, at the head of the navigation of French Creek; and 3. The lands adjacent to the mouth of the Conango, in the county of Allegheny.

The commissioners, appointed by virtue of the act, entitled, "An act to appropriate the sum of two thousand pounds of the public monies to the laying out and making of an highway from the western parts of Cumberland county to the town of Pittsburgh; and to authorize the president in council to appoint commissioners to lay out the same," have laid out that road, which we have confirmed as far as the town of Bedford. We think a review of that part which lies westward of the town of Bedford absolutely necessary; but as the money appropriated for laying out and completing the said road, is nearly expended, we cannot proceed in the re-

view without the further directions and aid of the legislature.

We suggest to the legislature, the propriety of directing engravings of the boundary lines of this state, and the publication of the reports of the several commissioners who completed those lines.

We have not observed on the printed journals of the late house, that any order hath been taken on the recommendation of congress with respect to convicts imposed into these states from the British dominions, which recommendation was laid before that house by council.

We transmit herewith two letters from the secretary of congress, of the 28th of July, 1785, and 22d of October, 1788, in which council are requested to supply him with thirteen copies of the laws of the commonwealth; this cannot be done, unless a number are printed for the purpose; we also transmit a letter from the same, dated the 7th of November, 1788. enclosing the journals of congress from August the 20th, to the end of the federal year. A letter from the delegates of this state in the congress of the united states, on the subject of a resolution of the general assembly of the 4th of October last, also accompanies this message.

Colonel Febiger's representation on some late attempts to avoid the payment of duties on merchandize sold by auction, is submitted to the general assembly.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, president.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1788.



*Facts concerning the butternut tree of North-America.—From dr. Mitchell's journal.*

THE butternut tree grows luxuriantly in many places, and is sometimes so large as to measure ten feet in circumference. It is a species of juglans, seemingly not noticed by Linnæus, and although mentioned by Cutler (Memoirs of the American academy of arts and sciences, vol. 1. p. 490.) among the valuable indigenous vegetables of the united states, has been passed over, without a narrative of its particular uses and virtues.

The bark affords, by boiling in wa-

ter, an extract that is found, by experience, to possess a purgative quality. This is safe, gentle, and efficacious; and when administered in doses, from fifteen to forty grains, operates downwards without griping. It was much used in the continental army, during the late war, and proved a good substitute for jalap, rhubarb, and other cathartics of foreign production. The country people in several districts, keep it for their families, and prescribe it as a domestic medicine. Some of them have even been profitably busied in preparing the extract for sale to practitioners of physic, apothecaries, and housekeepers, both in this country and abroad.

It is an excellent medicine in those diseases where gentle purging and mild cathartics are proper, and therefore it is said to have been remarkably serviceable in dysenteries, hemorrhoids, gonorrhoeas, and other ailments.

This remedy seems peculiar to North-America; it appears not to be employed in medical practice in Europe; I never knew it prescribed in the infirmaries at London, Paris, or Edinburgh, nor has it been received into any of the pharmacopoeias.

Besides its use in private practice, it is excellently adapted, from its cheapness, to the purposes of hospitals, dispensaries, navies and camps. If then, physicians and surgeons in foreign countries, can be encouraged to prescribe this extract to their patients, they will not only bring into general vogue a useful medicine, but will likewise make it a lucrative article of commerce, for exportation from this quarter of the globe.

It needs scarcely to be mentioned, that the nut of this tree is very rich, esculent, and oily; and that the bark is used for dying cloth with various shades of brown.



*Method of making soap from myrtle-wax. In a letter from Thomas Bee, Esq. to the chairman of the committee of the South Carolina society for promoting and improving agriculture and other rural concerns.*

Dear sir,

AS the following account may be the means of inducing other experiments, and eventually of adding an additional export to the products of

this state, I think it an object worth the attention of your society.

I having heard several conversationalists on the great quantity of soap that had been produced from myrtle wax, curiosity led me to make an experiment in my own family; and procured from a lady who had already tried it—an account of the necessary process, which is as follows:

To three bushels and a half of common wood ashes was added half bushel of unslacked lime; these being well mixed together, were put into cask that could contain about six gallons, which was then filled up with water. In forty-eight hours, the lye was strong enough to bear an egg, was then drawn off, and from six to eight gallons of it put into a copper kettle, capable of containing about twenty five gallons; to this were added only four pounds of common myrtle wax. This was kept boiling over a constant steady fire, from nine o'clock the morning till three in the afternoon. For the first three or four hours a supply of strong lye was added from time to time, until the liquor appeared like soft soap; then weaker lye was poured in occasionally, and the whole frequently well stirred with a ladle. After six hours boiling, two quarts of common large grain salt were thrown into the kettle, which was left one hour more to simmer over a slow fire. The liquor was then put into two large tubs to cool, where it continued twenty four hours; and then the soap was taken out, wiped clean, and put to dry. The next day it was weighed, when the produce appeared to be forty nine pounds two ounces, of good soft soap, from the materials and by the process before mentioned. What the loss of the weight may be, when the soap is thoroughly dry, must be ascertained hereafter; but I have been informed by one who made the trial that at the end of six weeks it was very trifling.



*Thoughts on the culture of the scarcity root.*

*Mepkin, S. C. October 4, 1788,*

ABOUT three months since, I gave the public an account of the progress and state of the Huntingdon [or scarcity] root, then growing upon this plantation,

At that time a drought prevailed, which threatened destruction to the crops of rice and corn in this quarter—the Huntingdon root was not in any respect injured; on the contrary, it rapidly increased in growth, both root and leaves; the quantity of the latter (which were repeatedly gathered for feeding cattle) was amazingly great. Some ten days or a fortnight after that communication was made, we were visited by very heavy falls of rain, which, as the root was situated in a deep valley of meadow land, entirely overflowed it—Some time was required for drawing off the water, but as repeated heavy showers followed, it was impracticable to keep the surface of such soil dry. The leaves faded, and soon failed, and the roots began to rot.

On the 20th September, such of them as appeared to be sound, 841 in number, the remains of upwards of 1600, were drawn out of the ground. Of these 841, many of them, without leaves, weighed from 8 to 10 1-2 lb. each—the rest from 1 to 5 and 6 lb.

Notwithstanding the disaster which this first essay has suffered, owing to improper soil, or rather to a deficiency in proper preparation of the ground, my attempt is not unrewarded—from less than one quarter of an acre, I have obtained upwards of 25000 lb. weight\* of food wholesome for cattle, and not inferior to any of the best kind for the table, nor shall I be discouraged from a farther trial, if I live till February next, but I intend, if I receive seed in due time, to make a winter experiment.

I have learned, that this root, called mangel wurzel and root of scarcity, has been long planted by the Germans in Pennsylvania, from whence probably seed may be procured,

HENRY LAURENS.

*On the culture of pumpions.*

LAST winter a friend in Philadelphia, sent me a few pumpkin or pumpkin seed, of a sort which I had never before seen; these were plant-

ed in April—only five seed vegetated; from the vines of the five I have gathered twenty pumpkins (a great many had rotted). The vines had suffered by drought, but more from being suffocated, by common pumpkin vines, and from calabash, which had grown spontaneously, and were neglected while I was in Charleston in May and June. The twenty pumpkins are all of an uncommonly large size. The four largest measure in circumference and weight, viz,

1—4 feet 4 inch 5-lb.

1—4 — 7 inches 66

1—4 — 11 ——— 68

1—5 — 4 ——— 75

Cows eat these in preference to our common pumpkin. Seed may be procured from Pennsylvania. 11. L.

*On the culture of Guinea-grass.*

IN the late spring, through the goodness of my friend col. Motte, I procured from Jamaica three half pints of Guinea-grass-seed, which I planted in the drills on one fourth of an acre of very indifferent land; the seed sprang and soon covered the ground with grass four feet high and upwards; being desirous of saving as much seed as possible, I cut but one bundle of grass for horses. They eat it all with great avidity.

In August, I took one of the grass roots and divided it into twenty-eight parts, which were immediately replanted; every part took root, and the whole are now growing very finely and feeding. I am of opinion this grass will make the best pastures we can wish for, in the lower parts of the state, particularly that it would be a vast improvement to the lands on Charleston neck, and prove very beneficial to the city. From former experience, I have reason to believe the Guinea grass is perennial—it is easily managed, requires but one good hoeing, after which it will take care of itself.

I am informed, a gentleman, near Kingston, in Jamaica, makes upwards of 1000l. sterl. per annum\* by Guinea grass hay, H. L.

*A cheap and very good green paint.*

BOIL equal quantities of blue vitriol and washed whiting in a sufficient or large quantity of water for several hours over a gentle fire, until the

NOTE.

\*One fourth of an acre of corn in the lower country of this state to produce 10 bushels, is a very great crop—10 bushels of good corn will weigh about 530 lb.

boiling assumes a beautiful pale green—then carefully pour off the water.

The mixture put upon good brown or whited brown paper in a bask-  
et, the remains of water will strain out,  
and the mixture form into a hard cake.

For inside work common gum  
water will serve to mix it—for out-  
side, linseed or train oil.

My first attempt was 6lb. of each  
ingredient put into six gallons of wa-  
ter, boiled slowly, but constantly,  
ten hours.

Afterwards I made up 20lb. of each  
ingredient.

The paint recommended by the  
Bath agricultural society, vol. 2d.  
page 114, made of train oil, rosin  
and brimstone, and coloured by white  
lead, Spanish brown or yellow oker,  
is very cheap, and I believe very  
good. I have had three considerable  
out-houses painted with it at a trifling  
expence. If the first coat is laid on  
with a mixture of white lead, though  
a little more expensive, and the se-  
cond coat a mixture of Spanish brown,  
it produces a very pretty colour, feels  
and looks like varnish.

It is said this paint “will make  
timber and boards endure for ages,  
and prevent rain from penetrating  
brick work.” H. L.



### *Remarks on the culture of Burnet grass.*

**I**T is well known to gentlemen,  
who are but a little conversant with  
agricultural writers, that there are seve-  
ral sorts of grasses, which have been  
cultivated in Europe of late years, to  
the great profit of the farmer, which  
have not yet prevailed in this coun-  
try. We have generally confined our  
attention to clover and fox-tail, or  
herd's grass. These are good, but  
unfortunately for the farmer, they are  
apt to run out in a year or two, and  
to be succeeded with a natural grass,  
of small value. Saintfoin and lu-  
cerne grass are much preferred in Eu-  
rope to these, and when properly cul-  
tivated, have yielded prodigious  
crops, and will continue in the ground  
for many years. M. Duhamel, a ce-  
lebrated writer of France, mentions  
ten thousand pounds, or about four  
tons and a half of dried hay, from a  
jece of saintfoin, a little more than

three quarters of an acre. M. de Cha-  
teauvieux, equally illustrious as a hus-  
bandman, and for holding the first of-  
fice in the government of Geneva,  
tells us in his writings, that he cut a  
piece of lucerne of about an acre, five  
times in a year, and had fifteen thou-  
sand three hundred pounds of hay. I  
have been informed by a gentleman  
who was on the spot, that he saw lu-  
cerne cultivated some years since in  
the garden of colonel Chandler, junr.  
of Worceller, which was two feet and  
upwards high, and grew so as to pro-  
duce three crops in the same year.  
Both of these grasses have been sown  
by several gentlemen the last year, and  
appear with a very promising aspect.  
The approaching season will give them  
an opportunity to acquaint the pub-  
lic with the result of their experi-  
ments. I saw some lucerne in my  
neighbourhood the last season, which  
grew knee high within a short space  
after it was sown. This grass will come  
to perfection the first year, if it is  
sown alone, as was the specimen which  
I saw.

But there is another species of grass,  
much celebrated in England for its  
peculiar excellencies, which appears  
worthy the attention of those gentle-  
men, who, to their honour, are now  
making experiments for the promoti-  
on of the agriculture of their country.  
I mean burnet-grass. It has great  
recommendations in that first per-  
formance of the kind, the Complete  
Farmer, published by a society of gen-  
tlemen, members of the society for the  
encouragement of arts, &c. in Lon-  
don. For the information of those  
who possess not this inestimable dicti-  
onary of husbandry, a volume incom-  
parably better adapted to our soil and  
climate (because containing the es-  
sence of the best experiments of a great  
variety of soils and climates) than the  
low productions of Varro, long since  
the object of public ridicule in Eng-  
land, I shall take the trouble of pre-  
senting some extracts relative to this  
article.

A plant, say these gentlemen, which  
will not only live through the winter,  
but will also, if possible, vegetate in that  
season, cannot fail being highly ad-  
vantagous, provided it be at the  
same time a pleasing and nourishing  
food for cattle. All these proper-



erties have been lately found in burnet. It not only preserves its verdure during the hardest frosts of our winters, but also increases in bulk, and grows, if the weather be at all open and mild; and is now known to be an excellent food for cattle. Mr. Rocque, the discoverer, has found by experience that it will grow in the richest land: for he has planted some of it in the gravel walks of his garden, where every thing else is burnt up in the summer, but this never withers; one of the qualities of burnet being to continue in sap all the year. It is the opinion of many, who have seen the burnet of his raising, that if this plant generally cultivated, there will never be a scarcity of hay, even in the greatest drought.

The land on which it is sown, should be fine, because it is apt to sicken, and should afterwards be dried perfectly. Burnet does not lose its leaves in drying; and though the hay made of it is sticky, it will, after threshing, be very agreeable to horses, which are so fond of it, that they never waste a bay. One acre will produce upwards of three loads of hay, and above forty bushels of seed. Horses are fonder of his seed than they are of oats. Burnet bears seed twice a year, and will assuredly yield a good spring crop. It is not only good for horses, but for all manner of cattle, even for swine.

The burnet sown in May may be mown at the latter end of July. That sown in June will yield a pretty good crop, and must be cut but once; and the same of that which is sown in July. The plants produced by seeds sown in August, should be mowed, to destroy the weeds. These mowings may be given green to horses, or made into hay. The first spring cutting will serve horses; and Mr. Rocque believes, it will also cure the grease: but it is only the first crop that purges. Burnet should be mown but once the first year, in order to leave it rank in winter; and in this case it will be ready to seed or mow very early in the spring.

When the seed of this plant are to be saved, it must neither be fed or mowed, in the spring. The seed will be ripe about the middle of June, when it must be reaped like wheat, and threshed on a cloth. It should be

threshed before it is too dry, because it is apt to sick, and it afterwards should be perfectly dried.

A Davis Lamb, esquire, writes, that after feeding a piece of burnet of seven and an half acres in the spring, with ewes, lambs and calves, obtaining in the following July from the same, two hundred bushels of very fine clean seed, as many sacks of chaff, and seven loads of hay, he was desirous of knowing what it would perform as a pasture. Accordingly in about ten or twelve days after the field was cleared, I turned into it seven cows, two calves, and two horses. They all thrived very remarkably, and the cows gave more, and we thought a richer milk than in any other pasture. The weather was now exceedingly drouthy, and all our pastures were burnt up, yet the burnet flourished, and grew away, as if it had a shower every week. My flock of cows, horses and calves abovementioned, pastured in it almost continually until about the latter end of September. By the middle of November it had grown so considerably, that I have again turned in six head of cattle, and if the weather is not severe, I am of opinion, it will maintain them until Christmas.

"Burnet," he observes, "will bear pasturing with sheep. It makes good butter. It never blows or hoves cattle. It will flourish upon poor, light, sandy, stony, shaltery, or chalky land. After the first year, it will weed itself, and be kept clean at little or no expence."

A Christopher Baldwin, esquire, said to be a "gentleman well known, and justly respected for his candour and fidelity," made several experiments upon burnet, and found it a most useful and excellent grass: four acres of this grass in a summer of uncommon drought, grew well, and the verdure of it was, as he observes, really very beautiful. He had a very good crop, tho' there was but one shower from the time of putting it into the ground, to the time of cutting it."

He turned his horses and cows in to it after it was cut. The cows eat it greedily. The horses were not fond of it until two or three days, when they fed well upon it. The quantity of the cows' milk was very much

increased in about four or five days, but the flavour of the cream superior to any he had ever tasted. He found the horses were in general exceedingly fond of the hay, though some, affected perhaps with the novelty of it, did not appear so fond of it.

This gentleman mentions, that he was so well pleased with the success of his first experiments, that he sowed another field of twelve acres with a hundred and sixty pounds of burnet. As an experiment, he mentions that he took four cows from a very good field of natural grass, which gave very little milk. These cows, says he, had not been in the burnet above six days before they gave much more than double the quantity of milk; nay, was I to say three times the quantity, I know that I should not exceed the truth. His land was a poor dry upland gravel. "There are millions of acres, says he, in this kingdom, of better land, that do not fetch above two shillings and six-pence an acre rent."

The proper quantity of seed for an acre, is about twelve or thirteen pounds.

From the recommendations and peculiar qualities of this grass, I have been induced to send to Europe for a quantity of seed, of which I mean to make a trial this season.

Wishing success to all connoisseurs in the noble art of husbandry,

I am the public's

very humble servant,

A G R I C O L A.

Boston, 1786.



*Thoughts on deism. Ascribed to his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of New Jersey.*

*Read and revere the sacred page—  
a page*

*Where triumphs immortality: a page  
Which not the whole creation could  
produce.*

*Which not the conflagration shall destroy;*

*'Tis printed in the minds of Gods forever;*

*In nature's ruins not one letter lost.*

*Dr. Young's night thoughts.*

**D**ID you ever see a man, courteous reader, arrogating to himself the title of philosopher and of a profound thinker, who could not even give a definition of philosophy, nor e-

ver had a serious thought in his life? a man, who, with little wit, and much self-conceit, was constantly retailing scraps and shreds from Toland and Tindal, and glorying in the wretched sophistry of those superficial reasoners against the authenticity of the sacred scriptures, but who had never so much as looked into Lehand, a celebrated and philosophical divine, who had so lightly confuted them both?

Have you ever seen a man, who ridiculed all faith and all mystery, and expected to obtain eternal felicity by practising the morality dictated by the light of nature, acknowledging at the same time his belief of the greatest absurdities in the world; and practising no more morality than a horse? a man pretending to the acutest penetration and judgment—and yet not knowing how to doubt where he ought—to rest assured where he ought—and to submit where he ought?

Did you ever see a man who insisted that the bare light of nature was sufficient (and revelation consequently unnecessary) to conduct us at present in the path of duty, and everlasting happiness hereafter; and in the same breath confessing, that, notwithstanding this light, (luminous and brilliant as he made it) a very great part of the world, that has no other guide is this moment involved in pagan superstition, and the gross idolatry?

Did you ever see a man who denied the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, though proved by a cloud of witnesses, who sealed their testimony with their blood: and yet affecting to believe the fabulous wonders of Apollonius of Tyana, upon the credit of Philostratus, who has written a silly romance about that astrologer, which was never believed by any, save by those who believe every thing but what is true?

Did you ever see a man who resolved all the moral attributes of the Deity into that of mercy: and this mercy into connivance at sin, and the virtual abolition of all his laws? a man who flattered himself that the precepts, the morality, and the history of our holy religion—the wonderful and unparalleled life and death of its author—the wisdom and sanctity of its injunctions—the authority and sublimity of the sacred writings—the

Simony of ocular witnesses—the blood of so many martyrs—the accomplishment of so many prophecies—the refutation of so many miracles—the addition of so many ages—the conversion of so great a part of the world to a religion renouncing the world, and propagated not only without, but against, external force—the perpetuity of the faith through a perpetuity of the most bloody persecutions—the invincible foundation of the church—and all other proofs, in support of christianity, are answered and confuted, or rather totally annihilated, by the unphilosophical philosophy of a Voltaire, or a Rousseau?

Did you ever see a man who had the assurance to tell you, that our belief in the divine origin of the scriptures is wholly to be ascribed to the force of education, and the early impressions of the priest and the nurse; that all men of unfettered, uninfluenced sentiments, all philosophers and reasoners, have ever esteemed revelation as imposture; and this man at the same time confessing that sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Locke, and Lord Bacon, and sir Robert Boyle, and Grotius, and Boerhaave, and Littleton, and West, and Pascal, and Penn, and Barclay, and Phipps, were all christians, after the most impartial scrutiny, and the most assiduous investigation of the evidences by which revelation is supported?

Did you ever see a man who denied the possibility of miracles, and yet demanding a constant series and uninterrupted succession of them, to prove a divine mission? A man who reproached religion with all the horrors of persecution, and the fanaticism of the most sanguinary zealots, and at the same time acknowledging that these excesses were the violent abuses of christianity; and directly repugnant to the peaceable spirit of the gospel, and the notorious prohibitions of its illustrious founder?

Did you ever see a man unable by the light of reason to reconcile the semities in the natural, and the disorders in the moral world, with the idea of an all-wise and all-good, Governor of the universe—some regions, for instance, almost deprived of the

heat of the sun—others scorched by its insupportable splendor—winds, tempests, and earthquakes, volcanoes and inundations threatening universal destruction—the ocean overflowing the greatest part of the globe—and an immense quantity of its *terra firma* covered with rocks and mountains and deserts of sand, incapable of cultivation—nor apparently formed for the sustenance of man or beast—and this same man able, by revelation, to reconcile all this; and yet scorning by revelation to do it?

Respecting the moral world—have you ever seen a man unable to account, by the light of reason, how a Being infinitely good and infinitely powerful, should permit sin (which from the purity of his nature he most abhor, and by his own omnipotence can certainly prevent) not only to enter into the world, but to be more prevalent in it than virtue—why he should suffer injustice and tyranny to reign uncontrolled; oppression and violence to be successful and triumph over prostrate virtue and innocence; humility to be confounded; and piety to wander in penury and rags—and able, by revelation, to account for all this, and yet scorning by revelation to solve those, otherwise inexplicable, difficulties!

Did you ever see a man, who unable by the light of reason to account for the composition of his own species, as at the same time material and thinking beings, while it is confessedly of the essence of matter to be incompatible with thought, equally unable to account for the double nature in man—his general propensity to vice, and his insuperable veneration for virtue—his *video meliora, proboque*, and his *deteriora sequor*—his unconquerable moral depravity, and the remaining splendid fragments of his primeval lustre; and able by revelation to account for all this; and yet scorning by revelation to do it?

Have you ever seen a man, who, unable to prove, by the light of reason, the immortality of the soul; or that, from the intimate union between the operations of the soul and those of the body, the latter ceasing, the former will not terminate;—and able, by revelation, which hath brought immortality to light, to prove his eternal ad-

ration : and yet scorning by revelation to prove it ?

Did you ever see a man, who, unable by the light of reason to account for his own hopes of immortal happiness, from the absolute impossibility of reconciling, by the help of that light, the immutable justice of the supreme Legislator, with the impunity of the transgressors of his laws (for as to the idea of the attribute of mercy, it is indubitably borrowed from revelation ; and in the hands of those reasoners, most miserably perverted, and who by revelation, could account for it ; and yet scorning thus to solve this, otherwise insensible, enigma ?

Have you ever seen such a man, sir ? why then you have seen a—block-head.

Let all the heathen writers join  
To form one perfect book,  
Great GOD, if once compar'd  
with thine,

How mean their writings look ?  
Not the most perfect rules they gave  
Could shew one sin forgiv'n ;  
Nor lead a step beyond the grave,  
But thine conduct to heav'n.

Dr. Watts's version of the psalms.  
HORTENSIVS.



*Plan of a federal university.—Ascribed to dr. Russ.*

“YOUR government cannot be executed. It is too extensive for a republic. It is contrary to the habits of the people,” say the enemies of the constitution of the united states.—However opposite to the opinions and wishes of a majority of the citizens of the united states these declarations and predictions may be, the latter will certainly be verified, unless the people are prepared for our new form of government by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our country. To effect this great and necessary work, let one of the first acts of the new congress be, to establish within the district to be allotted for them, a federal university, into which the youth of the united states shall be received, after they have finished their studies, and taken their degrees in the colleges of their respective states. In this university, let those branches of literature only be taught, which are cal-

culated to prepare our youth for civil and public life. These branches should be taught by means of lectures and the following arts and sciences should be the subjects of them.

1. The principles and forms of government, applied in a particular manner to the explanation of every part of the constitution and laws of the united states, together with the laws of nature and nations, which last should include every thing that relates to peace, war, treaties, and ambassadors, and the like.

2. History, both ancient and modern, and chronology.

3. Agriculture, in all its numerous and extensive branches.

4. The principles and practice of manufactures.

5. The history, principles, objects and channels of commerce.

6. Those parts of mathematics which are necessary to the division of property, to finance, and to the principles and practice of war : for there is too much reason to fear that we will continue, for some time to come to be the unchristian mode of deciding disputes between christian nations.

7. Those parts of natural philosophy and chemistry, which admit of an application to agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and war.

8. Natural history, which includes the history of animals, vegetables, and fossils. To render instruction in the branches of science easy, it will be necessary to establish a museum, also a garden, in which not only the shrubs, &c. but all the forest trees of the united states, should be cultivated. The great Linnaeus of Upsal enlarged the commerce of Sweden, by his discoveries in natural history. He once saved the Swedish navy by finding out the time in which a worm lays its eggs, and recommending the immersion of the timber, of which the ships were [to be] built, at that season wholly under water. So great were the services this illustrious naturalist rendered his country, by the application of his knowledge to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that the present king of Sweden pronounced an eulogium upon him, from the throne, soon after his death.

9. Philology, which should include rhetoric and criticism, lectures upon

construction and pronunciation of the English language. Instruction in this branch of literature will become more necessary in America, as intercourse must soon cease with the bar, the stage, and the pulpits of Great-Britain, from whence we received our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of style in the united states. The present is the age of simplicity of writing in America. The rigid style of Johnson—the purple diction of Gibbon—and even the studied and thick set metaphors of Junius, are all equally unnatural, and should not be admitted into our country. The cultivation and perfection of our language becomes a matter of consequence, when viewed in another light, will probably be spoken by more people, in the course of two or three centuries, than ever spoke any one language, at one time, since the creation of the world. When we consider the influence, which the prevalence of only two languages, viz. the English and the Spanish, in the extensive regions of North and South-America, will have upon manners, commerce, knowledge, and civilization, scenes of human happiness, and every open before us, which elude, from their magnitude, the utmost grasp of the human understanding.

10. The German and French languages should be taught in this university. The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvements of all kinds, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the united states.

11. All those athletic and manly exercises should likewise be taught in the university, which are calculated to impart health, strength, and elegance to the human body.

To render the instruction of our youth easy and as extensive as possible, in several of the above mentioned branches of literature, let four young men of good education and active minds be sent abroad at the public expence, to collect and transmit to the professors of the said branches, all the improvements

that are daily made in Europe, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and in the art of war and practical government. This measure is rendered the more necessary from the distance of the united states from Europe, by which means the rays of knowledge strike the united states so partially, that they can be brought to a useful focus, only by employing suitable persons to collect and transmit them to our country. It is in this manner that the northern nations of Europe have imported so much knowledge from their southern neighbours, that the history of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, revenues, and military arts of one of these nations, will soon be alike applicable to all of them.

Besides sending four young men abroad to collect and transmit knowledge for the benefit of our country, two young men of suitable capacities should be employed at the public expence, in exploring the vegetable, mineral, and animal productions of our country, in procuring histories and samples of each of them, and in transmitting them to the professor of natural history. It is in consequence of the discoveries made by young gentlemen employed for these purposes, that Sweden, Denmark and Russia have extended their manufactures and commerce, so as to rival, in both, the oldest nations in Europe.

Let the congress allow a liberal salary to the principal of this university. Let it be his business to govern the students, and to inspire them by his conversation, and by occasional public discourses, with federal and patriotic sentiments. Let this principal be a man of extensive education, liberal manners, and dignified deportment.

Let the professors of each of the branches that have been mentioned, have a moderate salary of 150*l.* or 200*l.* a year, and let them depend upon the number of their pupils to supply the deficiency of their maintenance from their salaries. Let each pupil pay for each course of lectures two or three guineas.

Let the degrees conferred in this university, receive a new name, that shall designate the design of an education for civil and public life.

In thirty years after this university

is established, let an act of congress be passed, to prevent any person being chosen or appointed into power or office, who has not taken a degree in the federal university. We require certain qualifications in lawyers, physicians, and clergymen, before we commit our property, our lives, or our souls to their care. We even refuse to commit the charge of a ship to a pilot, who cannot produce a certificate of his education and knowledge in his business. Why then should we commit our country, which includes liberty, property, life, wives, and children, to men who cannot produce vouchers of their qualifications for the important trust? We are restrained from injuring ourselves, by employing quacks in law; why should we not be restrained in like manner, by law, from employing quacks in government?

Should this plan of a federal university, or one like it, be adopted, then will begin the golden age of the united states. While the business of education in Europe consists in lectures upon the ruins of Palmyra, and the antiquities of Herculaneum, or in disputes about Hebrew points, Greek particles, or the accent and quantity of the Roman language, the youth of America will be employed in acquiring those branches of knowledge, which increase the conveniences of life, lessen human misery, improve our country, promote population, exalt the human understanding, and establish domestic, social, and political happiness.

Let it not be said, "that this is not the time for such a literary and political establishment. Let us first restore public credit, by funding or paying our debts, let us regulate our militia, let us build a navy, and let us protect and extend our commerce. After this we shall have leisure and money to establish a university for the purposes that have been mentioned." This is false reasoning. We shall never restore public credit, regulate our militia, build a navy, or extend our commerce, until we remove the ignorance and prejudices, and change the habits of our citizens: and this can never be done, till we inspire them with federal principles, which can only be effected by our young men meeting and spending two or three years together in a national

university, and afterwards diffusing their knowledge and principles through every county, town, and village of the united states. 'Till this is done—senators and representatives of the united states, you will undertake to make bricks without straw. Your supposed union in congress, will be a rope of sand. The inhabitants of Massachusetts began the business of government by establishing the university of Cambridge, and the wise kings in Europe have always found their literary institutions the sure means of establishing their power, as well as of promoting the prosperity of their people.

These hints for establishing the constitution and happiness of the united states upon a permanent foundation are submitted to the friends of the federal government in each of the states by a private

*Citizen of Pennsylvania.*



*Observations on capital punishments  
being a reply to an essay on the same  
subject, published in the American  
Museum for July, 1788, page 78.*

*To the printer of the American Museum.*

I Send you some strictures on a small performance lately published in the Museum, in which the author under the specious and popular pretence of humanity, endeavours to shew that it is altogether unreasonable and antisciptural, to punish any crime even malicious and wilful murder, with death. The author of this opinion has not concealed himself, and, in his own judgment, had no reason to do so. He glories in the sentiment, and expects, that within a century hence all mankind will be of the same opinion with him, and wishes that his performance may live so long, to testify to these humane people, who are to come into future existence, that there was at least one man in the year 1788 who was as enlightened and humane as they will be. He further hopes that the history of our wheelbarrow whipping-posts, and executions for murder, will appear as cruel, inhuman, and unreasonable to posterity as the cruelties of the darkest ages past now appear to us. He is a gentle man possessed of many amiable quali-

ties, for which I and others honour him; and I will not pronounce him a sceptic or focinian: but there is reason to think he has been trifling and sporting with their writings, and, either from their books or conversation, has, in some unlucky and unguarded moment, imbibed some of their principles, without seeing the connexion of these, with others which, I am persuaded, he would abhor.

It merits our attention, that this author hath displayed not only against punishing murder by death: he has also published a piece against all public punishments, such as labour on the highways and streets; and declares it as his fixed opinion, that all such punishments should be inflicted in some solitary desert; and yet, (how consistently let all men judge) he affirms, that the sole design of punishment, is reformation. I suppose he means the reformation of the offenders only, who are in the hands of justice: but it is clear, that the end of punishment is much more expanded. It is intended to be a warning to all, to be a terror to all evil doers, even those who are not yet in the hands of justice, that they also may reform, and indeed to strike a becoming reverence of the laws, into the minds of all: to give majesty, energy, and force to government, in order to prevent the perpetration of crimes. But how shall this important end be gained on his plan? How will men be alarmed and warned, if the penalty of the law be executed only in solitude? he replies, the community at large will hear of it, and says, that hell-torments are invisible to us, and yet produce terror on the minds of men, and even alleges that the report produces a greater effect than the sight would; that is, men are more afraid of hell-torments, by only hearing the report of them, than they would be by actually beholding them. I apprehend few men, in their senses, will believe this. I am certain, I have never been half so much alarmed and affrighted, by all the reports I have read or heard, about persons in an agony of horror and despair, as I have been by the sight of such a one. And by a parity of reason, says he, it will produce greater terror to hear of a man being chained to the wheel-barrow, whipped, or hanged,

than to see it. I believe this to be contrary to the experience of all men. I have heard several persons declare, that they have been so affected and moved, at the sight of public executions, that they would never go to see another: and indeed to hear of them, is sufficient for thoughtful virtuous persons: but by no means for men hardened in wickedness. Society is in little danger from the first class; and in great hazard from the last. But, as I said, it is the glory of scepticism, to attack the plainest principles of common sense, and overturn or render doubtful the most certain facts. Besides it may be remarked, that on his plan, very few would even hear of the punishment; it might be published in the newspapers, once or oftener: but few comparatively read them. The novelty of the thing might call up the attention of some, for a few moments: but it is a proverbial saying, founded in truth and experience, "out of sight—out of mind." In short, I can see no method, that will be successful to give any degree of efficacy to punishment on his plan, or render his similitude of hell-torments, in any respect, to his purpose, unless he can provide a number of orators, daily to traverse the country, and declaim on the terrors of the wheel-barrow, the whipping-post, &c. within the precincts of the solitary mountain, where he proposes to fix his punishment. The impost, I fancy, understood him in nature as well as he or I. He says, "them that sin, rebuke before all, that others may fear;" apply the rule to civil government, and it is, "them that commit crimes, punish before all, that others may fear."

I will now proceed to consider the point in question between him and me, viz. whether it be inhuman, unjust, and contrary to scripture and reason, for civil communities to annex the penalty of death to their laws against wilful and malicious murder, and for magistrates inflexibly to execute it? He says it is so. I on the contrary, affirm, that it is most just, scriptural, reasonable, and necessary; and instead of being inhuman, is really the means of divine appointment to support humanity: and have no doubt but that, with candid men, I shall incontrovertibly establish the point. My arguments

shall be drawn from scripture, from reason, from providence, and the universal consent of mankind, and the consent of the murderers themselves, when in their right minds. After attempting to establish the position by argument, it will be proper to shew the weakness and inconclusiveness of our author's reasoning.

It is customary with the Socinian sceptics, to undervalue the Old Testament, as not applicable to the present dispensation; and to consider the New Testament as their only rule: and happy would it be, did they even allow it the efficacy of a rule. But their conduct in this is very absurd and inconsistent. The apostle evidently spake of the Old Testament, when he said to Timothy, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are sufficient to make the man of God perfect, fully furnished to all good works. All scripture is given by divine inspiration, and is profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." The reason is obvious and cogent: the New Testament was not composed when Timothy was a child. Any person who understands the bible, but with a moderate degree of perspicuity and accuracy, will readily see, that the Old Testament and New are constituent parts of one whole; pillars of the same arch, which cannot stand without one part bearing on and supporting the other. There is an unity of design throughout the whole. That there are several things in the Old Testament typical and prefigurative of the Messiah, is granted. But were the immutable laws of justice and equity typical? Surely not. Our author discovers much weakness in saying, "May not the punishment of death, inflicted on murderers by the Mosaic law, be intended to represent the demerit and consequence of sin?" What occasion, what necessity for such a type, when men were dying daily, and some with as great agony as a violent death could create, some by earthquakes, a stroke of lightning, or by other accidents? If none had died, except by legal executions, until Christ came in the flesh, there would be some shadow of reason in what he says. But what necessity of a type of death, when

death, the demerit of sin, was continually present before their eyes? This is to sport with the divine word, it is mere travelling.

The first proof of our point, which I shall mention, is the decree of heaven announced to Noah. Genes. 9, 5, 6. "And surely the blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man." But how? It follows: "who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man." Our author cannot say, that this is a Mosaic, a ceremonial, and typical institution. It was given long before the days of Moses. He cannot say, that God alone has the right to dispose of human life by an immediate stroke of his own hand, and that courts of justice, by punishing murder with death, invade God's prerogative, because here he commits this work, as a sacred trust, into the hands of such courts. He says "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man." But how? By his own immediate interposition? No, this would be a miracle, and out of the ordinary course of nature. The supreme being governs the world by divine institutions, laws, and ordinances, and by appointing magistrates as his ministers to execute them. Therefore it follows, "who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But this author tells us, that the rev. Mr. Turner alleges, this is only a prediction of what should generally happen. I could almost warrant it, that this same Mr. Turner is a Socinian sceptic. But I ask, does the text bear any such appearance? Let any one read both the fifth and sixth verses, and determine. It carries with it all the authority and majesty of a statute, of a divine ordinance, never to be repealed. But supposing what Mr. Turner alleges were true, is the prediction given forth with any signature or token of disapprobation? This is always the case when any thing sinful or immoral is predicted, as when it is said, "He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity. He that taketh the sword, shall perish by the



sword." The difference between the modes of expiellion is very manifest. The ordinance given to Noah is majestic, authoritative, and mandatory. The other sentences are general, and carry the very air of a prediction. But I affirm, were it only a prediction, it is a prediction with an infallible mark of divine approbation stamped on it, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Why so? For what reason? "For in the image of God made he man." If, according to our author, it had been only a prediction, accompanied with the disapprobation of heaven, the reason would have been very different. It would have been, for man is, or will be a savage, a monster of cruelty and injustice, so cruel and sanguinary, as to put to death that harmless animal who murders his brother.

Our author himself is in doubt about Mr. Turner's explication, and attempts another, viz. mankind at the time this command was given, were in the first stage of society, or in the savage state. But what becomes now of his argument drawn from the procedure of the Almighty with Cain who slew his brother Abel? He infers from this, that as the Almighty did not put Cain to death by his own hand, therefore civil society should also let murderers go free, or at least not put them to death. I shall have occasion afterwards to examine this his argument from Cain's case. Mean time, let me put him in mind, that surely the world was younger, and society more immature, in Cain's time, than in Noah's; and therefore, by his rule of reasoning, in a more savage state. And I will leave it to all men of sense and honesty, whose judgments are not warped by some favourite and false hypothesis, to decide, if they were to land on some unknown continent, where different nations resided; and observed, that in one nation, deliberate and malicious murder was never punished by death, but with some slight punishment, such as confinement, labour, or a commutation of a pecuniary nature; in another it never failed of meeting with condign punishment, or blood for blood; which of the two nations would they deem the most savage? I am certain

common sense would consider the first as most barbarous, and the most remote from civilization, justice and equity.

In the book of Numbers, chap. 35, 16—19, we have the policy of the Jewish state on this head set before us. Jehovah resumes the statute given to Noah, incorporates it with the body of the national laws, and establishes it by his divine authority in the most solemn manner. Ten times, within the compass of a few verses, it is repeated, "The murderer shall surely be put to death, and thou shalt take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer." The reason is given, and a weighty one it is, "So ye shall not pollute the land with blood; for blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." Mr. Turner may, if he please, call this only a prediction of what should happen, not what ought to take place; but I think few will believe him. And if our author should call it a typical and ceremonial precept, I think as few will believe him. It would be too tedious to mention all the passages in which the original institution given to Noah is recognized and approved. I shall only notice one or two more taken from the Old Testament. Proverbs 28, 17. "A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person, shall flee to the pit, none shall stay him." Ezekiel 18, 10—13. "If a man beget a son that is a robber, and a shedder of blood, the son shall not live, he shall surely die, his blood shall be upon him."

Let us now cast our eye to the new testament. But before I proceed to this, it is necessary to remark, that Jesus Christ did not act as a civil legislator. He did not appear as an earthly prince, or to set up a temporal kingdom in this world. His kingdom is spiritual, and consists in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. He refused to be made an earthly king. He prescribed no modes of national and civil government, gave no political laws to civil society, did not intermeddle with the police or governments of states; this was altogether foreign to the design of his mission. He gave laws to his church, his own kingdom, which is redeemed by

his blood, called and sanctified by his spirit. And it is clear, that ecclesiastical laws have no temporal penalties annexed to them. "It has been said, (says this divine legislator) an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth : but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil. But whosoever shall smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also," &c. *Matth.* 5, 38—39. All this is right and proper in the church, and were a member of Christ's church to commit even murder, and were he by some means or other, either not to be noticed by the state—or, when tried, on account of the want of evidence, or some other cause, acquitted in a civil court, it would be wrong in the church to put him to death, even though he should confess the crime or scandal before the church. Yea, on his giving proper evidence of repentance, the church would not, and could not, according to the laws of Christ, cast him out of her communion ; and I doubt not, but some, who are justly executed by the state, may die in full communion with the church, and go to heaven. The church can ask no more than sufficient signs of repentance, or tokens of the person's reconciliation to God. There is nothing punitive or vindictive in her censures. She knows nothing of civil pains or penalties. Church discipline is called in scripture a bewailing or lamenting over the offender. But how will this apply to civil policy, or the government of temporal kingdoms ? it is absurd thus to blend ecclesiastical discipline with civil policy, or to confound the spiritual kingdom of Christ with the kingdoms of this world, and the laws of the one kingdom with the laws of the others. After making this remark, it is sufficient to ask, does Christ any where condemn the laws of civil society which put murderers to death ? does he annul or repeal them ? does he thus intermeddle with the governments of men, or give the least hint that such a law in civil society is cruel and unjust ? it is certain, that the political system of Moses put the murderer to death ; does Christ annul or repeal it ? No, he declares, he came not to destroy the law. All the rant and noise, then, about its being contrary to the spirit of christianity, must go for nothing, ex-

cept to prove the injudiciousness of its authors. It is contrary to the spirit of christianity, to commit murder : but perfectly agreeable to it, to put the murderer to death. For Jesus Christ evidently recognizes and approves the original statute given to Noah.—This he does, *Matth.* 22, 6, "And the remnant took his servants, and slew them : and when the king heard thereof, he was wroth, and sent forth his armies and destroyed these murderers." It is in vain to say, that this is a parable, and that the king represents the Almighty himself ; for I may be asked, in what do kings and magistrates represent God ? Doubtless in having the power of executing the laws, wielding the sword of justice, and punishing the wicked. They are God's vicegerents, his ministers and revengers, to execute wrath on him that doeth evil. "By me," says God, "kings reign, and princes decree justice." And it is manifest that Christ speaks of the king's conduct as proper and just, and the destruction of the murderers as altogether righteous. The apostle Paul, in his speech before Festus, the Roman governor, recognizes, and approves it. *Acts* 25, 11 "If I be an offender," says he, "or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." But according to our author, Paul was a fool a savage ; for none of the sons of Adam can commit a crime worthy of death by the hands of men ; and therefore if Paul had committed even the barbarous crime of murder, he ought to have refused to die. But O ! how wise does the humanity of sceptics and socinians make them !

The same is evident from *Rom.* 13 "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers ; for there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordained of God. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same ; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid for he beareth not the sword in vain for he is a minister of God, a revenge to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." The sword is an instrument of death ; it is, by a figure well known in rhetoric, put for the execution of the sentence of death. Now, says Paul

he magistrate is ordained of God, he bears the sword, and bears it not in vain. He has the power of executing death on the transgressors of the law. He is a revenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil, and surely if any crime can deserve death, murder deserves it. I shall not add any more proofs from God's word : but will only say, heaven forbid ! that ever this gentleman's humanity should take place and prevail in our land, for, according to the scriptures, it would defile the land with blood.

It is delightful to observe the coincidence of reason with the doctrine of revelation on this subject.

1. Civil government is certainly moral government, and by it God carries on his moral government of the world. The moral sense, or the indelible impression on the human heart, of right and wrong, of the immutable principles of justice and equity, is just the authoritative voice of God in the soul. It is the divine law ruling in the heart, and wherever the divine law rules, we may safely say, there is the divine government. Now does the crime of murder deserve the stroke of death immediately from the hand of God ? This our author does not deny. Therefore I affirm, that the civil magistrate ought to execute it ; because he is the minister of God's moral government. It pleases the Supreme Being to conduct the government of this world by a delegated administration, or a subordinate series of secondary causes. The finger of the Almighty is concealed under that thin veil : but it is no less the work of God on that account, and the execution of justice by God's ministers, is God's execution of it, and avenging justice is not excluded from this idea, for says the apostle, the civil magistrate, who is undoubtedly God's officer, " is a revenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil." I know it will be objected to this argument, that many other crimes deserve death by the immediate stroke of the divine hand, and that according to this, civil rulers ought to execute it. The only answer that this merits, is, Do these crimes come as properly within the magistrate's province ? Are they as really political injuries to society, and of as great magnitude ? If they be ; doubtless

the magistrate ought to punish them in the same manner. But perhaps no crime is a political injury to society equally with murder, and it is certain that none comes more properly under the cognizance of civil authority. Other crimes ought to be punished proportionally to their malignity. Scepticism is nearly allied to atheism. Sceptics exclude the Supreme Being from the government of his own world. They do not see, and will not acknowledge him in his own institutions and laws. They separate created agency from the idea of the divine agency therein, even in those instances where the creature acts according to a divine institution, or by the authority of the divine law. They detach the idea of God's majesty and authority from civil magistracy, which is certainly his institution. Thus, though God be present and visible in all his works, they are so blind, as not to see him in any.

2. It will not be denied by our author, that the grand design of the social union, or of the compact which forms society, is, to protect life, property, and liberty ; life as much, if not more than any other of the two. This is an incontrovertible principle. If indeed life was never in danger, and could not possibly be so in the social state, there would be no reason to make the preservation of it an end of the social compact : but all men know that this is far from being the case. If all men were perfectly holy, just, and good, I will not say, that there would be no need for law and government among them ; but I am certain, there would be no necessity for coercion, compulsion, or punishment. Laws with severe penalties annexed to them, are made for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholly and profane, for murderers, for manslaughterers ; and such there ever have been, and will be in society. Therefore the protection of life is a grand and principal end in the social compact, and institution of civil government. But the compact which is designed to protect life, must in the very nature of things, imply a power to take away the life of the aggressor ; because in many cases the life of the innocent could not otherwise be protected. This I think all men must

grant. Our author can deny none of these principles. He cannot deny, that the lives of good men are often in danger from the cruelty, injustice, and ferocity of the bad ; nor can he deny that it is the chief end of the institution of civil government to protect the lives of the good ; and it is equally certain, that in many cases their lives cannot be protected in any other way, than by taking away the life of the aggressor. All this is diametrically opposite to his nostrum, that men in no cases whatsoever have a right to take away the life of a fellow creature.

3. The social compact is such, that the life, property, and liberty of the whole community, are collected into one common stock, and are committed to the protection of the civil magistracy. This compact is founded on the immutable principles of justice and equity, that is, the life, property, and liberty of each member, shall be safe, while he continues obedient to the fundamental laws of society, and no longer. If these laws be violated by him, he forfeits one or all of these, in proportion to the demerits of his crime. All this is made known to all the members of society, in the penalties annexed to the laws. The preservation of life is the principal object in this compact, as has been said, and the law established for this purpose, is every man's dearest birth-right, and highest privilege. All that a man hath, will he give for his life. If then, it be on certain conditions only, that society engages to protect life ; surely, if these conditions be violated, the obligation on society to protect the violator's life, is annihilated by his own consent. He can have no claim to his life by the social compact. Society is under no obligation to protect him. And if he be not protected by society, the relations of the murdered will naturally take vengeance, in doing which they would be warranted by the divine law, and also by society's dropping the protection of him. This would be their right, in a state of nature. But this method of procedure would involve greater difficulties, and perhaps be the occasion of fresh murders ; wherefore it is much better to commit the power of executing the sentence of death on him, to the magistracy of the country, than

to leave it in the hands of individuals.

Our author, I suppose, has never had a father, a brother, a wife, or a child murdered by the cruel hands of any ruffian. It is all theory with him. But if ever it be his lot (which may providence prevent) to have a beloved son violently murdered, he will feel otherwise than he does now ; his fictitious humanity will evaporate before the strong and irrefragable feelings of nature, and perceptions of justice and equity ; and his vanity, which prompts him to write in opposition to almost all men, whom he represents as fools and savages, will vanish as chaff before the whirlwind.

4. To punish murder with death, exactly coincides with the grand end and intention of civil government, which is chiefly to prevent crimes. I say chiefly, because there seems to be something more in it. It is the opinion of many, and I cannot see that it is ill-founded, that on some occasions, public justice requires a sacrifice ; the majesty of the laws requires it ; and without admitting it, the law must appear a very ductile, pliable, trifling thing ; instead of having stability, it must be as a reed shaken before the wind. The laws of civil society, founded on the immutable principles of justice, are God's laws ; civil courts are his courts ; civil magistrates are his ministers. This is the uniform voice of reason ; wherefore, on some occasions, I believe, public justice requires a sacrifice. But however this may be, I am certain, that to prevent the commission of crimes, is the principal design of the institution of civil government. How shall this be done ? no doubt all previous pains should be taken to form the manners of the people to religion and virtue : but these pains may prove, and often do prove ineffectual. Some men are as the horse or mule, which have no understanding, whose mouth a bridle must command, lest they come near to us. An assassin commits murder. Must we leave it in his power to commit more ? he invades God's prerogative, takes away the life of his fellow creature, against law, against justice, without authority ; and from the basest principles and motives, robs society of a valuable, useful member, whom no-

ciety was under the strongest obligation, to protect ; robs a tender wife of her husband, perhaps a young, helpless family, of an indulgent parent, and commits all this outrage against the laws of God and man, only to gratify his horrid, diabolical passions. Shall the monster live ? Shall society run the hazard of his repeating his iniquity ? Forbid it, justice ! Forbid it, heaven ! by his death. God is glorified, the law honoured, public justice satisfied, the land cleansed from blood, and society secured in peace and safety : for while it is effectually put out of his power to repeat his transgression, it is a solemn and awful warning to others, to beware of splitting on the same rock.

5. It is founded on strict justice. The ancient law, " an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is not a ceremonial precept, nor typical. In the name of wonder, of what could it be a type ? It stands on the immovable foundations of strict justice, equity, and truth. Christ, indeed, repeals it in his church, for there is nothing punitive or vindictive in the censures of the church. Signs of repentance or reconciliation to God are all that is requisite in his spiritual kingdom : but will this author say, that Christ repealed it in civil communities ? Did he intermeddle with the policy of states or commonwealths ? Did he erect a temporal kingdom in this world ? Surely not. The members of his church are, and must be the members of civil communities. Did he advise them not to submit to the laws of equity in such societies ? No. his word every where enjoins the contrary. This author will allow, that if he have lent his neighbour a sum of money, it ought to be repaid to him, and that with interest too. He will admit of money for money, pound for pound, and ox for ox ; why not, then, eye for eye ? Because, he will say, it will be of no service to injured innocence, that the guilty suffer. Herein he is mistaken ; it will be the means of preserving the injured person's other eye, and is of infinite service to society, as a caveat against such outrages. And I am of opinion, that greater exactness and promptitude in punishing crimes of inferior magnitude, might tend much to prevent the necessity of capital punishments. From

all which, we may justly infer, that blood for blood, or life for life, is a most just and necessary law ; and in proportion as our bodily members and life are more precious and important than property, so should the laws for their preservation, be more strict and severe, and more inflexibly executed.

6. His scheme is either altogether inefficient to gain the purposes of civil government, or it will be most savage, barbarous, and cruel. He is for punishing the murderer with labour. But it is self-evident, that he cannot labour with his hands and feet in chains, nor without a guard continually waiting on him. If his hands and feet be loose, the blood-thirsty wretch will have it in his power to commit murders without end ; the life of every man near him will be in danger. He knows the worst that can befall him. Men cannot by the law make his condition more afflictive and miserable, than it is, and it is well known, that when a man has once imbrued his hands in blood, he will not be very scrupulous about repeating the horrid transgression ; evil habits grow fast. All men enter the dark path of vice with fear ; but as they advance, they become more bold, and assume courage. Or if he be for confining the criminal continually in a dungeon and in irons, this would be to kill him by inches ; it is like putting him to death in a slow manner, on the rack or wheel ; which would be most barbarous and savage indeed ; and like delighting in human misery. And I do not see, but that on his absurd principles of humanity, he must starve him to death, for otherwise, the desperate creature may have it in his power at one time or another, by one means or another, to murder at least the person who supplies him with food. Our author throws out one very shocking idea, " Let him live, (says he) to support by his labour that family which he has robbed of a father, or other valuable member." I will put a question home to his feelings ; supposing a midnight robber were to murder him, while sleeping securely, as he vainly imagined, under the protection of the laws, how would his lady and children relish the food which, in this case, and on his plan, might be called the price of his blood ?

Finally by a divine and yet a human institution, viz. marriage, we lawfully receive life. By a divine and yet a human institution, viz. civil government, our life is preserved, and therefore, by a similar institution, or by divine and human laws, the life of a murderer may be lawfully taken away. The whole course of divine providence favours and supports this opinion. God, in innumerable instances, makes it manifest, that he is not an idle or careless spectator of the wickedness of men. The footsteps of the divine majesty may be clearly traced in his government of the world. He makes it evident that verily there is a God who judgeth in the earth. This is wonderfully verified in the almost universal detection of the unnatural crime of murder, and in bringing the perpetrators to condign punishment, by a chain of providences, which the wisdom of man had no hand in forming, and of which the criminal himself had neither the smallest foresight nor fear. Many such examples are on record, and incontrovertibly authenticated; and I wish they had all been preserved, and might in future be so. It would be for the interest of nations to preserve and publish authentic registers of such things.

Finally, the universal consent of mankind, and the consent even of the murderers themselves, when in their right minds, confirms the argument. All nations, in all ages, have agreed in this truth, that the murderer should not be permitted to live. Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, barbarous and civilized nations unanimously concur in it. The barbarians, on the island Melita, now Malta, said of Paul, when they saw the viper fasten on his hand, "surely this man is a murderer, whom, though he have escaped the dangers of the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live." It is like one of these self-evident truths, to which reason assents as soon as it is proposed. It seems to be almost as evident as that there is a God, a providence, that God is righteous and just, and will, in his holy providence, avenge the guilty, and reward the righteous. And I think it cannot be denied, that in the ordinary course of his government, he doeth this by the

agency and ministry of his creatures, though sometimes he may step out of his ordinary way. By the ministry of angels, he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; and by the ministry of honest and upright magistrates, he cuts off the wicked, administers moral government, and supports order and justice among men. It is wrong in this writer to combat the divine institutions, the divine laws, and the immutable principles of justice and equity: or to attempt to overthrow the eternal foundations of God's moral government. Such sentiments appear nonsensical to men who consider what they say, or maturely think, before they affirm. He indeed attempts to enervate this argument, by alleging that all nations have agreed in favouring slavery; but even supposing this were true, it will not prove the inclisiveness of the other argument. Because nations are not perfect; this will not prove that there is nothing good about them. Because they have been wrong in too much encouraging slavery, this will not prove, that they are wrong in believing the existence of a Supreme Being, and administering justice. But on his plan, we should have slavery in abundance, because a slight punishment would multiply murders, and according to his plan, all murderers must be for ever slaves. But it is not true, that the encouraging of slavery has been, and is, as universal as the punishing of murder by death. Far from it. And I appeal on this head to all men acquainted with the history both of the past or present ages. It is needless to enter on the detail, it is a notorious truth. It is true that all ages, in all nations, have seen the necessity of supporting the relation of master and servant; and this is a relation divinely instituted, and essential to the existence and welfare of society. Slavery is carrying the divine institution beyond its due bounds; it is only a partial abuse of a good and lawful thing. But what degrees are there in death? I believe indeed that the punishing murderers with torture, and putting them to unnecessary pain, as in the recent instance at Martinico, is an abuse of the divine institution on this head, similar to that of abusing the lawful relation of master and servant

to slavery. He further says, that the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and duke of Tuscany, do not punish murder by death: and for this reason, he calls them the wisest legislators in Europe. A fine reason indeed! and can it be so, that the supreme wisdom in legislation shines in the barbarous nation of Russia, which but a few years ago only emerged from the depths of barbarism, and attained any tolerable degree of civilization? or can it shine with such lustre in the dark regions of Sweden, their near neighbours? or among the bigotted superstitious papists of Tuscany? I can scarcely believe it. I wish our author had dilated more on what he has so bluntly asserted. He should have given his authority, and mentioned what they have substituted in the place of the common punishment. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the internal police of these nations, to contradict him: and yet I am not altogether willing to take his word for it, without further illustration. Punishments of some kind they must have. Are there no public executions in these nations? it would be absurd to put any others to death, and spare murderers. Perhaps it is horrid cruelty that actuates them. Possibly they throw them into the mines, to die there by inches. Is the spirit of christianity more powerful among the Russians and Swedes, than any where else? there is little reason to think it. If the fact be so, I am apt to think, it is owing to the imperfect administration of justice among them. It is certain, that the great czar, Peter the first, was not squeamish about taking away life. He ordered a nobleman to immediate execution, for only killing the hand of his queen, as he helped her out of her coach; and took care next day to take the queen to see the sight. He used to hang up in dozens, the robbers that infested his kingdom, and left them on hooks fastened through their ribs, to writhle out their lives in the most excruciating torture. He was not very squeamish neither, about making war on his neighbours. The present empress thinks not much of shedding the blood of thousands of Turks, and of her own subjects, in a contention about the right of dominion over a small corner of this earth.

And I wonder what this wise christian princess has done with her husband, whose throne she usurped some years ago, while she quietly slipped him out of the way of her ambition! All the world knows the mad bloody freaks of Charles XII. of Sweden: and these very humane people are now falling pell-mell on their humane and wise neighbours the Russians.

On this head, I may mention the consent of murderers themselves. Very few comparatively have been executed for the crime of murder, who have not confessed their guilt, and that their punishment was just. Some, who have died sincere penitents, who have been divinely illuminated and blessed with faith in Christ, and hopes of pardon and eternal life, in full possession of their reason, perfectly in their right minds, and possessing the spirit of Christ, have, with the utmost contrition and humiliation, acknowledged the justice of God and man in their punishment. The penitent thief on the cross, who probably had been concerned with Barrabbas in sedition and murder, speaks to this purpose. "We suffer justly for our faults," says he. I will mention another, who was executed at Cambridge, near to Boston, a few years ago. This man's name was A———r W———e. He murdered the master of a small coasting vessel at sea, but was soon apprehended. As he owns himself, he had invented various ways to charge the guilt on a passenger in the vessel; but after being secured in prison, he fell under a most powerful work of conviction, and finally obtained comfort, by being enlightened in the knowledge of the way of salvation by faith in Christ's blood, and the mercy of God to the chief of sinners through that blood. He then freely confessed his guilt: on his trial before the court, he was told, that pleading not guilty, was no more than putting himself on trial by his country. "I know it," says he, I know it. But my conscience tells me, that I am guilty before God and man, and therefore I will confess it, though I believe, added he, the evidence would not be sufficient to convict me. I deserve to die by the law of God and man. I have forfeited my life to justice, and I

don't wish to retain it. He pleaded guilty twice before the court, and died in the most believing, penitential, melting, and joyful frame, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost: but invariably confessed the justice of his sentence. I have now in my study, the sermon preached before his execution, and two printed letters written by him in prison, which fully attest these facts: and would depend more on such a solemn certain evidence as this, than on the sophistical arguments, false reasoning, and deceitful colouring of all the sceptics and soci-nians, from the beginning of the world to the end of time: though on this alone, I do not rest the weight of my argument.

(To be continued.)



*The Pennsylvania farmer's letters.*

*By the hon. John Dickinson, esq.*

(Continued from page 378.)

#### LETTER III.

*My dear countrymen,*

**I** REJOICE to find that my two former letters to you, have been generally received with so much favour by such of you, whose sentiments I have had an opportunity of knowing. Could you look into my heart, you would instantly perceive a zealous attachment to your interests, and a lively resentment of every insult and injury offered to you, to be the motives that have engaged me to address you.

I am no further concerned in any thing affecting America, than any one of you; and when liberty leaves it, I can quit it much more conveniently than most of you. But, while divine providence, that gave me existence in a land of freedom, permits my head to think, my lips to speak, and my hand to move, I shall so highly and gratefully value the blessing received, as to take care, that my silence and inactivity shall not give my implied assent to any act, degrading my brethren and myself from the birthright, wherewith heaven itself "hath made us free."

Sorry I am to learn, that there are some few persons, who shake their heads with solemn motion, and pretend to wonder, what can be the

meaning of these letters. "Great Britain," they say, "is too powerful to contend with; she is determined to oppress us; it is in vain to speak of right on one side, when there is power on the other; when we are strong enough to resist, we shall attempt it; but now we are not strong enough, and therefore we had better be quiet; it signifies nothing to convince us that our rights are invaded, when we cannot defend them; and if we should get into riots and tumults about the late act, it will only draw down heavier displeasure upon us."

What can such men design? What do their grave observations amount to, but this—"that these colonies, totally regardless of their liberties, should commit them, with humble resignation, to chance, time, and the tender mercies of ministers?"

Are these men ignorant, that usurpations, which might have been successfully opposed at first, acquire strength by continuance, and thus become irresistible? Do they condemn the conduct of these colonies, concerning the stamp-act? Or have they forgot its successful issue? Ought the colonies, at that time, instead of acting as they did, to have trilled for relief to the fortuitous events of futurity? If it is needless "to speak of rights" now, it was as needless then. If the behaviour of the colonies was prudent and glorious then, and successful too; it will be equally prudent and glorious to act in the same manner now, if our rights are equally invaded, and may be as successful. Therefore it becomes necessary to enquire, whether "our rights are invaded." To talk of "defending" them, as if they could be no otherwise "defended" than by arms, is as much out of the way, as if a man having a choice of several roads to reach his journey's end, should prefer the worst, for no other reason, but because it is the worst.

As to "riots and tumults," the gentlemen who are so apprehensive of them, are much mistaken, if they think, that grievances cannot be redressed without such assistance.

I will now tell the gentlemen, what is, "the meaning of these letters." The meaning of them is, to convince the people of these colonies, that they



re at this moment exposed to the most imminent dangers; and to persuade them immediately, vigorously, and unanimously, to exert themselves in the most firm, but most peaceable manner, for obtaining relief.

The cause of liberty is a cause of so much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those who engage in it, ought to breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity, and magnanimity.

To such a wonderful degree were the ancient Spartans, as brave and free people as ever existed, inspired by his happy temperature of soul, that ejecting even in their battles the use of trumpets, and other instruments for exciting heat and rage, they marched up to scenes of havoc, and horror\*, with the sound of flutes, to the tunes of which their steps kept pace—"exhibiting," as Plutarch says, "at once, a terrible and delightful sight, and proceeding with a deliberate valour, full of hope and good assurance, as if some divinity had sensibly assisted them."

I hope, my dear countrymen, that on will, in every colony, be upon our guard against those who may at any time endeavour to stir you up, under pretences of patriotism, to any measures disrespectful to our sovereign and our mother country. Hot, rash, disorderly proceedings, injure the reputation of a people, as to wisdom, valour, and virtue, without procuring them the least benefit. I pray God, that he may be pleased to inspire you and your posterity, to the latest ages, with a spirit, of which I have an idea, but find a difficulty to express. To express it in the best manner I can; I mean a spirit that shall so guide you, that it will be impossible to determine whether an American's character is most distinguishable for his loyalty to his sovereign, his duty to his mother country, his love of freedom, or his affection for his native soil.

Every government at some time or

#### NOTE.

\* Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus. Archbishop Potter's *Archæologia Græca*.

other, falls into wrong measures. These may proceed from mistake or passion. But every such measure does not dissolve the obligation between the governors and the governed. The mistake may be corrected; the passion may subside. It is the duty of the governed to endeavour to rectify the mistake, and to appease the passion. They have not at first any other right, than to represent their grievances, and to pray for redress, unless an emergency is so pressing, as not to allow time for receiving an answer to their applications, which rarely happens. If their applications are disregarded, then that kind of opposition becomes justifiable, which can be made without breaking the laws, or disturbing the public peace.

This consists in the prevention of the oppressors reaping advantage from their oppressions, and not in their punishment. For experience may teach them what reason did not; and harsh methods cannot be proper till milder ones have failed.

If at length it becomes undoubted, that an inveterate resolution is formed to annihilate the liberties of the governed, the English history affords frequent examples of resistance by force. What particular circumstances will in any future case justify such resistance, can never be ascertained till they happen. Perhaps it may be allowable to say generally, that it never can be justifiable, until the people are fully convinced, that any further submission will be destructive to their happiness. When the appeal is made to the sword, highly probable is it, that the punishment will exceed the offence; and the calamities attending on war outweigh those preceding it. These considerations of justice and prudence, will always have great influence with good and wise men.

To these reflections on this subject, it remains to be added, and ought for ever to be remembered, that resistance, in the case of colonies against their mother country, is extremely different from the resistance of a people against their prince. A nation may change their king, or race of kings, and, retaining their ancient form of government, be gainers by changing. Thus Great-Britain, under the illustrious house of Brunswick, a house

that seems to flourish for the happiness of mankind, has found a felicity, unknown in the reigns of the Stewarts. But if once we are separated from our mother country, what new form of government shall we adopt, or where shall we find another Britain, to supply our loss? Torn from the body, to which we are united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language and commerce, we must bleed at every vein.

In truth—the prosperity of these provinces is founded in their dependence on Great-Britain; and when she returns to her “old good humour, and her old good nature,” as lord Clarendon expresses it, I hope they will always think it their duty and interest, as it most certainly will be, to promote her welfare by all the means in their power.

We cannot act with too much caution in our disputes. Anger produces anger; and differences, that might be accommodated by kind and respectful behaviour, may, by imprudence, be enlarged to an incurable rage. In quarrels between countries, as well as in those between individuals, when they have risen to a certain height, the first cause of dissension is no longer remembered, the minds of the parties being wholly engaged in recollecting and resenting the mutual expressions of their dislike. When passions have reached that fatal point, all considerations of reason and equity vanish; and a blind fury governs, or rather confounds all things. A people no longer regards their interest, but the gratification of their wrath. The sway of the † Cleons and Cloduses, the designing and detestable flatterers of the prevailing passion, becomes confirmed. Wise and good men in vain oppose the storm, and may think themselves fortunate, if, in attempting to preserve their ungrateful fellow citizens, they do not ruin themselves. Their prudence will be called baseness; their moderation will be called guilt; and if their virtue does not lead them to destruction, as that

NOTE.

† Cleon was a popular firebrand of Athens, and Clodius of Rome; each of whom plunged his country into the deepest calamities.

of many other great and excellent persons has done, they may survive to receive from their expiring country the mournful glory of her acknowledgement, that their counsels, if regarded, would have saved her.

The expressly-constitutional mode of obtaining relief, are those which wish to see pursued on the present occasion; that is, by petitions of our assemblies, or where they are not permitted to meet, of the people, to the powers that can afford us relief.

We have an excellent prince, whose good dispositions towards us we may confide. We have a generous, sensible and humane nation, to whom we may apply. They may be deceived. They may by artful men, be provoked to anger against us. I cannot believe they will be cruel or unjust; or that their anger will be implacable. Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent; but let our complaints speak at the same time the language of affliction and veneration.

If, however, it shall happen by an unfortunate course of affairs, that our applications to his majesty and the parliament for redress, prove ineffectual, let us then take another step, withholding from Great-Britain all the advantages she has been used to receive from us. Then let us try, if our ingenuity, industry, and frugality, will not give weight to our remonstrance. Let us all be united with one spirit, one cause. Let us invent—let us work—let us save—let us continually keep up our claim, and incessantly repeat our complaints—But, above all, let us implore the protection of that infinite good and gracious Being\*, “by whose kings reign, and princes decree justice.”

*Nil desperandum.*

Nothing is to be despaired of.

#### LETTER IV.

*My dear countrymen,*

**A**N objection, I hear, has been made against my second letter, which I would willingly clear up before it proceeds. “There is,” say these objectors, “a material difference be-

NOTE.

\* Prov. viii. 15.

ween the stamp act, and the late act for laying a duty on paper, &c. that justifies the conduct of those who opposed the former, and yet are willing to submit to the latter. The duties imposed by the stamp-act, were internal taxes: but the present are external, and therefore the parliament may have a right to impose them."

To this I answer, with a total denial of the power of parliament to lay upon these colonies any "tax" whatever.

This point, being so important to his, and to succeeding generations, I wish to be clearly understood.

To the word "tax," I annex that meaning which the constitution and history of England require to be annexed to it; that is—that it is an imposition on the subject, for the sole purpose of levying money.

In the early ages of our monarchy, certain services were rendered to the crown for the general good. These were personal\*: but in process of time, such institutions being found inconvenient, gifts and grants of their own property were made by the peo-

ple, under the several names of aids, tallages, tasks, taxes, and subsidies, &c. These were made, as may be collected even from the names, for public service upon "need and necessity†." All these sums were levied upon the people by virtue of their voluntary gift\*. Their design was to support

## NOTES.

† 4th Inst. p. 28.

\* *Reges Angliæ, nihil tale, nisi convocatis primis ordinibus, et assensu populi, suscipiunt.* Phil. Comines, 2d. Inst.

These gifts entirely depending on the pleasure of the donors, were proportioned to the abilities of the several ranks of people who gave, and were regulated by their opinion of the public necessities. Thus Edward I. had in his 11th year a thirtieth from the laity, a twentieth from the clergy; in his 22d year, a tenth from the laity, a sixth from London, and other corporate towns, half of their benefits from the clergy; in his 23d year an eleventh from the barons and others, a tenth from the clergy, a seventh from the burgesses, &c. Hume's History of England.

The same difference in the grants of the several ranks is observable in other reigns.

In the famous statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, the king enumerates the several classes, without whose consent, he and his heirs never should set or levy any tax—"nullum tallagium, vel auxilium per nos, vel haeredes nostros in regno nostro ponatur seu levetur, sine voluntate et assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, militum, burghensium, et aliorum liberorum com. de regno nostro." 34th Edward I.

Lord chief justice Coke, in his comment on these words, says—"for the quieting of the commons, and for a perpetual and constant law for ever after, both in this and other like cases, this act was made. These words are plain; without any scruple, absolute without any saving." 2d Coke's Inst. p. 532, 533. Little did the venerable judge imagine, that "other like cases" would happen, in which the spirit of this law would be despised by Englishmen, the posterity of those who made it.

the national honour and interest. Some of those grants comprehended duties arising from trade; being imposts on merchandises. These lord chief justice Coke classes under "subsidies," and "parliamentary aids." They are also called, "customs." But whatever the name was, they were always considered as gifts of the people to the crown, to be employed for public uses.

Commerce was at a low ebb, and surprising instances might be produced, how little it was attended to for a succession of ages. The terms that have been mentioned, and, among the rest, that of "tax," had obtained a national, parliamentary meaning, drawn from the principles of the constitution, long before any Englishman thought of imposition of duties for the regulation of trade.

Whenever we speak of "taxes" among Englishmen, let us therefore speak of them with reference to the principles on which, and the intentions with which they have been established. This will give certainty to our expression, and safety to our conduct: but if, when we have in view the liberty of these colonies, we proceed in any other course, we pursue a *Juno*\* indeed, but shall only catch a cloud.

In the national, parliamentary sense insisted on, the word "tax†" was certainly understood by the congress at New-York, whose resolves may be said to form the American "bill of rights."

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth resolves, are thus exprelled.

III. "That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that ‡ no tax be imposed on them,

#### NOTES.

\* The goddess of empire, in the heathen mythology; according to an ancient fable, Ixion pursued her, but she escaped in a cloud.

† In this sense Montesquieu uses the word "tax," in his 13th book of *Spirit of Laws*.

‡ The rough draught of the resolves of the congress at New-York is now in my hands, and from some notes on that draught, and other particular reasons, I am satisfied that the congress understood the word "tax" in the sense here contended for.

but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

IV. "That the people of the colonies are not, and from their local circumstances, cannot be represented in the house of commons in Great-Britain.

V. "That the only representatives of the people of the colonies, are the persons chosen therein by themselves; and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. "That all supplies to the crown, being free gifts of the people it is unreasonable, and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonies."

Here is no distinction made between internal and external taxes. It is evident from the short reasoning thrown into these resolves, that every imposition "to grant to his majesty the property of the colonies," was thought a "tax;" and that every such imposition, if laid any other way than "with their consent, given personally, or by their representatives," was not only "unreasonable, and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution," but destructive "to the freedom of a people."

This language is clear and important. A "tax" means an imposition to raise money. Such persons therefore as speak of internal and external "taxes," I pray, may pardon me, if I object to that expression, as applied to the privileges and interest of these colonies. There may be internal and external impositions, founded on different principles, and having different tendencies; every "tax" being an imposition, tho' every imposition is not a "tax." But all taxes are founded on the same principle and have the same tendency.

External impositions, for the regulation of our trade, do not "grant to his majesty the property of the colonies." They only prevent the colonies acquiring property, in things not necessary, in a manner judged to be injurious to the welfare of the whole empire. But the last statute respecting us, "grants to his majesty the

property of the colonies," by laying duties on the manufactures of Great-Britain which they must take, and which she settled on them, on purpose that they should take.

What \* tax can be more internal

NOTE.

\* It seems to be evident, that mr. Pitt, in his defence of America, during the debate concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, by "internal taxes," meant any duties "for the purpose of raising a revenue;" and by "external taxes," meant duties imposed "for the regulation of trade." His expressions are these—"If the gentleman does not understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter."

These words were in mr. Pitt's reply to mr. Grenville, who said he could not understand the difference between external and internal taxes.

In every other part of his speeches on that occasion, his words confirm this construction of his expressions. The following extracts will shew how positive and general were his assertions of our right.

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies."—"The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing and legislative power."—"The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone."—"The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it."—"The idea of

than this? Here is money drawn, without their consent, from a society, who have constantly enjoyed a constitutional mode of raising all money among themselves. The payment of this tax they have no possible method of avoiding; as they cannot do without the commodities on which it is laid, and they cannot manufacture these commodities themselves. Besides, if this unhappy country should be so lucky as to elude this act, by getting parchment enough, in the place of paper, or by reviving the ancient method of writing on wax and bark, and by inventing something to serve instead of glass, her ingenuity would stand her in little stead; for then the parliament would have nothing to do but to prohibit such manufactures, or to lay a tax on hats and

NOTE.

a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man.—It does not deserve a serious refutation."

He afterwards shews the unreasonableness of Great-Britain taxing America, thus—"When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profit to Great-Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection."—"I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented."—"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion; it is, that the stamp-act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle."

woollen cloths, which they have already prohibited the colonies from supplying each other with; or on instruments, and tools of steel and iron, which they have prohibited the provincials from manufacturing at all †. And then, what little gold and silver they have, must be torn from their hands, or they will not be able, in a short time, to get an axe ‡, for cutting their firewood, nor a plough, for raising their food. In what respect, therefore, I beg leave to ask, is the late act preferable to the stamp-act, or more consistent with the liberties of the colonies? For my own part, I regard them both with equal apprehensions; and think they ought to be in the same manner opposed.

*Habemus quidem senatus consultum,  
—tanquam gladium in vagina repositum.*

We have a statute, laid up for future use, like a sword in the scabbard.

#### LETTER V.

*My dear countrymen,*

**P**ERHAPS the objection to the late act, imposing duties upon paper, &c. might have been safely rested on the argument drawn from the universal conduct of parliaments and ministers, from the first existence of these colonies, to the administration of Mr. Grenville.

What but the indisputable, the acknowledged exclusive right of the co-

#### NOTES.

† “And that pig and bar iron, made in his majesty's colonies in America, may be further manufactured in this kingdom, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, 1750, no mill, or other engine, for beating or rolling of iron, or any planing forge, to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected: or, after such erection, continue in any of his majesty's colonies in America.” 22d, George II. chap. 29. sect. 9.

‡ Though these particulars are mentioned as being absolutely necessary, yet perhaps they are not more so than glass in our severe winters, to keep out the cold from our houses; or than paper, without which such inexpressible confusions must ensue,

colonies to tax themselves, could be the reason, that in this long period of more than one hundred and fifty years, no statute was ever passed for the sole purpose of raising a revenue on the colonies? and how clear, how cogent must that reason be, to which every parliament, and every minister, for a long time submitted, without a single attempt to innovate?

England, in part of that course of years, and Great Britain, in other parts, was engaged in several fierce and expensive wars; troubled with some tumultuous and bold parliaments; governed by many daring and wicked ministers; yet none of them ever ventured to touch the palladium of American liberty. Ambition, avarice, faction, tyranny, all revered it. Whenever it was necessary to raise money on the colonies, the requisition of the crown were made, and dutifully complied with. The parliament, from time to time, regulated their trade and that of the rest of the empire, to preserve their dependence, and the connexion of the whole in good order.

The people of Great Britain, in support of their privileges, boast much of their antiquity. It is true they are ancient; yet it may well be questioned, if there is a single privilege of a British subject, supported by longer, more solemn, or more uninterrupted testimony, than the exclusive right of taxation in these colonies. The people of Great Britain consider that kingdom as the sovereign of these colonies, and would now annex to that sovereignty a prerogative never heard of before. How would they bear this was the case their own? what would they think of a new prerogative claimed by the crown? we may guess what their conduct would be, from the transports of passion into which they fell about the late embargo, though laid to relieve the most emergent necessities of state, admitting of no delay; and for which there were numerous precedents. Let our liberties be treated with the same tenderness, and it is all we desire.

Explicit as the conduct of parliaments, for so many ages, is, to prove that no money can be levied on these colonies by parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue, yet it is not the only evidence in our favour.

Every one of the most material arguments against the legality of the stamp-act, operates with equal force against the act now objected to; but as they are well known, it seems unnecessary to repeat them here.

This general one only shall be considered at present: that though these colonies are dependent on Great Britain; and though she has a legal power to make laws for preserving that dependence; yet it is not necessary for this purpose, nor essential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies, as was eagerly contended by the advocates for the stamp act, that she should raise money on them without their consent.

Colonies were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe; to relieve their country, overburdened with inhabitants; or to discharge a number of discontented and troublesome citizens. But in more modern ages, the spirit of violence being in some measure, if the expression may be allowed, sheathed in commerce, colonies have been settled by the nations of Europe for the purposes of trade. These purposes were to be attained, by the colonies raising for their mother country those things which she did not produce herself; and by supplying themselves from her with things they wanted. These were the national objects in the commencement of our colonies, and have been uniformly so in their promotion. To answer these grand purposes, perfect liberty was known to be necessary; all history proving, that trade and freedom are nearly related to each other. By a due regard to this wise and just plan, the infant colonies, exposed in the unknown climates and unexplored wildernesses of this new world, lived, grew, and flourished.

The parent country, with undeviating prudence and virtue, attentive to the first principles of colonization, drew to herself the benefits she might reasonably expect, and preserved to her children the blessings, on which those benefits were founded. She made laws, obliging her colonies to carry to her all those products which she wanted for her own use; and all those raw materials which she chose herself to work up. Besides this restriction, she forbade them to procure

manufactures from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which alone could rival her, without being first brought to her. In short, by a variety of laws, she regulated their trade in such a manner as she thought most conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own welfare. A power was reserved to the crown of repealing any laws that should be enacted; the executive authority of government was also lodged in the crown, and its representatives; and an appeal was secured to the crown from all judgments in the administration of justice.

For all these powers, established by the mother country over the colonies; for all these immense emoluments derived by her from them; for all their difficulties and distresses in fixing themselves, what was the recompence made them? a communication of her rights in general, and particularly of that great one, the foundation of all the rest—that their property, acquired with so much pain and hazard, should be disposed of by none but \* themselves—or, to use the beautiful and emphatic language of the sacred scriptures†, “that they should sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none should make them afraid.”

Can any man of candour and knowledge deny, that these institutions form an affinity between Great Britain and her colonies, that sufficiently secures their dependence upon her? or that for her to levy taxes upon them, is to reverse the nature of things? or that she can pursue such a measure, without reducing them to a state of vassalage?

If any person cannot conceive the supremacy of Great Britain to exist, without the power of laying taxes to levy money upon us, the history of the colonies, and of Great Britain, since their settlement, will prove the contrary. He will there find the amazing advantages arising to her from

#### NOTES.

\* “The power of taxing themselves, was the privilege of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous.” Hume's history of England.

† Mic. iv. 4.

them—the constant exercise of her supremacy—and their fatal mission to it, without a single rebellion, or even the thought of one, from their first emigration to this moment—and all these things have happened, without one instance of Great Britain's laying taxes to levy money upon them.

How many \* British authors have

NOTE.

\* It has been said in the house of commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of Europe, "That such things were not worth regard, as Great-Britain was possessed of colonies that could consume more of her manufactures than she was able to supply them with."

"As the case now stands, we shall shew that the plantations are a spring of wealth to this nation, that they work for us, that their treasure centres all here, and that the laws have tied them fast enough to us: so that it must be through our own fault and mismanagement, if they become independent of England." Davenant on the plantation trade.

"It is better that the islands should be supplied from the northern colonies than from England; for this reason, the provisions we might send to Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. would be unimproved product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or such product where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, salt beef, and pork: indeed the exportation of salt fish thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we send to the northern colonies, are such whose improvement may be justly said, one with another, to be near four fifths of the value of the whole commodity, as apparel, household furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

"New-England is the most prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of England: and yet to do right to that most industrious English colony, I must confess, that though we lose by the unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by the direct trade from old England. Our yearly exportation of English manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value

demonstrated, that the present wealth, power, and glory of their country, are founded upon these colonies? constantly as streams tend to the ocean, have they been pouring the fruit of all their labours into their mother's lap. Good heaven! and shall a total oblivion of former tenderness and blessings, be spread over the mind

NOTE.

of what is imported from thence which calculation I do not make random, but upon mature consideration, and, peradventure, upon as much experience in this very trade, as any other person will pretend to; and therefore, whenever reformation in our correspondency in trade with these people shall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderness, and very serious circumspection." Sir Josiah Child's discourse of trade.

"Our plantations spend mostly on English manufactures, and those of sorts almost imaginable, in egregiously great quantities, and employ near two thirds of all our English shipping; so that we have more people in England, by reason of our plantations in America." *Idem.*

Sir Josiah Child says, in another part of his work, "That not more than fifty families are maintained in England by the refining of sugar." From whence, and from what Davenant says, it is plain, that the advantage here said to be derived from the plantations by England, must be nearly chiefly of the continental colonies.

"I shall sum up my whole remark on our American colonies, with this observation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of several millions sterling to their mother country, they ought carefully to be protected, encouraged, and every opportunity that presents, improved for their increment and advantage, as every one they can possibly reap, must at last return to us with interest." Beawe Lex. Merc. Red.

"We may safely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly increased by our colonies, and that they really are a source of treasure and naval power to this kingdom, since they work for us, and their treasure centres here. Before their settlement



of a good and wise nation, by the forward arts of intriguing men, who, covering their selfish projects under pretences of public good, first enrage their countrymen into a frenzy of passion, and then advance their own influence and interest, by gratifying the passion, which they themselves have safely excited?

## NOTE.

our manufactures were few, and those not indifferent: the number of English merchants very small, and the whole shipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies only. These are certain facts. But since their establishment, our condition has altered for the better, almost to a degree beyond credibility.—Our manufactures are prodigiously increased, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at least take off one half, and supply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom, as to the plantations themselves.” *Poettethwayt's univ. dict. of trade and commerce.*

“Most of the nations of Europe have interfered with us, more or less, in divers of our staple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as our fisheries.” *Poettethwayt, ibid.*

“The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on trade with their foreign neighbours do not only occasion a greater quantity of the goods and merchandise of Europe being sent from hence to them, and a greater quantity of the produce of America to be sent from them hither, which would otherwise be carried from and brought to Europe by foreigners, but an increase of the seamen and navigation in those parts, which is of great strength and security, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though some of our colonies are not only for preventing the importation of all goods of the same species they produce, but suffer particular planters to keep great runs of land in their possession uncultivated, with design to prevent new settlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be ascertained; yet if it be consider-

Hitherto Great-Britain has been contented with her prosperity. Moderation has been the rule of her conduct. But now, a generous humane people, that so often has protected the liberty of strangers, is inflamed into an attempt to tear a privilege from her own children, which, if executed, must, in their opinion, sink

## NOTE.

ed, that the markets of Great-Britain depend on the markets of all Europe in general, and that the European markets in general depend on the proportion between the annual consumption and the whole quantity of each species annually produced by all nations; it must follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, carriers, importers, and exporters of American produce, yet their respective prices in each colony (the difference of freight, customs, and importations considered) will always bear proportion to the general consumption of the whole quantity of each sort, produced in all colonies, and in all parts, allowing only for the usual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures, are liable to in all countries.” *Poettethwayt, ibid.*

“It is certain, that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our English colonies, and his associates, first projected these establishments, there have been persons who have found an interest, in misrepresenting, or lessening the value of them.—The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant suggestions were made about sacrificing so many Englishmen to the obstinate desire of settling colonies in countries which then produced very little advantage. But as these difficulties were gradually surmounted, those complaints vanished. No sooner were these lamentations over, but others arose in their stead; when it could be no longer said, that the colonies were useless, it was alleged that they were not useful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes, they were absolutely free; that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence.”—*Poettethwayt, ibid.*

“Before the settlement of these

them into slaves : and for what ? For a pernicious power, not necessary to her, as her own experience may convince her ; but horribly dreadful and detestable to them.

It seems extremely probable, that when cool, dispassionate posterity shall consider the affectionate intercourse, the reciprocal benefits, and

## NOTE.

colonies," says Posslethwayt, " our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days we had not only our naval stores, but our ships from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from France. Portugal supplied us with sugar ; all the products of America were poured in to us from Spain ; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East-Indies, at their own price.

" If it be asked, whether foreigners, for what goods they take of us, do not pay on that consumption a great portion of our taxes ? It is admitted they do." Posslethwayt's *Great-Britain's true system*.

" If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and set up for themselves, as some seem to apprehend, let us not drive them to a necessity to feel themselves independent of us ; as they will do, the moment they perceive that they can be supplied with all things from within themselves, and do not need our assistance. If we would keep them still dependent upon their mother country, and, in some respects, subservient to her views and welfare, let us make it their interest always to be so." Tucker on trade.

" Our colonies, while they have English blood in their veins, and have relations in England, and while they can get by trading with us, the stronger and the greater they grow, the more this crown and kingdom will get by them ; and nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate, can bring them to rebel." Davenant on the plantation trade.

" The northern colonies are not upon the same footing as those of the south, and having a worse soil to

the unsuspecting confidence, that have subsisted between these colonies and their parent country, for such a length of time, they will execrate, with the bitterest curses, the infamous ambition unnecessarily, wantonly, cruelly, first opened the sources of civil discord between them ; first turned

## NOTE.

improve, they must find the recompence some other way, which only can be in property and dominion : upon which score, any innovations in the form of government there, should be cautiously examined, for fear of entering upon measures, by which the industry of the inhabitants may be quite discouraged. 'Tis always unfortunate for a people, either by consent, or upon compulsion, to depart from their primitive institutions, and those fundamentals by which they were first united together." *Idem*.

The most effectual way of uniting the colonies, is to make it their common interest to oppose the designs and attempts of Great-Britain.

" All wise states will well consider how to preserve the advantages arising from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but two ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence ; one, to keep it out of their power, and the other, out of their will. The first must be by force, and the latter by using them well, and keeping them employed in such productions, and making such manufactures, as will support themselves and families comfortably, and procure them wealth too, and at least not prejudice their mother country.

" Force can never be used effectually to answer the end, without destroying the colonies themselves. Liberty and encouragement are necessary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there ; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops, considerable enough to awe them, and keep them in subjection, under the direction too of a needy governor, often sent thither to make his fortune, and at such a distance from any application for redress, will soon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the soldiers

their love into jealousy; and first taught these provinces, filled with grief and anxiety, to enquire—

*Mens ubi materna est?*

Where is maternal affection?

LETTER VI.

*My dear countrymen,*

[T may perhaps be objected against the arguments that have been offered to the public, concerning the legal power of the parliament, "that it has always exercised the power of imposing duties, for the purposes of raising a revenue on the productions of these colonies carried to Great-Britain, which may be called a tax on them." To this objection I answer, that this is no violation of the rights

NOTE.

alone, and if it did not, would eat up all the profit of the colony. For this reason, arbitrary countries have not been equally successful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force, or at a vast expence, or by departing from the nature of their government, and giving such privileges to planters as were denied to their other subjects. And I dare say, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would soon give us far the greater share of the riches of all America, and perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into other colonies or shelter.

"There are so many exigencies in all states, so many foreign wars, and domestic disturbances, that these colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find their interest to do; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it shall never be their interest to act against that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwise be averted, than by keeping them fully employed in such trades as will increase their own, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for them, they may find it for us: the interest of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and so employed; and it requires all her address to do it; and it is certainly more easily and effectually done by gentle and sensible methods, than by power alone." Cato's letters.

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of the colonies, it being implied in the relation between them and Great-Britain, that they should not carry such commodities to other nations, as should enable them to interfere with the mother country. The imposition of duties on these commodities, when brought to her, is only a consequence of her parental right; and if the point is thoroughly examined, the duties will be found to be laid on the people of the mother country. Whatever they are, they must proportionally raise the price of the goods, and consequently must be paid by the consumers. In this light they were considered by the parliament in the 25th Charles II. chap. 7, sect. 2, which says, that the productions of the plantations were carried from one to another free from all customs, "while the subjects of this your kingdom of England, have paid great customs and impositions for what of them have been spent here," &c.

Besides, if Great-Britain exports these commodities again, the duties will injure her own trade, so that she cannot hurt us, without plainly and immediately hurting herself; and this is our check against her acting arbitrarily in this respect.

\* It may be perhaps further objected—

NOTE.

\* If any one should observe that no opposition has been made to the legality of the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, which is the first act of parliament that ever imposed duties on the importations to America, for the expressed purpose of raising a revenue there; I answer, first, that though the act expressly mentions the raising a revenue in America, yet it seems that it had as much in view the "improving and securing the trade between the same and Great Britain," which words are part of its title: and the preamble says, "whereas it is expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for improving the revenue of this kingdom, and for extending and securing the navigation and commerce between Great Britain, and your majesty's dominions in America, which by the peace have been to happily extended and enlarged," &c. Secondly, all the duties mentioned in that act, are imposed solely on the pro-

ed "that it being granted that statutes made for regulating trade, are binding upon us, it will be difficult for any person, but the makers of the laws, to determine which of them are made for the regulating of trade, and which for raising a revenue; and that from hence may arise confusion."

To this I answer, that the objection is of no force in the present case, or such as resemble it; because the act now in question, is formed expressly for the sole purpose of raising a revenue.

However, supposing the design of parliament had not been expressed, the objection seems to me of no weight, with regard to the influence which those who may make it, might expect it ought to have on the conduct of these colonies.

It is true, that impositions for raising a revenue, may be hereafter called regulations of trade: but names will not change the nature of things. Indeed we ought firmly to believe, what is an undoubted truth, confirmed by

#### NOTE.

ductions and manufactures of foreign countries, and not a single duty laid on any production or manufacture of our mother country. Thirdly, the authority of the provincial assemblies is not therein so plainly attacked as by the last act, which makes provision for defraying the charges of the "administration of justice," and "the support of civil government." Fourthly, that it being doubtful, whether the intention of the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, was not as much to regulate trade, as to raise a revenue, the minds of the people here were wholly engrossed by the terror of the stamp act, then impending over them, about the intention of which there could be no doubt.

These reasons so far distinguish the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, from the last act, that it is not to be wondered at, that the first should have been submitted to, though the last should excite the most universal and spirited opposition. For this will be found, on the strictest examination, to be, in the principle on which it is founded, and in the consequences that must attend it, if possible, more destructive than the stamp act. It is, to speak plainly, a prodigy in our laws; not having one British feature.

the unhappy experience of many state heretofore free, that unless the most watchful attention be exerted, a new servitude may be slipped upon us, under the sanction of usual and respectable terms.

Thus the Cæsars ruined the Roman liberty, under the titles of old and venerable dignities, known in the most flourishing times of freedom. In imitation of the same policy, James I. when he meant to establish popery, talked of liberty of conscience, the most sacred of all liberties; and has thereby almost deceived the dissenters into destruction.

All artful rulers, who strive to extend their power beyond its just limits, endeavour to give to their attempts: much semblance of legality as possible. Those who succeed them, may venture to go a little further: for each new encroachment will be strengthened by former. "† That which is now supported by examples, growing old, will become an example itself," and thus support fresh usurpations.

A free people therefore can never be too quick in observing, nor too firm in opposing the beginnings of a teration either in form or reality, respecting institutions formed for the security. The first kind of alteration leads to the last: yet, on the other hand, nothing is more certain than that the forms of liberty may be retained, when the substance is gone. In government, as well as in religion, "the letter killeth, but the spirit gives life‡."

I will beg leave to enforce this remark by a few instances. The crown by the constitution, has the prerogative of creating peers. The existence of that order, in due number and dignity, is essential to the constitution and if the crown did not exercise this prerogative, the peerage must have long since decreased to much, as to have lost its proper influence. Suppose a prince, for some unjust purposes should, from time to time, advance many needy, profligate wretches to that rank, that all the independence of the house of lords should be destroyed; there would then be a ~~man~~

#### NOTES.

† Tacitus.

‡ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

test violation of the constitution, under the appearance of using legal prerogative.

The house of commons claim the privilege of forming all money bills, and will not suffer either of the other branches of the legislature to add to, or alter them; contending that their power simply extends to an acceptance or rejection of them. This privilege appears to be just: but under pretence of this just privilege, the house of commons has claimed a licence of tacking to money bills, clauses relating to things of a totally different kind, and thus forcing them in a manner on the king and lords. This seems to be an abuse of that privilege, and it may be vastly more abused. Suppose a future house, influenced by some displaced, discontented demagogues—in a time of danger, should tack to a money bill, something so injurious to the king and peers, that they would not assent to it, and yet the commons should obstinately insist on it; the whole kingdom would be exposed to ruin by them, under the appearance of maintaining a valuable privilege.

In these cases, it might be difficult for a while to determine, whether the king intended to exercise his prerogative in a constitutional manner or not; or whether the commons insisted on their demand factiously, or for the public good; but surely the conduct of the crown, or of the house, would in time sufficiently explain itself.

Ought not the people therefore to watch? to observe facts? to search into causes? to investigate designs? and have they not a right of judging from the evidence before them, on no slighter points than their liberty and happiness? it would be less than trifling, wherever a British government is established, to make use of any arguments to prove such a right. It is sufficient to remind the reader of the day\*, on the anniversary of which the first of these letters is dated.

I will now apply what has been said to the present question.

The nature of any impositions laid by parliament on these colonies, must determine the design in laying them.

#### NOTE.

\* The day on which William the third landed in England.

It may not be easy in every instance to discover that design. Wherever it is doubtful, I think submission cannot be dangerous; nay, it must be right; for, in my opinion, there is no privilege these colonies claim, which they ought in duty and prudence more earnestly to maintain and defend, than the authority of the British parliament, to regulate the trade of all her dominions. Without this authority, the benefits she enjoys from our commerce, must be lost to her: the blessings we enjoy from our dependence upon her, must be lost to us. Her strength must decay; her glory vanish; and she cannot suffer without our partaking in her misfortune. Let us therefore cherish her interests as our own, and give her every thing, that it becomes freemen to give or to receive.

The nature of any impositions she may lay upon us, may, in general, be known, by considering how far they relate to the preserving, in due order, the connexion between the several parts of the British empire. One thing we may be assured of, which is this—Whenever the impositions duties on commodities, to be paid only upon their exportation from Great-Britain to these colonies, it is not a regulation of trade, but a design to raise a revenue upon us. Other instances may happen, which it may not be necessary at present to dwell on. I hope these colonies will never, to their latest existence, want understanding sufficient to discover the intentions of those who rule over them, nor the resolution necessary for asserting their interests. They will always have the same rights, that all free states have, of judging when their privileges are invaded, and of using all prudent measures for preserving them.

*Quocirca vivite fortes,*

*Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.*

Wherefore keep up your spirits, and gallantly oppose this adverse course of affairs.

#### LETTER VII.

*My dear countrymen,*

**T**HIS letter is intended more particularly for such of you, whose

employments in life may have prevented your attending to the consideration of some points that are of great and public importance : for many such persons there must be even in these colonies, where the inhabitants in general are more intelligent than any other people whatever, as has been remarked by strangers, and, it seems, with reason.

Some of you, perhaps, filled, as I know your breasts are, with loyalty to our most excellent prince, and with love to our dear mother country, may feel yourselves inclined, by the affections of your hearts, to approve every action of those whom you so much venerate and esteem. A prejudice thus flowing from goodness of disposition, is amiable indeed. I wish it could be indulged without danger. Did I think this possible, the error should have been adopted, and not opposed by me. But in truth, all men are subject to the frailties of nature ; and therefore whatever regard we entertain for the persons of those who govern us, we should always remember that their conduct, as rulers, may be influenced by human infirmities.

When any laws, injurious to these colonies, are passed, we cannot suppose, that any injury is intended us by his majesty, or the lords. For, the assent of the crown and peers to laws, seems, as far as I am able to judge, to have been vested in them, more for their own security, than for any other purpose. On the other hand, it is the particular business of the people, to enquire and discover what regulations are useful for themselves, and to digest and present them in the form of bills, to the other orders, to have them enacted into laws. Where these laws are to bind themselves, it may be expected, that the house of commons will very carefully consider them : but when they are making laws that are not designed to bind themselves, we cannot imagine that their deliberations will be as \* cautious and scrupulous, as in their own case.

#### NOTE.

\* Many remarkable instances might be produced, of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning these colonies,

I am told, that there is a wonderful address frequently used in carrying points in the house of commons by persons experienced in these affairs. Opportunities are watched—and sometimes votes are passed, which, if the members had been present, would have been rejected by a great majority. Certain it is, that when a powerful

#### NOTE.

have passed in parliament ; which, owing, as it is supposed, to the bill being brought in by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general, in the halls of business, to discover their tendency.

The following instances shew the truth of this remark. When Mr. Grenville, in the violence of reformation, formed the 4th of Geo. III. chap. 15th, for regulating the American trade, the word "Ireland" was dropt in the clause relating to our iron and lumber, so that we could send these articles to no part of Europe, but to Great-Britain. This was so unreasonable a restriction, and so contrary to the sentiments of the legislature for many years before, that it was surprising it should not be taken notice of in the house. However the bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this restriction was taken off by a subsequent act. I cannot positively say how long after the taking off this restriction, as have not the act, but I think, in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word "Ireland" was left out, just as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained, was a second time regulated.

Now, if it be considered, that the omission mentioned struck out with one word so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable ; and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity.

The enumeration was obtained (says Mr. † Gee) by one Cole, a captain of a ship, employed by a company then trading to Carolina : for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, prevented

and artful man has determined on any measure against these colonies, he has always succeeded in his attempt. Perhaps, therefore, it will be proper for us, whenever any oppressive act affecting us is passed, to attribute it to the inattention of the members of the house of commons, and to the malevolence or ambition of some factious great man, rather than to any other cause.

Now, I do verily believe, that the late act of parliament, imposing duties on paper, &c. was formed by Mr. Grenville, and his party, because it is evidently a part of that plan, by which he endeavoured to render himself popular at home; and I do also believe, that not one half of the members of the house of commons, even of those who heard it read, did perceive how destructive it was to American freedom. For this reason, as it is usual in Great-Britain, to consider the king's speech as the speech of the ministry, it may be right here to consider this act as the act of a party—perhaps I should speak more properly, if I was to use another term.

There are two ways of laying taxes. One is, by imposing a certain sum on particular kinds of property, to be

NOTE.

ed the aforesaid captain of a loading. Upon his coming home, he possessed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament (who was very frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal, was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act, to make it an enumerated commodity; by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation."

I find that this clause, "privately got into an act," for the benefit of captain Cole, to the "vast loss of the nation," is folded into the 3d and 4th Ann, chap. 5th, intitled, an act for granting to her majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandises imported," with which it has no more connexion, than with 34th Edward I. the 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. and the 25th of Charles II. which provide, that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representative.

paid by the user or consumer, or by rating the person at a certain sum. The other is, by imposing a certain sum on particular kinds of property, to be paid by the seller.

When a man pays the first sort of tax, he knows with certainty that he pays so much money for a tax. The consideration for which he pays it, is remote, and, it may be, does not occur to him. He is sensible, too, that he is commanded and obliged to pay it as a tax; and therefore people are apt to be displeased with this sort of tax.

The other sort of tax is submitted to in a very different manner. The purchaser of an article very seldom reflects that the seller raises his price, so as to indemnify himself for the tax he has paid. He knows that the prices of things are continually fluctuating, and if he thinks about the tax, he thinks at the same time, in all probability, that he might have paid as much, if the article he buys had not been taxed. He gets something visible and agreeable for his money: and tax and price are so confounded together, that he cannot separate, or does not choose to take the trouble of separating them.

This mode of taxation therefore is the mode suited to arbitrary and oppressive governments. The love of liberty is so natural to the human heart, that unfeeling tyrants think themselves obliged to accommodate their schemes as much as they can to the appearance of justice and reason, and to deceive those whom they resolve to destroy or oppress, by presenting to them a miserable picture of freedom, when the inestimable original is lost.

This policy did not escape the cruel and rapacious Nero. That monster, apprehensive that his crimes might endanger his authority and life, thought proper to do some popular acts, to secure the obedience of his subjects. Among other things, says Tacitus, "he remitted the twenty fifth part of the price on the sale of slaves, but rather in shew than reality; for the seller being ordered to pay it, it became part of the price to the buyer."

This is the reflexion of the judicious historian; but the deluded peo-

NOTE.

\* Tacitus's Ann. Book 13, § 12.

ple gave their infamous emperor full credit for his false generosity. Other nations have been treated in the same manner the Romans were. The honest, industrious Germans, who are settled in different parts of this continent, can inform us, that it was this sort of tax that drove them from their native land to our woods, at that time the fears of perfect and undisturbed freedom.

Their princes, inflamed by the lust of power, and the lust of wealth, two vices that the more they are gorged, the more hungry they grow, transgressed the bounds they ought, in regard to themselves, to have observed. To keep up the deception in the minds of subjects, "there must be," says \* a very learned author, "some proportion between the impost and the value of the commodity; wherefore there ought not to be an excessive duty upon merchandises of little value. There are countries in which the duty exceeds seventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity. In this case the prince removes the illusion. His subjects plainly see they are dealt with in an unreasonable manner, which renders them most exquisitely sensible of their slavish situation." From hence it appears, that subjects may be ground down into misery by this sort of taxation, as well as by the former. They will be as much impoverished, if their money is taken from them in this way as in the other; and that it will be taken, may be more evident, by attending to a few more considerations.

The merchant, or importer, who pays the duty at first, will not consent to be so much money out of pocket. He therefore proportionably raises the price of his goods. It may then be said to be a contest between him and the person offering to buy, who shall lose the duty. This must be decided by the nature of the commodities, and the purchaser's demand for them. If they are mere luxuries, he is at liberty to do as he pleases, and if he buys, he does it voluntarily: but if they are absolute necessities or conveniences, which use and custom

have made requisite for the comfort of life, and which he is not permitted by the power imposing the duty, to get elsewhere, there the seller has a plain advantage, and the buyer must pay the duty. In fact, the seller is nothing less than a collector of the tax for the power that imposed it. If these duties then are extended to the necessities and conveniences of life in general, and enormously increased, the people must at length become indeed "most exquisitely sensible of their slavish situation." Their happiness therefore entirely depends on the moderation of those who have authority to impose the duties.

I shall now apply these observations to the late act of parliament. Certain duties are thereby imposed on paper and glass, imported into these colonies. By the laws of Great Britain we are prohibited to get these articles from any other part of the world. We cannot at present, nor for many years to come, though we should apply ourselves to these manufactures with the utmost industry, make enough ourselves for our own use. That paper and glass are not only convenient, but absolutely necessary for us, I imagine very few will deny. Some, perhaps, who think mankind grew wicked and luxurious, as soon as they found out another way of communicating their sentiments than by speech, and another way of dwelling than in caves, may advance so whimsical an opinion. But I presume nobody will take the unnecessary trouble of confuting them.

From these remarks I think it evident, that we must use paper and glass; that what we use must be British; and that we must pay the duties imposed, unless those who sell these articles, are so generous as to make us presents of the duties they pay.

Some persons may think this act of no consequence, because the duties are so small. A fatal error. That is the very circumstance most alarming to me. For I am convinced, that the authors of this law would never have obtained an act to raise so trifling a sum as it must do, had they not intended by it to establish a precedent for future use \*. To console ourselves

NOTE.

\* Montesquieu's spirit of laws, book 12, chap. 8.

NOTE.

\* Several years afterwards it was ac-



with the smallness of the duties, is to walk deliberately into the snare that is set for us, praising the neatness of the workmanship. Suppose the duties imposed by the late act, could be paid by these distressed colonies with the utmost ease, and that the purposes to which they are to be applied, were the most reasonable and equitable that can be conceived, the contrary of which I hope to demonstrate before these letters are concluded; yet even in such a supposed case, these colonies ought to regard the act with abhorrence. For who are a free people? Not those, over whom government is reasonably and equitably exercised, but those, who live under a government so constitutionally checked and controlled, that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised.\*

The late act is founded on the destruction of this constitutional security. If the parliament have a right to lay a duty of four shillings and eightpence on a hundred weight of glass, or a ream of paper, they have a right to lay a duty of any other sum on either. They may raise the duty, as the author before quoted says has been done in some countries, till it "exceeds seventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity." In short, if they have a right to levy a tax of one penny upon us, they have a right to levy a million upon us: for where does their right stop? At any given number of pence, shillings, or pounds? To attempt to limit their right, after granting it to exist at all, is as contrary to reason—as granting it to exist at all, is contrary to justice. If they have any right to tax us—then, whether our own money shall continue in our own pockets or not, depends no longer on us, but on them. † "There

## NOTES.

knowledge in the house of commons, that this act was only intended for the establishment of a precedent, that, when submitted to, was to be followed by more productive acts.

\* "For a man to be tenant at will of his liberty, I can never agree to it. It is a tenure not to be found in all Littleton." Speech of sir Edward Coke.

"*Etiam si dominus non sit molestus, tamen miserum est, posse, si velit.*—Cicero.

† Lord Camden's speech,

is nothing which" we "can call our own;" or, to use the words of Mr. Locke—"what property have" we "in that, which another may, by right, take, when he pleases, to himself?"

Those duties, that will inevitably be levied upon us—that are now levying upon us—are expressly laid for the sole purpose of taking money. This is the true definition of "taxes." They are therefore taxes. This money is to be taken from us. We are therefore taxed. Those who are taxed without their own consent, expressed by themselves or their representatives, are slaves. We are taxed without our own consent, expressed by ourselves or our representatives. We are therefore—\*slaves.

*Miserabile vulgus:*

A miserable tribe.

## NOTE.

\* "It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies."—"The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England."—"The distinction between legislation and taxation, is essentially necessary to liberty."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it."—"The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea, that ever entered into the head of man. It does not deserve a serious refutation."—Mr. Pitt's speech on the stamp act.

That great and excellent man, lord Camden, maintains the same opinion. His speech in the house of peers, on the declaratory bill of the sovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies, has lately appeared in our papers. The following extracts so perfectly agree with, and confirm the sentiments avowed in these letters, that it is hoped the inserting them in this note will be excused.

"As the affair is of the utmost importance, and in its consequences may involve the fate of kingdoms, I took the strictest review of my arguments; I re-examined all my authorities, fully determined, if I found myself mistaken, publicly to own my mistake, and

*Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London—written in the year 1785.  
(Continued from page 213.)*

## LETTER II.

*Dear friend,*

**T**HERE are many things in theory which are not capable of practical proof: these, as they contribute little to the benefit of mankind, I rank in the lower class of literature. You doubtless remember, when we were schoolmates, how philosophically our professor would harangue upon the original particles of matter, and the simples of nature. For my part, I find no such simples; what is there that is uncompound? Universal nature is a mixture of contrary ingredients, and to every earthly enjoyment there is a contra-part annexed. These in degree are usually proportionate to

## NOTE.

give up my opinion: but my searches have more and more convinced me, that the British parliament have no right to tax the Americans;—"nor is the doctrine new; it is as old as the constitution: it grew up with it; indeed it is its support." "Taxation and representation are inseparably united. God hath joined them: no British parliament can separate them: to endeavour to do it, is to stab our vitals."

"My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable—this position is founded on the laws of nature: it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself, or representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down the distinction between liberty and slavery." "There is not a blade of grass, in the most obscure corner of the kingdom, which is not, which was not ever represented, since the constitution began: there is not a blade of grass, which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor." "The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native coun-

each other; and it is often the case, that the greatest contrail of pleasure and pain arises from those objects which lie nearest the heart. How does the mother joy and grieve, yea, as it were, live and die, with the child of her bosom?

When I first perceived the connexion I was forming with America, and how inseparably my affection was united to her interest, I was not insensible, from the nature of things, to what a vicissitude of passions I was fated. The idea at first startled me; but I at length freely submitted to what my love had made irresistible.

In my former letter I took leave of you, as if with Moses upon the mount, borne away with the rising glory of America. I now sit down to lay before you in a more humble style, those threatening symptoms of a political and

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try, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery. They did not give up their rights; they looked for protection, and not for chains, from their mother country. By her they expected to be defended in the possession of their property, and not to be deprived of it: for, should the present power continue, there is nothing which they can call their own: or, to use the words of Mr. Locke, "what property have they in that, which another may, by right, take, when he pleases, to himself?"

It is impossible to read this speech, and Mr. Pitt's, and not be charmed with the generous zeal for the rights of mankind, that glows in every sentence. These great and good men, animated by the subject they speak upon, seem to rise above all the former glorious exertions of their abilities. A foreigner might be tempted to think they are Americans, asserting with all the ardour of patriotism, and all the anxiety of apprehension, the cause of their native land—and not Britons, striving to stop their mistaken countrymen from oppressing others. Their reasoning is not only just—it is, as Mr. Hume says of the eloquence of Demosthenes, "vehement." It is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continual stream of argument.

moral nature, which pain my heart. In the civil constitution of America, each state, with respect to its own internal police, holds a sovereignty of its own : but, for mutual defence, they are organized into one great body, over which preside their congress, composed of a proportionable number of delegates from each state. In this body was designed to be lodged the supreme authority of the nation, but being invested with their power, at a time when tyranny had rendered the very name of power unpopular, the states fell short of the mark, and, by their restrictions, incapacitated their ruling body, for the discharge of the duty, to which the very nature of their office led them. I am sensible that the ruler has no power, but what is derived to him from the people ; yet the nature of all government requires that he should have so much as to rule for their good, to encourage the virtuous and punish the vicious. Congress, in some things of the greatest importance, have only a right to recommend to their constituent assemblies what they judge intertelling to the public weal ; and however urgent the exigencies of the nation may be with regard to these, yet they must pass the litigation of each assembly, before congress are empowered to act ; and, even then, we find it may be the case, that one of the thirteen will negative the whole. When I was first made acquainted with the powers of congress, I was sensible of the defect, and equally sensible that such was the jealousy of the people, in delegating power to their rulers, that nothing but experience could convince them of the mistake. And experience has already begun to do its office, and by the irreparable loss of an immense interest, has administered more conviction to the populace, than volumes on the subject would have done. I mean in the continental impost recommended by congress to the several states. This was an expedient for cancelling the public debt, that discovered great wisdom and sound policy. It would have done honour to the oldest senate on the globe ; for it eases the industrious farmer, and draws the revenue from the opulent ; or at least, being laid upon the superfluities of life, no one pays any part of it out of choice.

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The states soon discovered their interest in this recommendation, and adopted the plan, all except the state of Rhode Island, which has negatived the whole. And there being no authority to remedy the evil, or chastise their stubbornness, the nation has already lost a revenue, I presume of greater value than the state itself. A few more lessons of such a serious nature as this, will be likely to convince the people that it is not for their interest in this manner to restrict the supreme legislature of the nation. Congress must have more than a name or power of recommendation, in order to act for the good of the whole. However, we may perhaps attribute this defect not so much to a want of wisdom as to those inevitable prejudices to which human nature is incident. At the time when America left her parent country, and for ever dissolved that tender relation which had so long subsisted, it was done under the highest provocation ; there was the greatest affront offered to human reason and liberty : the British ministry, given up to a spirit of insatiation, asserted a right of making laws binding them in all cases whatever.

From this awful spectre they fled ; and in this perturbation of mind, they were driven by the laws of self-preservation to form a constitution of their own. It is not therefore strange, under these circumstances, that a jealousy of power should be so great as to operate to their disadvantage. When with the greatest caution we are endeavouring to shun one extreme, we are almost certain to strike the other. *Incidit in Scyllam, dum vult vitare Charybdim.* Add to this, that the constitution of civil government has, in all ages of the world, been found one of the most delicate subjects, on which human wisdom has ever been employed ; and the prodigal delegation of power has often been attended with the most pernicious consequences. From these considerations I rather think it strange, that the states have not made greater mistakes in their constitution, than what at present appear. This apology for the people, you will readily see, results from the nature of things, rather than from too great a prejudice in their favour. You will not impute it to a want of candour on

the subject, though I pass over many smaller matters, that are not altogether agreeable: for this would introduce a prolixity not suitable in a letter. Were I to give my opinion with respect to the several legislatures individually, I should judge the members, that compose the greater part of their assemblies, much too numerous: if they were lessened half or more, it would expedite their business with less expense: nor, if done by the voice of the people, could it in the least endanger their liberties. But, not to enlarge here, I shall take the liberty to observe further upon the public economy of the states. Perhaps never was a people under better advantage to become great and rich than the Americans, or more circumstances found any where, arising from soil, climate and situation, to render a people independent of the rest of the world. However, from principles of benevolence, I am no enemy to commerce, when regulated by wisdom and sound policy. At present the states appear exceedingly wanting in this economy; and much like the young trader, whose object is to fill his store, without thinking that a day of payment will ever come. The advantage or disadvantage of trade, depends on two things, the circumstances of a people, and the manner in which it is conducted. If they are not in possession of commodities to exchange for what they receive from other nations, and of more than what is necessary for their own consumption; trade, in this case, will not only rob them of the supports of life, but plunge them into debt. Poland is a living example in proof of this observation; she is possessed of scarce any trading commodity, except corn, which is one of her capital supports. The lands are chiefly owned by lords, who oppress their tenants, and take from them this staff of life, that by it they may feed their own luxury in trade with other nations. Under these circumstances, it would be happy for the Poles, if they had no trade open with any part of the globe. It is not so with the Americans. They are possessed of a variety of commodities, a considerable proportion of which may be spared in foreign trade; and to exchange them for the manu-

factures and produce of other nations would be greatly to their advantage. But, in national trade, the exports should be made to answer the imports: otherwise it will for ever drain a people of their cash: this will disturb their internal police, and render almost every member of the community in some degree uncomfortable. There must be public as well as domestic economy: nor is it possible for a people, any more than a family, to flourish without it. At present the balance of trade lies exceedingly heavy against the states, and it is daily increasing: the evil already operates; the people complain of the great scarcity of cash, but are generally blind to the cause. In almost every ship bound for Europe, their cash is exported in large quantities, and there exchanged at least in part, for those toys and superfluities, for which nature has no demand, and which tend to impoverish the buyer as much as enrich the seller. It would be happy for the states, were their congress constitutionally authorized to levy a duty upon all superfluities, that would either wholly discourage the trade, or, if continued, serve to lighten their public burden. It is indeed strange that the sensibility of the states has discovered no more jealousy of this bait when laid by an enemy; for the British nation are no more friends to America now, than when the sword was unsheathed. All their pacific pretensions are but the product of necessity; their sword failed of conquest, and they are now trying the art of trade; and will you call it a groundless fear, should I say, that there may be more danger from this quarter, than from their arms? I mean not to insinuate by this, that I am under fearful apprehensions, lest they may again obtain the jurisdiction of the states; but by plunging them deep into debt, bankruptcy will become frequent in the mercantile part of the community; and in every such instance, the public is more or less injured, not only as it robs them of their cash, but as it will give Great Britain a foothold in their landed property. For when the commodities and cash of the state fail, this must secure the creditor; on this is grounded the above observation, that there may be more danger from British trade than

British arms : for by the latter they conquered no part of America, but by the former they may acquire much. It is easier for us to injure another under the disguise of friendship, than when there is no such artifice made use of to hide the intent. Hence the wise precaution of the Trojan priest against receiving the Grecian horse within the walls : *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Trade naturally carries with it the pretext of friendship, though, like the abovementioned horse, it may be charged with death. Great Britain is crowding in her goods of every kind upon the states ; and the people, blind to the fraud, appear equally zealous in purchasing. It would be greatly for their interest, would they look forward to the approaching evil that must hence result, depending more on their own manufactures, and purchasing nothing but what necessity demands.

The interest of a people has a greater concern in their mode of living, than we are apt to imagine ; when this is conformed to, and governed by their circumstances, it is happy : and no less pernicious, when suffered to run at large without any such rule. When a private person, or family, live beyond their circumstances, ruin will inevitably follow ; and the observation is equally true with respect to the public. America lives too fast for a people so young, who have so lately passed their minority, and whose opportunities of acquiring wealth have as yet, been so small. It discovers a bad taste and great vanity, to think at present of imitating older nations in their superfluities and grandeur. Every thing of this nature should be despised, till their public debt, the price of their redemption, is fully discharged. The commonalty take the higher rank of people for the standard of fashion ; and, governed by a false taste, they carry their imitation to the great detriment of their private as well as public interest. Hence the plough-boy is ruffled ; and the kitchen maid, in her head-dress, rivals the lady of fortune ; and hence it is that Great Britain finds such a market in America for those gaudy and nonsensical superfluities, which are a moth to the world. Did this rank of people conceive the influence which their exam-

ple has on the public welfare, I am sure, if friends to their country, they would study the greatest simplicity and frugality of life. I readily confess, the idea I had formed of America, in this respect, was imaginary. When I left my native country, I indulged the pleasurable thought of leaving all the follies and fopperies of fashion behind me ; I fancied the American taste too noble and philosophic to be endangered by any thing in its nature so perfectly empty ; but, to my grief, I find that these have followed, or rather come before me into the country, where I expect to spend the residue of my life. I am now travelling through the state of Connecticut on my way eastward : a few evenings past I took up my lodging at a plantation about twenty miles from one of their market towns. I was told the town had lately been incorporated with city privileges. My landlord I found in ill humour, expressing not a little discontent, with regard to the difficulty of the times ; it is natural for me when troubles of any kind appear, to examine into the cause ; in this instance, an indirect method of coming at the matter seemed the most advisable. I therefore observed to him, that the country had obtained the object of their conflict ; their army was now disbanded, in consequence of which, their public taxes were much lightened : besides, his farm appeared exceedingly good and well managed ; and under these circumstances we might rationally suspect that his complaints were groundless. The good man replied, that, in the most distressing season of the war, when he had a soldier to hire and equip for service, and when public taxes were the heaviest, he could with much more ease and punctuality discharge his obligations than now. The pork, beef and grain raised on his farm, and carried to market, had annually discharged his public taxes ; he observed that few European manufactures were then in the country, and scarce any of the superfluous kind : they were hence necessitated to industry within doors, and obliged to follow the strictest rules of domestic economy. They manufactured their own apparel, both for male and female with very little exception ; and it was then decent and reputable in any com-

pany; but would now scarcely answer for a common dress. My landlord was particular in relating to me the time and circumstances, that first introduced his troubles; he had a large family of sons and daughters, two of whom, not long after the declaration of peace, made a visit to the city; they discovered pleasure and satisfaction when they went from home, but returned with a very different countenance. The affectionate father immediately enquiring into the cause, found it to be this; the son had met with an acquaintance of his in the city, who was dressed in a very genteel suit of broad cloth and silk; the daughter saw a lady walking the street with a new fashioned hat, ornamented with some remarkable tassels, and one of the most beautiful feathers she ever saw. They found the store where they were to be sold, enquired the price, which they said was exceedingly low. The good man replied to his son, that his dress was such as they could afford, it was neat, plain and manly; and that his character, either as a man of sense, or wholesome member of society, would never suffer from that quarter. And turning to his daughter, he observed, that they had a great variety of poultry on the farm, among which there was a rich diversity of colours, and she might pluck a feather from which she pleased, would she only be content. But arguments availed little; the discontent disturbed the tranquillity of the house, till the articles were purchased; these, brought into the family, had the like effect upon the other children. The dissatisfaction which the partial hand of a parent creates, began to discover itself in a very seditious manner. The old gentleman now seemed driven by necessity to go the round in the trade he had begun, and observed, it had ever since been little short of a continued round of fashions, introduced by the new city on which they bordered. The support of fashion he found to be the heaviest tax that he ever paid; the produce of his farm had always cleared him of the other, but in this it failed. The incomes and charges of his family he found utterly disproportioned, and the balance against him daily increasing. He told me that if this loss of interest had been supplied with an in-

crease of family happiness, the exchange would give him no trouble; but the reverse of this was in truth the case; domestic happiness had forsaken him; contentment, the near companion of simplicity and frugality, was no more. His family was like a vessel in a troubled sea, tossed from fashion to fashion, ever reaching after new, and satisfied with none. He lamented this great and sudden corruption of taste; the difficulty of stemming the torrent; and that the interest he had acquired by hard industry, should in this manner be walled by prodigality.

I conceive it natural for us to pity him, when least able to lend assistance; I am sure it was so with me; I more sensibly felt for the man, because I knew it was out of my power to give relief. And in this painful exercise of mind, I parted from my unfortunate friend. However, the instruction I received was a liberal reward for the sympathetic pain I endured in the conference. In this family I had a striking picture of the community at large: for there is such a likeness between the nature of a family and the body politic, that the same œconomy that is requisite for the prosperity of the one, is equally necessary for the other. And the same corruption of taste, when it is generally diffused through a community, will operate as much to their disadvantage, as it will to the disadvantage of a family or individual.

I am sensible that the popular remark on subjects of this nature is discouraging; "you may as well stop the course of nature as of fashion, it must and will have its career." I feel the difficulty—however, view it not in such a desperate point of light. Public evil, I acknowledge, is not a promising motive to urge for private reformation; but convince a person where his own interest lies, and he will generally attend; or under personal troubles, point him to a remedy, and he will usually pursue it.

No one can deny that the interest of every individual depends on his own private œconomy, and that is all that is requisite to remove the public evil abovementioned. Let that œconomy be generally practised, on which private interest and domestic

happiness are founded, and the public good will doubtless follow. And this idea, if just, certainly affords a very natural and powerful motive of reformation: for here the same thing that is the cause of private and domestic happiness, is a remedy to the public evil. I am sure every person of sensibility, may easily trace the troubles which at present threaten the states, to this origin, the want of domestic economy. The Americans, too much like the rest of the world, live at random; their private and family affairs are conducted without method. And this renders it a matter of entire chance, whether they increase or sink their interest; and should an interest be gotten in this way, it merits no honour, and if lost, it deserves no pity. Every member of the community should reduce his affairs as near as possible to a system, like the well bred merchant, methodise, all his domestic business, compute the necessary expence of his family, bring in to the charge the whole of his public taxes, and annually plan and execute his business accordingly; and in the close of the year, if the balance is in his favour, it is his own; he may purchase with it what he pleases, without injuring the public, or disturbing the tranquility of his family. All this may be done without metaphysical or mathematical skill; the most illiterate who have no knowledge in figures, may adjust the matter with a sufficient degree of accuracy. I have not the vanity, however, to suppose, that this method would provide against inevitable accidents, and those unforeseen occurrences to which human life is exposed; but of this I am certain, it would save men from a thousand evils, into which they now incautiously fall. Bankruptcy would be less frequent, and the prison, compared with what it is now, would be a lonely habitation. Indeed nothing would so much contribute to the happiness of domestic life, or so effectually heal the disorder which is now preying upon the political life of the states. I have long thought it a matter of wonder, that the economy of human life, a science in which public and private happiness is so nearly concerned, is no more studied. Without this, men do but blunder through the world; their passage is

neither direct nor regular; by this defect they sacrifice much of their worldly comfort—often violate the sacred laws of justice, and never become such wholesome members of society as they might otherwise be. But my letter has already past the limits I at first prescribed; had I not remembered that the great law of our friendship was an unreserved friendship, I should not have ventured to express myself so fully, to one whose skill in the subject so far exceeds my own; but you will pardon the defects, and once more indulge me in the honour to subscribe myself,

your friend

and humble servant, &c. &c.

(To be continued.)



#### *On the culture of hops.*

I With the public attention could be drawn to the article of hops—the most wholesome ingredient in the wholesomest drink in the world, and the best adapted to the situation of America. Before the revolution, common hops were sold here at 6d. 1-2 to 7d. per lb. or 4d. sterling. They are now worth double that price, and it is said that a sufficiency for the demand cannot be procured. The southern states might turn some part of their attention to the cultivation of so important an article, and at 4d. to 5d. sterling, below which they are never likely to fall, they must be very profitable to them. They are admissible, free of duty, in the British ports, and merchantable hops are worth there 9d. sterling per lb. The superior quality, called Farnham pockets, are sold at five guineas per 112lbs. Should the price of good hops, in the American markets, be reduced to 4d. or 5d. sterling per lb. why may they not, after supplying our own breweries, be packed and pressed in hogheads, like tobacco, and shipped to England for sale? 'Tis said the American hop is stronger than the British; this the brewers can best determine, Indigo, raised in the southern states, being greatly interfered with, by the importations from India to Europe, tobacco, hemp, cotton, and hops may come in aid of the planters in the Carolinas and Georgia. Y. Z.

# SELECT POETRY.

*To the memory of general Greene.*

GREENE, o'er thy shrine I drop the grateful tear,  
While retrospection paints thy actions near;  
Whilst grief spontaneous bids thy country mourn,  
And wreath the just laurels round thy sacred urn.  
Not to rehearse thy acts I raise my song,  
(To abler pens th' extensive theme belong !)  
But be it mine, to say, with modest care,  
Thy worth was genuine, and thy heart sincere;  
To say, thy banners wav'd with gen'rous zeal,  
And all thy views were aim'd for public weal.  
Brave chief distinguish'd, eminently great,  
In arms conspicuous, as in arts complete,  
Thine is the heart felt sigh, the pang is thine;  
To weep thy loss, 'tis ever, ever mine.  
Praise is the tribute greatly due thy name,  
And distant ages shall record thy fame.  
"Till liberty and freedom cease to glow,  
"With kindred fire to animate below;  
"Till virtue's lost 'midst lux'ry's venal rays,  
"And acts of merit claim no more our praise;  
"Till vice triumphant reigns superior lord,  
"And patriot zeal shall cease to be ador'd;"  
Shall thy renown burn with increasing rays,  
And beam refulgent in meridian blaze;  
Shine more conspicuous with revolving time,  
And truth transmit those acts which speak them thine;  
Thy worth in elevated strains be sung,  
And freedom's guardian live on ev'ry tongue.  
To thee, great chief, to thee be honors paid,  
And acclamations waft thy glorious shade  
To realms of bliss. Ye social spirits, haste,  
Convey the hero thro' th' aerial waste;  
Convey his soul where peace for ever reigns,  
Whilst earth's sad sons depose his great remains;  
With sacred care transplant your noble guest  
To heav'n's expansion, and eternal rest;  
There bliss celestial shall his toils repay  
With tranquil joys, 'midst everlasting day.  
" 'Tis there that merit meets that honour due,  
"And there's the laurel, Greene, reserv'd for you."

XANTHIUS,

*Savannah, July 18, 1786.*



*The deserted farm-house—by Mr. Freneau.*

THIS antique dome, th' unmould'ring tooth of  
time,  
Now level with the dust has almost laid;  
Yet, ere 'tis gone, I trace my humble rhyme  
From the low ruins that his years have made.

Behold th' unsocial hearth!—where once the fires  
Blaz'd high; while yonder wand'ring current froze;  
See the weak roof, that abler props requires,  
Admits the chilling winds, and swift descending  
snows.



Here, to forget the labours of the day,  
No more the swains at ev'ning hours repair;  
But wand'ring flocks assume the well known way  
To shun the rigours of th' inclement air,

In yonder chamber, half to ruin gone,  
Once flood the ancient housewife's curtain'd bed—  
Timely the prudent matron has withdrawn,  
And each domestic comfort with her fled.

The trees, the flow'rs, that her own hands had rear'd,  
The plants, the vines, that were so verdant seen;  
The trees, the flow'rs, the vines have disappear'd,  
And ev'ry plant has vanish'd from the green!

So sits in tears, on wide Campania's plain,  
The ancient mistress of a world enslav'd,  
That triumph'd o'er the land, subdu'd the main,  
And time himself, in her wild transports, brav'd.

So sits in tears, on Palestina's shore,  
The Hebrew town, of splendor once divine;  
Her kings, her lords, her triumphs are no more—  
Slain are her priests, and ruin'd ev'ry shrine!

Once in the bounds of this half ruin'd room  
Perhaps, some swain nocturnal courtship made;  
Perhaps, some Sherlock mus'd amidst the gloom,  
Since love and death for ever seek the shade!

Perhaps, some miser, doom'd to discontent,  
Here counted o'er the heaps acquir'd with pain;  
He to the dust—his gold on traffic sent,  
Shall ne'er disgrace these mould'ring walls again.

Nor shall the glow-worm sopling, sunshine-bred,  
Seek at the ev'ning hour this wonted dome—  
Time has reduc'd the fabric to a shed  
Scarce fit to be the wand'ring beggar's home.

And none but I its piteous fate lament—  
None, none, but I, o'er its sad ashes mourn.  
Sent by the muse (the time, perhaps, mis-spent)  
To shed her latest tears upon its silent urn!



## W I N T E R.

—————“ Sore pinch'd by winter winds,  
“ How many sink into the sordid hut  
“ Of chearless poverty!” —————

**B**LEAK, o'er the plain, the winds tremendous  
    blow,  
Of purest white the fleecy show'r descends;  
The tyrant frost forbids the stream to flow,  
And all its horrors rig'rous winter spends.

The howling wolf his hunger loud proclaims,  
From far is heard the savage panther's cry;  
The rav'nous bear growls o'er the dreary plains:—  
To fate their fury num'rous victims die.

The keenest hunter dares not take the field :  
 To man the forests are impervious grown,  
 Save where the Indian bids the climate yield,  
 And makes the pathless, dreary wilds his own.

Now ye, who fortune's various gifts enjoy,  
 Who bask in sunshine of her warmest rays :  
 Ye whom nor tempest, cold, nor want annoy,  
 Whose days glide on in affluence and ease ;

Think on the poor, the destitute, forlorn—  
 Extend your bounty to the wretch distress'd ;  
 Pluck from the tortur'd breast the cank'ring thorn,  
 By mis'ry pointed, and by care impress'd.

Let not your hearts, by gaiety mislead,  
 Be render'd callous to the tale of woe :  
 But clothe the naked, give the hungry bread,  
 Forbid the tears of wretchedness to flow.

For oh ! the rigours of the year require  
 Some soft'ning hand, the ling'ring wretch to save :  
 Leave for a while your mirth, your social fire,  
 To rescue suff'ring mortals from the grave.

For know your fortune is the gift of heav'n,  
 But not by heav'n for you alone design'd :  
 In trust for gen'rous purposes 'twas giv'n,  
 And proves a blessing to a gen'rous mind.

Prove yourselves worthy of the sacred trust :  
 From dire oppression rescue the oppress'd ;  
 Relieve your fellow creatures, 'tis but just,  
 And you in blessing will be ever blest.



*Prologue, written by a gentleman of New York, and  
 spoken at opening the theatre, November, 1785.*

OF all the rare inventions of mankind,  
 Of pow'r to raise, and meliorate the mind,  
 Genius, perhaps, no greater can impart,  
 Than the blest products of dramatic art :  
 E'er since the time old Thespis trod the stage,  
 The buskin'd muse has charin'd in ev'ry age ;  
 Has taught the heart to feel for others' woe,  
 And gen'rous tears in plenteous streams to flow ;  
 Oft in the patriot breast has rous'd the flame  
 That urg'd to deeds of everlasting fame,  
 Made bold oppression hide its hateful head,  
 And planted law and order in its stead ;  
 Shewn how from vice each fatal error springs,  
 And the pure joys substantial virtue brings.  
 —The passions here in all their forms appear,  
 Loud, stormy rage, soft grief, and wild despair.  
 Each tender breast their various influence feels,  
 Now melts with pity—now with horror chills,  
 When fell Macbeth performs the murd'rous deed,  
 What heart so hard that is not seen to bleed ?  
 Who views old Lear with ev'ry woe oppress'd,  
 And feels not strong emotions in his breast ?

Or who the sad Monimia's tale can hear,  
And fail to drop the sympathetic tear ?

Sometimes the comic muse gay scenes prepares,  
With kind intent, to soften human cares ;  
From real life, each striking portrait draws,  
To scourge the foes of virtue's sacred laws ;  
With lively wit inculcates moral rules,  
And points her satire at the herd of fools.

Blest, ever blest be the poetic art,  
That tends to mend and humanize the heart ;  
Enlists the passions in the cause of truth,  
Withdraws from paths of vice our wand'ring youth ;  
Protects religion, and supports the laws,  
And fires the soul in heav'n-born freedom's cause.



*Speech of an Indian chief, on the injustice of the first  
settlers of America, in depriving the natives of their  
lands.*

ASSEMBLED, ye Sanops, no more with delight,  
To follow the deer in his sporting or flight,  
To range the wide forest, for visit or game,  
And with the keen arrow emblazon your fame—  
Methinks on your brows discontent I behold.  
And grief, like yon mountain, its furrows unfold—  
While bathing its tresses with crystal supplies,  
Its current resembles the gush from your eyes.  
Suspend for a moment the plentiful tear,  
And feather with patience your burdensome care :  
Believe me, we're made by the Parent above,  
And plac'd on this spot by his wisdom and love—  
Where thro' his indulgence our fathers once found  
An ample supply from the meadow and mound.  
Unskill'd in the arts of far regions they stood—  
And drew from the rivers and forests their food ;  
No fraud or injustice, by science refin'd,  
Invaded their wishes, or sullied their mind.  
O'er their native possessions content spread her wing,  
And sleep on their labours threw safety's soft spring ;  
Their title by him who made Indians, was giv'n,  
And register'd fair in the volume of heav'n.  
How alter'd, alas ! is the scene of our day,  
To the rovers of violence fallen a prey—  
With our squaws and papoos we're obliged to roam,  
And steal us in dreary recesses a home.  
Of islands and shores where with bows we once stood,  
And arrested the flight of the air-ranging brood,  
We are ravish'd, exil'd from, and torn by a crew,  
Whom our fires never injur'd, affronted or knew :  
Yet these from their climes for religion (we're told)  
To murder and rob us most piously roll'd.  
Religion ! O strange ! that could thirst for our blood,  
And seize on our rights, held of nature and God.  
That spirit, my friends, who encircles us all,  
And limits our rising, our standing and fall—  
Who, calm as an ev'ning that summer imparts,  
Long waiting if justice would visit their hearts,  
Now sweeps like a tempest, avenging our cause,  
And grinds them with trouble's unmerciful jaws.



What eye can grasp thy all subduing course,  
Whose youth is manhood, and whose weakness force ?

Illustrious statesmen ! ye whose gen'rous souls,  
No party view, no private aim controuls,  
Whose steadfast zeal no other object knows,  
But such as from the gen'ral welfare flows ;  
How great the glory you have justly gain'd !  
What noble heights your wisdom has attain'd !  
Yet more remains--'tis not enough to draw,  
In pleasing theory the forms of law,  
Tho' this your name for ever shall enfold,  
In laurel wreathes and characters of gold ;  
Yet more the praise—if, by experience wise,  
He most shall love your code, who longest tries :  
If future times, from intimates you plann'd,  
Behold the virtues flourish in the land,  
And truth and justice, liberty and peace,  
Secur'd for ever, in a just increase ;  
Then shall your names, esteem'd almost divine,  
Though ev'ry age in hist'ry's annals shine ;  
And thou, oh muse, still mindful of thy trust,  
In songs immortal, shalt embalm the just,  
And mid the archives of perpetual fame,  
Shall place for ever each deserving name !



*Song—By the honourable Francis Hopkinson, esquire.*

SEE down Maria's blushing cheek  
The tears of soft compassion flow ;  
These tears a yielding heart bespeak—  
A heart that feels for others' woe.  
May not those drops, that frequent fall,  
To my fond hope propitious prove ?  
The heart that melts at pity's call  
Will own the softer voice of love.

Earth ne'er produc'd a gem so rare,  
Nor wealthy ocean's ample space  
So rich a pearl—as that bright tear  
That lingers on Maria's face.  
So hangs upon the morning rose  
The chrystal drop of heav'n refin'd ;  
A while with trembling lustre glows—  
Is gone—and leaves no stain behind.

## Foreign Intelligence.



*London October 1, 1788.*

**T**HE settling of the civil list of France to a particular sum, is a great object of M. Neckar's. Hitherto, it has been indefinite, and the sums of money which have been classed in this arrangement, have considerably added to the national debt. The article of expence in the queen's wardrobe is immense—it being her majesty's custom, however valuable her clothes, never to wear a suit a second time.

The behaviour of the Turks at Choczim may be rated as a prodigy in military history. The garrison thereof, being only six thousand men, have baffled all the efforts of the Russians ever since the beginning of the war, and we are informed by good authority, that when the last letters came out of the place, which was on the 1st inst, the Turkish commandant declared—"that bad as their provisions were, they had enough for forty-five days longer, and would then, if not relieved by their countrymen, measure swords once more with the joint army of their assailants."

*Oct. 6.* According to letters from Constantinople, the treaties of peace and commerce between the Ottoman porte and the Swedish nation are revived for fourteen years; in which his subline highness, the sultan, also stipulates for the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. for the same period of time. The subjects of the king of Sweden are in consequence thereof to enjoy the same protection, privileges, and immunities as the most favoured nation in the dominions of the porte. The guarantee treaties of 1740 and 1772, are also revived; and by the additional articles made in the new treaty, the Turks and Swedes are mutual guarantees to each other for their respective dominions in Europe against every power whatever. The Swedish ambassador, who has had the negociation of this treaty, is presented with some valuable presents; and twenty purfes of gold have been distributed to his household.

It is now asserted without reserve in

Paris, that the principal reason which induced the king to retain the archbishop in his ministry, was the expectation that his personal influence would prevail on the body of the clergy to accede to the king's pecuniary demands. To effect their compliance in this particular, on coming into office, he wrote circular letters to all the bishops, which were calculated to allure some, and intimidate others. The following is a just translation of the answer he received from one in Upper Languedoc. It is handed about in the polite circles, and greatly admired:—

"A bishop who discharges his duty, who loves residence, and is void of court ambition, dreads none of those things you mention. If I consider you as the prime minister, I owe you nothing—as a bishop, I am your senior—and as a christian, I am accountable to none, but God. It is his tribunal alone, I daily endeavour to render propitious.—You and I must soon appear before it. Let us mutually beware; we may neither of us find as much favour there as here, before men. I serve God and the king. I fear, you prefer the will of your sovereign on earth to your heavenly intercessor; I never will.—Adieu."

The Neapolitans, like all around them, are brulking up their arms, and getting what little strength they have ready for action. The new artillery 300 guns of different bore, they buy of Sweden.

*Oct. 7.* The emperor of Morocco having for some time past discovered the most hostile dispositions against England, and at the same time making every warlike preparation, commodore Colby, who commands on the Gibraltar station, thought it necessary to be very explicit on behalf of this country; and therefore he demanded to know the emperor's object, asserting, also, that if his armed boats presumed to appear in fleets on the sea, and act hostily against the subjects of Britain, he should immediately order a ship of the line, with some frigates, to attend and destroy them. The emperor, on receiving this notice, dispatched an ambassador to commodore Colby assuring him that he entertained the most cordial friendship and good will towards his master; nevertheless, if George was determined to go to

war, he wished to have four months' notice, which he would also give on similar resolutions, and then "would fight with him, as well as he could;" vowing, however, by his holy prophet, and every obligation which he held dear, that his only object in fitting his numerous fleets, was to send them out to try "if they could not steal something for him;"—and here the matter rests at present. But the policy of this country does not choose to trust implicitly to those trifling professions; and therefore the commander in the Mediterranean has received orders to keep a strict watch over all his motions; and he will receive a supply immediately of two hundred barrels of gunpowder, which are ordered to be dispatched to Gibraltar with all possible expedition.

From the *Hamburgh Gazette*, arrived yesterday, by an article dated the 9th of August, we learn, that in consequence of what had transpired of the deliberations of the council held at Copenhagen on the 14th, and their decision to afford Russia the succours demanded by virtue of the treaty subsisting between the two nations, the Swedish ambassador applied to the Danish minister on the subject, and declared, on the part of his master, 'that the king of Sweden did not think he should have to consider the Danes as an enemy.' The Danish court immediately dispatched a confidential messenger to the king of Sweden at Helsingfors, demanding a categorical answer, whether his Swedish majesty would consider the court of Copenhagen's agreeing to furnish Russia with the succours stipulated by the subsisting treaty, as tantamount to a declaration of war on the part of Denmark against Sweden. The courier was expected to return on the 21st of the last month.

The minister's plan for liquidating the national debt, has already produced an income of 100,000*l.* per annum, which arises from the interest of nearly three millions of three per cent's, that are already purchased.

One factor's house in Dublin, in the linen trade, has stopped for 40,000*l.* On investigation it appears, that the sums they are actually under acceptance for, are not less than 32,000*l.*

The emperor has gone suddenly to Mehadia, which place was expecting every hour an attack from the Turks. It is believed that the Turks from Jassy have totally defeated general Spleny, near Strojessic, and afterwards marching to Choczim, have beat the combined army under the prince of Saxe Cobourg and de Soltikow, whose scattered troops the Turks pursued quite to the Polish territories; and that the garrison of Choczim had made a vigorous sally, in which they had destroyed the batteries newly raised by the besiegers, for the purpose of making a breach. It is certain, however, the Turks are still masters of Jassy, and that general Romanzow, whose present position God only knows, has made no attempt to dislodge them.—It is equally certain Choczim is not yet taken; and as the very extraordinary Vienna gazettes of the 20th and 23d of August (the last in England) do not mention that place, there is every reason to suppose that the intelligence in our private letters is not only founded on fact, but that matters are worse than they durst intrust the account of by the post, as the emperor has prohibited all private writing on state affairs.

*Oct. 8.* All our advices from Germany, both public and private, agree in this, that the Turks never discovered so much activity and courage as in the present war. Their exertions are in fact hardly credible, as they consider their all to be at stake, and are accordingly perfectly unanimous amongst themselves.

Mr. Thomas Barclay, the American consul-general in France, after concluding a treaty with the emperor of Morocco, visited others of the Barbary states, and has lately concluded a treaty of peace and commerce for fifty years with the dey of Algiers.

*Oct. 9.* That celebrated Irish priest, the rev. Arthur O'Leary, whose patriotic writings are held in such estimation by the people of Ireland, is now here, with some plan for the better regulation of the lower orders of society, which is said to have received the very warm approbation of the marquis of Buckingham.

# American Intelligence.



*Boston, November 22.*

Samuel Beck, esquire, one of the members of the honourable house of representatives for this town, appeared yesterday in his seat with a complete suit of American manufactured broadcloth, of an elegant fashionable colour. An example worthy of imitation.

The honourable judge Fuller also lately appeared in the hon. house, in a suit of clothes, the entire manufacture of this country, and the produce of his own farm and family. Independent of the patriotism of the example, the suit looked as well, as if made of foreign superfine broadcloth. His excellency mr. Bowdoin has, we are told, a suit of the same cloth—as has also, mr. Bowdoin, member from Dorchester.

*Charleston, (S. C.) Nov. 7.*

Commodore Gillon observed, on the last day of the sitting of the house of representatives, that the emission of the paper medium, although extremely beneficial, was found by experience to be too small in quantity: and therefore, if he had the honour of a seat in that house at the next election, he should move for an additional emission.

*Philadelphia, November 5.*

It is with singular pleasure we inform our readers, that the vestries of the protestant episcopal churches, in this city, have agreed to establish free schools for the instruction of poor children of both sexes, in their respective congregations, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the christian religion. The girls will be taught, besides the above branches of knowledge, such of the domestic arts as will render them afterwards more useful members of families and of society. The schools will be under the direction of the trustees of the protestant episcopal academy; one of the rooms of which is to be appropriated for the reception of the boys of the free schools. The funds for the support of these institutions, are to be derived from an annual contribution of 2/6 from each subscriber, and from annual charity ser-

mons to be preached in each of the churches. When we consider how much the late distresses of our country have increased the number of poor children in this city, and how deficient many of the parents of such children are, in instructing them in useful knowledge, we cannot help rejoicing in the prospect of an establishment, which shall break the entail of ignorance and vice in some, or continue the descent of virtue and knowledge in other families, by placing their children in a situation to become virtuous and useful members of the community, and to be happy hereafter. It is to be hoped that those religious societies, which have not yet adopted any plan for educating their poor children, will imitate the examples of those societies which have established free schools in our city. It is in this way only, that religious instruction can be communicated, with human learning, without the risk of exciting religious controversy: and when all the different denominations of christians establish schools for their poor, all the poor children of the city will be properly instructed.

*Nov. 7.* Yesterday being the day appointed by the protestant episcopal church, as the annual thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, divine service was performed, and sermons were preached in all the episcopal churches in this city. His excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq. president of this state, and the members of the executive council and assembly, attended public worship in Christ's church, where a well adapted discourse was delivered by the rev. dr. Blackwell.

*Nov. 29.* At a quarterly meeting of the society for the manumission of slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, held at the coffee-house in New York, on Thursday evening the 20th instant, it was resolved unanimously, that the members of the said society will not encourage any vendue-master who shall sell any slave or slaves at public sale hereafter; but will give their business only to such as shall uniformly refrain from a practice so disgraceful and so shocking to humanity.

A letter from Georgia, dated the 22d September, says, "we are at present in a state of anxiety and suspense, be-



cause of the uncertainty of the termination of the treaty which is now about to be held. The Indians, (Creeks) we are informed, are extremely obstinate, and will insist hard to hold the land that was once ceded to us by a part of the nation; and the commissioners will, I suppose, make a demand of another cession of land, as a compensation for the injury we have sustained by the incursions they have made this last year.

"A gentleman of my acquaintance, from Angulla, who was at my house a few days past, informed me, that official letters had arrived from congress to the executive, instructing them to offer such terms as they think proper; and if the Indians would not accede to them, that they would furnish them with two thousand eight hundred men, pay them, and find them clothing, arms and ammunition. If this can be depended on, which I believe it may, there is a great probability that a war will take place, which we should be well able to support, for there never were greater crops in any country, than have been made in Georgia this season. It is supposed corn will sell at one shilling per bushel, and we have large flocks of cattle; but still it would, in some measure, injure this country, for the present; but the large quantity of good land we should obtain, would more than compensate for the fatigue and expense of the war."

A letter from New-York, dated September 24, says, "A farmer here who sowed one bushel of the white-bearded wheat last fall, has now reaped and threshed it, and it yields fifty-three bushels, thirteen quarts and a half; this he sold to people about the country for seed, at the rate of ten shillings per bushel. It was sowed on an acre and one-eighth of land."

Our city markets are on a medium lower at this early part of the season than they were from 1770 to 1775—and the provisions, both animal and vegetable, are of a much superior quality, from the improvements in husbandry introduced since the peace.

## MARRIAGES.

MASSACHUSETTS.—*At Boston*, Mr. P. J. G. De Nancrede, to Miss Hanan Dixcey; Mr. Simon Hall, to Miss Hall.

NEW-JERSEY.—*At New-Brunswick*, Daniel Cooper, Esq. of Long-Hill, Morris-county, aged 92, to Mrs. Gibb, relict of Richard Gibb, Esq. aged 79; Mr. Thomas Mackandels to Miss Jane Durham.

PENNSYLVANIA.—*In Philadelphia*, at the *Friends' Meeting-house, Market-street*, Mr. Samuel Fox, to Miss Sarah Pleasants.

VIRGINIA.—*At Richmond*, Thomas Lee, Esq. eldest son of Richard Henry Lee, Esq. to Miss Mildred Washington, youngest daughter of Col. John Augustine Washington, and niece to his excellency General Washington; Mr. Richard Brewer, to Miss Ann Blackwell of Maryland.

NORTH-CAROLINA.—*At Edenton*, David Witherpoon, Esq. attorney at law, to Mrs. Mary Nash, widow of the late Governor Nash, deceased.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.—*At Charleston*, Mr. Philip Hillegar, to Miss Sarah Mann.

## DEATHS.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.—*At Portsmouth*, Capt. Samuel Dalling; Mrs. Lydia Morris.

MASSACHUSETTS.—*At Boston*, Mr. Benjamin Adams; Miss Polly Black; Mr. David Watson; Mrs. Ann Crane; Mrs. Jemima White.—*At Halifax*, Mr. Benjamin Kent, formerly a barrister at Law in this State.—*At Cambridge*, William Kneeland, Esq.—*At Danvers*, John Winslow, Esq. aged 89;—*At Salem*, Miss Elizabeth Wood.—*At New-London*, suddenly, Prosper Wetmore, Esq.

CONNECTICUT.—*At Willington*, Mr. Jonathan Tutue, in the 94th year of his age. He survived the wife of his youth only seven months; who, at the time of her death, was far advanced in her 93d year.

NEW-YORK.—*At New-York*, Mr. Moses Gall.

PENNSYLVANIA.—*At Philadelphia*, James Potts, Esq. attorney at law, of Potts-Grove, Montgomery county; Robert E. Pine, Esq. an eminent historical and portrait painter.

MARYLAND.—*At Queen's Ann's, Patuxent River*, Singleton Wootton, Esq. *At her seat near Lower-Marlbrough*, Mrs. Rebecca Arnold, aged 77.

VIRGINIA.—*At Richmond*, Mrs. Hunter, wife of Mr. Miles Hunter of Petersburg; Mrs. Lettice Ball of Lancaster county; Mr. Gabriel Galt; Dr. Alexander Skinner.—

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## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For D E C E M B E R, 1788.

## The VISITANT.

*(Continued from page 377.)*No. VII. *Remarks on the fair sex.*

MY professed regard for the fair sex has occasioned various conjectures, as to my character. Many conclude, that I have studied philosophy more than the ladies, and that I judge too hastily from appearances. Some imagine, that the indefatigable dustry with which I have applied whatever regards the fair sex, must proceed from an unaccountable partiality, and they think this has too far prejudiced me in their favour: and once there are those, who think that am one of the more serious sort of their daily attendants; and some that I am an old bachelor, who has devoted his life to their service, in the character of a general admirer. Others again suppose, that this boasted knowledge of female affairs must be a mere pretence, which I have insinuated to give a sanction to my sentiments: they insist, that I discover but little acquaintance with the female mind: and some things, which I have advanced, give occasion to a gentleman of figure to the *beau monde*, to make a shrewd guess—that I was never married.

Whence proceed the unfavourable sentiments, which are generally entertained of the fair sex?—I believe, that, among other causes, the following will be found to be of great influence:—that the ladies, in their endeavours to please, do not always make a proper distinction between adoration and esteem.—There are qualities, which are the objects of our adoration, and not the objects of our esteem; and therefore the most effectual way to excite the former, may not be the least tendency to engage the latter. I beg leave to enquire, whether a lady is not to be looked on as an intelligent creature, and whether the qualities, which we may expect in her

in consequence of it, are not to possess the first rank among her accomplishments?—certainly they are; and it evidently follows, that all the pains, which a woman can take to attract the admiration of the world principally to accomplishments independent of these, are spent to make her appear less important than she really is; inasmuch that, should a man allow more admiration to these inferior qualities, than is due to them, yet still he may have less esteem for the woman than the merit. As I would do all that lies in my power, to instruct my fair readers in the art of pleasing, I must request them to pay a particular attention to this distinction: for, whenever it comes to be a prevailing fault among the ladies, that they appear to prize themselves most upon accomplishments, which have very little connexion with the virtues of the mind—men are naturally led to imagine, that such accomplishments are the most important of female excellencies; and hence they entertain sentiments of the sex, which tend to undervalue them.

When a woman appears too fond of the charms of her person, we call her vain:—vanity consists in valuing ourselves upon accomplishments, which are of little importance. We look upon those, who are addicted to vanity, as persons of a narrow mind; and hence it is, that this vice is the object of our contempt as well as our aversion.

Now, what is the consequence of this female vanity?—Why, men form their idea of a woman's merit, according as she excels in those qualities, which inspire it. Such a lady is an agreeable figure, when she moves in a minuet; and therefore she is called a fine woman. Another walks the streets with a grace;—"what an excellent fine woman!"—cries every fool that sees her. A young lady comes into company with a pretty face, after

preparing in the best order at the looking-glass; and she is stiled a fine woman by all the beauty-gazers present. Miss Such-a-one, on account of her handsome face, has the privilege of talking agreeable nonsense as long as she pleases, and is allowed to be a most extraordinary fine woman. Now it is for these very qualities, upon which the vain part of the fair sex value themselves, that their company is so much courted by the silly part of ours; and with these a fine woman sometimes signifies very little more, than an agreeable triller, or a pretty fool.

A woman may easily know, whether a man has a real esteem for her, or not:—if he has, he will respect those qualities in her, which are calculated to produce it: if he has not, he will behave as if he thought her deficient in those qualities. In the fair sex we admire good sense, virtue, and delicacy. Now, there are many—and these too the most punctual in their devoirs—who actually expect to recommend themselves to their favour by vices the most opposite to these. A young fellow, for instance, is not ashamed to appear before a lady, when he is half-dressed over. The lady, when she sees him next, attempts to shew her disapprobation by a kind of smiling gravity, if I may use the expression; he, in his turn, laughs off the matter with an air of indifference—knowing very well that she is not seriously displeased with him; nay, he values himself, perhaps, upon his manly exploits: she, good-natured soul, cannot persuade herself to be angry at him; not considering, that, if he had the least respect for her, he would never have appeared before her in that condition; and if he had any opinion of her moral principles, he would, at least, have been ashamed of what he had done. I think the sex can never entertain a high opinion of the woman's understanding, to whom he pays his court; he thinks the excellencies, which will recommend him to her, are those, for which he is chiefly indebted to his taylor, and his dancing master; and looks upon it as the utmost reach of her capacity, to admire him for these excellencies. The flatterer cannot but undervalue the woman he flatters; he must not only suppose her vain of

her charms, before she can relish his flattery; but that this vanity has made her so blind, that she cannot distinguish truth from falsehood. In short, if a man esteems a lady for her good sense, her modesty, and her virtue, he will recommend himself to her by such qualities, as will appear most amiable to one of that character; but if his behaviour is such, that a sensible and virtuous woman ought to be displeased with it, he may think he adores her—but he cannot seriously esteem her.

If a lady would acquire esteem, she should cultivate those virtues which render the female mind amiable, and give importance to the sex; but if she would be admired only, let her exert all her skill to put on her best face, and take every opportunity of shewing it to advantage. If admiration be her aim, the most effectual method to obtain it, is this—Let her frequent such places, as will oblige her to spend a great deal of time, and to exert as much taste in dress as the mistress of, to prepare her to make proper appearance,—and where she will not be suspected of having bestowed a single thought upon any thing but her person. But if she would be esteemed, I would advise her never to go where she cannot excel in those virtues, which are the glory of a woman.

To those, who have considered the actions of woman-kind, the follies, in to which an excessive desire of admiration leads the sillier part of them must appear very ridiculous. A young lady, for instance, is engaged to a set of company, where she expects to meet with a circle of her own sex, as trifling as herself, and a number of ours, more trifling still. No care is wanting to prepare her for the important meeting: for hours, before she makes her appearance, she represents to her mind the admiration due to her transcendent charms; and, no doubt, expects that every body else will admire her as much as she does herself. When Celia speaks to you, whatever it is her tongue utters, her eyes evidently demand—“don't you think me extremely pretty?”—and, whenever you address her, you may plainly discover that she thinks you are principally engaged in admiring her beauty. When she walks the streets, discovers you, in every step, her idea of her

own importance: she supposes herself followed by the eyes and hearts of every one near her—now and then, perhaps, she gives a fly glance, to observe whether it is really so. The blooming Florella courts your attention with a different air—she affects to conceal her charms by a down-cast look, expecting that this will increase people's desire of viewing them, and knowing very well, that they will gain admiration, in proportion as they seem to shun it.

A lady should consider, that the world is apt to undervalue her beauty, in proportion as she seems to over-rate it:—we begin to ask ourselves, whether the woman is really as handsome, as she thinks herself; nay, 'tis ten to one, that we begin to search narrowly for her blemishes, and place them in opposition to her boasted excellencies. Now, whenever a lady is disappointed in her immoderate fondness of admiration, she is displeased with herself and every body else; let me advise her, therefore, if she desires to preserve her good nature and peace of mind, to be moderate in her expectations.

It appears, then, that the ladies, while they court our admiration, make us forget those qualities in them, which should be the objects of our esteem. For my own part, my profound respect for the fair sex, has led me to enquire into the several sources of this excessive love of admiration, from the different ways in which it is usually expressed. When a lady enters a room, I can tell, by her air, what qualities she admires in herself,—how much admiration she expects from the company,—and how long she has been preparing herself for it. In the street I can discover whether it is her face, her gait, or her shape, she would have you most admire. Nay, so exact has been my scrutiny, that I know very well a lady's opinion of every feature in her face, that is likely to engage the attention:—the disposition of her hair tells me whether she values herself upon any important beauties in her forehead:—when she speaks, I immediately know, whether she does it for the sake of conversation, or to shew the whiteness of her teeth, and the graces of her lips:—the cheek and countenance, methinks, are generally corre-

spondent:—as for the eye, the language of it is so copious and various, that it has called forth my utmost skill to understand the niceties of it: and yet, I believe, I know enough of it, to discover many things, which some ladies would not choose to be known.

The observations which I have made, qualify me the better for the character of a public monitor to the fair sex, by acquainting them with the foibles to which they are liable. Some of these I have taken the liberty to mention: but in a manner, that reflects honour upon the sex in general, since it points out a way, by which they might become more amiable in the eyes of the world, than they are at present. My sentiments, I hope, have hitherto been favourably received by my fair readers; and this I am encouraged to believe, by the following lines, which it would be injustice to my fair correspondents, as well as myself, to suppress. I.

*To the Visitant, from a circle of ladies, on reading his paper, No. 2.*  
[See page 118.]

**H**A I L, candid, gen'rous man,  
whoe'er thou art;  
Thy sentiments bespeak a noble heart.  
With joy we stile thee censor of, the  
fair—  
To rectify their foibles be thy care.  
Thee, who canst give to virtue praises  
due,  
We safely trust—to lash our errors  
too.  
No keen reproach from satire's pen  
we fear,  
Of little minds, or painted toys to  
hear.  
You, sir, with better sense, will justly  
fix  
Our faults on education, not our sex;  
Will shew the source, which makes the  
female mind  
So oft appear but puerile and blind.  
How many would surmount stern cus-  
tom's laws,  
And prove the want of genius not the  
cause;  
But that the odium of a bookish fair,  
Or female pedant, or "they quit  
their sphere,"  
Damps all their views, and they must  
drag the chain,  
And sigh for sweet instruction's page  
in vain.

But we commit our injur'd cause to you—

Point out the medium which we should pursue ;

So may each scene of soft domestic peace

Heighten your joys, and animate your bliss.

*Philadelphia, March 14, 1768.*



*Remarks on the origin of government, and on religious liberty : ascribed to his excellency, Wm. Livingston, governor of New-jersey.*

**M**ANKIND being undoubtedly all born free, and naturally too proud and too fond of power, to submit to the controul of another, without a proper consideration for parting with their native liberty ; government beyond question owes its origin to common consent. It was for the superior advantages of civil society to the lawless and predatory state of nature, that men consented to abridge their primitive freedom, and submit to the restraints of political institutions. As the weaker and more virtuous were, in their natural condition, a perpetual prey to the stronger and more avaricious, it became necessary for the former, in order to be secured from the rapacity of the latter, to institute a more equitable tribunal for the decision of private contests, than mere animal strength. Hence it became requisite to fix a common standard of right, for adjusting all disputes about property ; and to appoint persons to enforce that standard upon those who would otherwise appeal to violence. The former we denominate laws, and the latter the civil magistrate, who is to carry them into execution. Civil policy was therefore established, and the civil magistrate appointed by the people to secure, by laws, the persons and property of the several individuals composing the society, from those invasions of both, to which, in a state of nature, every one was obnoxious ; and from which nothing but transcendent personal force could defend him. For this end, the executor of the laws, not being stronger in his natural capacity than another, was, as magistrate, armed with the united power of the whole commu-

nity, which no individuals can resist. It is therefore evident, that government was instituted for the good of the people, and consequently the magistrate, whose business it is to execute government, for the same salutary purpose. Hence the absurdity of supposing princes and rulers supernaturally invested with sovereignty, and born to live in uninterrupted luxury and voluptuousness, and their subjects destined by providence to toil and sweat for their particular emolument. And yet if we consider how government is carried on in almost every part of the globe, and retain in our minds the original design of magistracy, how greatly shall we find this benevolent design abused and perverted ? Wherever we turn our eyes we behold the desolations of arbitrary power, and the people groaning under insupportable bondage. Utterly unmindful of their origin, and forgetting the intent of their investiture, those exalted worms of the dust have arrogated to themselves powers which were never bestowed ; and ungratefully abused the authority really transferred to them for the happiness of their subjects, to their ruin and misery. Some by open assault, with armies raised by the state for public defence ; others by the secret sap of largess and corruption ; and all by confederating with the priesthood, and concerting a most iniquitous coalition of spiritual and temporal domination, have finally triumphed over liberty ; and defaced the beautiful creation of God with the infernal devastations of tyranny. But of all their machinations to give stability to despotism, their combination with the clergy has proved the most efficacious and destructive : for ecclesiastics having generally the keeping of men's consciences, were found the best calculated to reconcile their devotees to servitude, and to, I know not what, blasphemous ideas of the divine right of royal roguery ; while kings, to increase their influence, and enable them the more successfully to propagate this political heresy, found it for their interest to enrich them with revenues, and raise them to dignities almost rivaling the splendor of potentates. Hence the motley junction of kingcraft and priestcraft, (the most fatal engine

ever invented by satan for promoting human wretchedness) usually called the alliance between church and state, but in reality a most atrocious conspiracy between two public robbers, for sharing between them the plunder of nations; and for that purpose mutually supporting, and supported by, each other. And hence all politico-ecclesiastical establishments, under pretence of promoting religion, by kings who generally have none, and church dignitaries, who seldom care for any.

With power, thus combined, the clergy were able to compel a submission to their dogmas, by calling the secular arm in aid of their persecutions; and sovereigns, to enchain the people, by the terrors of another world, denounced against them by the clergy, for disobeying the edicts of heaven's viceroy, the king. And thus have these spiritual and temporal plunderers (inseparably united) enshrouded the human species into vassalage, and systemed mankind into all the calamities, which our nature is capable of enduring.

Excepting the small territory of Switzerland, this is a true picture of every part of the world. It is certainly a true portrait of England; where, instead of regarding the interest of the people, administration is nothing but a villainous intrigue still farther to extend the too extensive prerogatives of the crown, and still more to aggrandize the grandeur of the grandees. For these purposes are employed every engine of kingcraft, priestcraft, and (the deformed mis-shapen progeny of both) state-craft, with every species of bribery and corruption which either human, ministerial, or diabolical wit is able to set in motion. And is there any creature among us in human shape, so lost to all sense of liberty and virtue, as not to exert his utmost efforts to prevent the standard of British tyranny from being planted in this happy region, the only spot upon earth, except the Swiss Cantons, where men can call themselves free-men?

I shall, in a future essay, contrast the horrors of slavery with the inestimable blessings resulting from our independence; and prove it the duty of every man, in love to himself, his species and posterity, to consent for

its support and perpetuity with the last drop of his blood.

January, 1773.



*Remarks on liberty of conscience.*

**I** PROMISED, in the preceeding essay, to shew that the inestimable pre-eminence of our free constitution, compared with the tyranny of Britain, ought to induce every man, in love to himself, his posterity and mankind, to defend it to the last extremity. In discharge of my engagement, I shall consider, in my present speculation, our superiority to our late fellow-subjects in England, with respect to liberty of conscience.

If, in our estimate of things, we ought to be regulated by their importance, doubtless every encroachment upon religion, of all things the most important, ought to be considered as the greatest imposition; and the unmolested exercise of it, a proportionable blessing.

By religion, I mean, an inward habitual reverence for, and devotedness to, the Deity: with such external homage, either public or private, as the worshipper believes most acceptable to him. According to this definition, it is impossible for human laws to regulate religion, without destroying it: for they cannot compel inward religious reverence, that being altogether mental, and of a spiritual nature: nor can they enforce outward religious homage; because all such homage is either a man's own choice, and then it is not compelled; or it is repugnant to it, and then it cannot be religious.

The laws of England, indeed, do not peremptorily inhibit a man from worshipping God, according to the dictates of his own conscience; nor positively constrain him to violate it, by conforming to the religion of the state. But they punish him for doing the former; or, what amounts to the same thing, for omitting the latter; and consequently punish him for his religion. For, what are the civil disqualifications, and the privation of certain privileges he thereby incurs, but so many punishments? And, what else is the punishment for not embracing the religion of others, but a punishment for practising one's own? With how little propriety a nation

can boast of its freedom, under such restraints on religious liberty, requires no great sagacity to determine. They affect, 'tis true, to abhor the imputation of intolerance; and applaud themselves for their pretended toleration and lenity. As contradicting itself, indeed, from actual prohibition, a permission may, doubtless, be called a toleration: for, as far as a man is permitted to enjoy his religion, under whatever penalties or forfeitures, he is certainly tolerated to enjoy it. But as far as he pays for such enjoyment, by suffering those penalties and forfeitures, he as certainly does not enjoy it freely. On the contrary, he is persecuted in the proportion that his privilege is so regulated and qualified. I call it persecution, because it is harassing mankind for their principles; and I deny that such punishments derive any sanction from law, because the consciences of men are not the objects of human legislation. And to trace this stupendous insult on the dignity of reason to any other source than the one from which I deduced it in the preceding essay, I mean, the abominable combination of kingcraft and priestcraft (in everlasting, indissoluble league, to extirpate liberty, and erect on its ruins boundless and universal despotism) would, I believe, puzzle the most assiduous enquirer. For, what business, in the name of common sense, has the magistrate (distinctly and singly appointed for our political and temporal happiness) with our religion, which is to secure our happiness spiritual and eternal? And indeed, among all the absurdities chargeable upon human nature—it never yet entered into the thoughts of any one, to confer such authority upon another. The institution of civil society I have pointed out, as originating from the unbridled rapaciousness of individuals, and as a necessary curb to prevent that violence, and other inconveniences, to which men, in a state of nature, were exposed. But who ever fancied it a violence offered to himself, that another man should enjoy his own opinion? Or who, in a state of nature, ever deemed it an inconvenience, that every man should choose his own religion? Did the free denizens of the world, before the monstrous birth of priestcraft, did-

ing, and aided by, the secular arm, ever worry one another, for not practising ridiculous rites; or for disbelieving things incredible? Did men, in their aboriginal condition, ever suffer persecution for conscience-sake? The most frantic enthusiast will not pretend it. Why, then, should the members of society be supposed, on their entering into it, to have had in contemplation, the reforming an abuse, which never existed? Or why are they pretended to have invested the magistrate with authority to sway and rect their religious sentiments? In reality, such delegation of power, had it ever been made, would be a mere nullity; and the compact, by which it was ceded, altogether nugatory—the rights of conscience being immutably personal, and absolutely inalienable: nor can the state or community, as such, have any concern in the matter. For, in what manner doth it affect society, which is evidently and solely instituted, to prevent personal assault, the violation of property, and the defamation of character—and hath not (these remaining inviolate) any interest in the actions of men—how doth it, I say, affect society, what principles we entertain in our own minds; or in what outward form, we think it best to pay our adoration to God? But, to set the absurdity of the magistrate's authority to interfere in matters of religion, in the strongest light, I would fain know, what religion it is, that he has authority to establish? Has he a right to establish only the true religion; or is any religion true, because he does establish it? If the former, his trouble is as vain, as it is arrogant: because the true religion being not of this world, wants not the princes of this world to support it; but has in fact either languished, or been adulterated, whenever they meddled with it. If the supreme magistrate, as such, has authority to establish any religion he thinks to be true, and the religion so established is therefore right, and ought to be embraced—it follows, since all supreme magistrates have the same authority, that all established religions are equally right, and ought equally to be embraced. The emperor of China, therefore, having, as supreme magistrate in his empire, the same right to establish the precepta



of Confucius—and the sultan, in his, the imposture of Mahomet—is hath the king of Great-Britain the doctrine of Christ in his dominion—it results from these principles, that the religions of Confucius and Mahomet, are equally true with the doctrine of our blessed Saviour and his apostles, and equally obligatory upon the respective subjects of China and Turkey, as christianity is on those within the British-realm: a position, which, I presume, the most zealous advocate for ecclesiastical domination would think blasphemy to avow.

The English ecclesiastical establishment, therefore, is, and all the religious establishments in the world, are manifest violations of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. They are impudent outrages on common sense, in arrogating a power of controlling the devotional operations of the mind, and external acts of divine homage, not cognizable by any human tribunal—and for which, we are accountable only to the great Searcher of hearts, whose prerogative it is to judge them.

In contrast with this spiritual tyranny, how beautiful appears our catholic constitution, in disclaiming all jurisdiction over the souls of men; and securing by a law, never to be repealed, the voluntary, unchecked moral suasion of every individual: and his own self-directed intercourse with the Father of spirits, either by devout retirement, or public worship, of his own election! How amiable the plan of entrenching, with the sanction of an ordinance, immutable and irrevocable, the sacred rights of conscience; and renouncing all discrimination between men, on account of their sentiments about the various modes of church government, or the different articles of their faith! For by the XVIIIth article of the constitution of this state, it is declared, “that no person shall ever in this colony be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God, in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatsoever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obli-

ged to pay tithes, taxes or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.” And by the XIXth article it is ordained, “that there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect, in this state, in preference to another; and that no protestant inhabitant of this state, shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles: but that all persons professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect\*, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government as thereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being members of either branch of the legislature; and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity, enjoyed by others their fellow subjects.” And by the XXIIIrd section, every member of the legislative-council and assembly, is obliged, previous to his taking his seat in council or assembly, to take an oath or affirmation, “not to assent to any law, vote, or proceeding, that shall annul, repeal, or alter any part or parts of either of those articles.”

From hence appears the incorrigible malignity of those ministerial emissaries, who endeavour to disaffect to our excellent constitution, the more unwary and credulous, by alarming their apprehensions, that their religious liberties are less secure under the present, than they were under the former, government.

January, 1778.

NOTE.

\* *This clause falls far short of the divine spirit of toleration and benevolence that pervades other of the American constitutions. “Every protestant is eligible to any office of profit or trust.” Are protestants, then, the only capable or upright men in the state? Is not the Roman catholic hereby disqualified? Why so? Will not every argument in defence of his exclusion, tend to justify the intolerance and persecutions of Europe?—C.*

*Observations on the constitution, proposed by the federal convention.*

*(Continued from page 428.)*

LETTER VIII.

THE proposed confederation offers to us a system of diversified representation in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, as essentially necessary to the good government of an extensive republican empire. Every argument to recommend it, receives new force, by contemplating events, that must take place. The number of states in America will increase. If not united to the present, the consequences are evident. If united, it must be by a plan that will communicate equal liberty, and assure just protection to them. These ends can never be attained, but by a close combination of the several states.

It has been asserted, that a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of republican form. What is meant by this position? Is it intended to abolish all ideas of connexion, and to precipitate us into the miseries of division, either as single states, or partial confederacies? To stupify us into despondence, that desolation may certainly seize us? The slavery of poets never resigned to dire a metamorphosis, as is now held up to us. The Aegis of their Minerva was only said to turn men into stones. This spell is to turn "a band of brethren," into a monster, preying upon itself, and preyed upon by all its enemies.

If hope is not to be abandoned, common sense teaches us to attempt the best means of preservation. This is all that men can do, and this they ought to do. Will it be said, that any kind of disunion, or a connexion tending to it, is preferable to a firm union? Or, is there any charm in that despotism, which is said to be alone competent to the rule of such an empire? There is no evidence of fact, nor any deduction of reason, that justifies the assertion. It is true, that extensive territory has in general been arbitrarily governed; and it is as true, that a number of republics, in such territory, loosely connected, must inevitably rot into despotism. Such territory has never been governed by a confederacy of republics. Granted.

But, where was there ever a confederacy of republics, in such territory, united, as these states are to be by the proposed constitution? Where was there ever a confederacy, in which the sovereignty of each state was equally represented in one legislative body, the people of each state equally represented in another, and the sovereignties and people of all the states conjointly represented in a third branch? Or, in which, no law could be made, but by the agreement of three such branches? Or, in which, the appointment to federal offices was vested in a chief magistrate, chosen as our president is to be, with the concurrence of a senate elected by the sovereignties of each state? Or, in which, the other acts of the executive department were regulated, as they are to be with us? Or, in which, the federal judges were to hold their offices independently and during good behaviour? Or, in which, the authority over the militia and troops was so distributed and controlled, as it is to be with us? Or, in which, the people were so drawn together by religion, blood, language, manners, and customs, undisturbed by former feuds or prejudices? Or, in which, the affairs relating to the whole union, were to be managed by an assembly of several representative bodies, invested with different powers that became efficient only in concert, without their being embarrassed by attention to other business? Or, in which, a provision was made for the federal revenue, without recurring to coercion against states, the miserable expedient of other confederacies—an expedient always attended with odium, and often with a delay productive of irreparable damage? Where was there ever a confederacy, that thus adhered to the first principle of society, obliging by the direct authority of its laws, every individual, to contribute, when the public good necessarily required it, a just proportion of aid to the support of the commonwealth—protecting him without disturbing him in the discharge of the duties owing by him to the state of which he was an inhabitant—and at the same time, so amply, so anxiously provided, for bringing the interests, and even the wishes of every sovereignty and of every person of the union, under all their

various modifications and impressions into their full operation and efficacy in the national councils? The instance never existed: The conclusion ought not to be made. It is without premises.

It has been said, that the varied representation of sovereignties and people in the legislature, was a mere compromise.

This is a great and dangerous mistake. The equal representation of each state in one branch of the legislature, was an original substantive proposition (as the writer is instructed) made in convention, very soon after the draft offered by Virginia, to which state united America is much indebted, not only in other respects, but for her merit in the origination and prosecution of this momentous business.

The proposition was expressly made upon this principle, that a territory of such extent as that of united America, could not be safely and advantageously governed, but by a combination of republics, each retaining all the rights of supreme sovereignty, excepting such as ought to be contributed to the union; that for the more secure preservation of these sovereignties, they ought to be represented in a body by themselves, and with equal suffrage; and that they would be annihilated, if both branches of the legislature were to be formed of representatives of the people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each state.

The principle appears to be well founded in reason. Why cannot a very extensive territory be ruled by a government of republican form? Because, its power must languish through distance of parts. Granted, if it be not a "body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and knit together." If it be such a body, the objection is removed. Instead of such a perfect body, framed upon the principle that commands men to associate, and societies to confederate, that, which, by communicating and extending happiness, corresponds with the gracious intentions of our Maker towards his creatures; what is proposed? Truly, that the natural legs and arms of this body should be cut off, because they are too weak, and their places supplied by stronger limbs of wood and iron.

VOL. IV. No. VI.

Arbitrary princes rule extensive territories, by sending viceroys to govern certain districts.

America is, and will be, divided into several sovereign states, each possessing every power proper for governing within its own limits, for its own purposes, and also for acting as a member of the union.

They will be civil and military stations, conveniently planted throughout the empire, with lively and regular communications. A stroke, a touch upon any part, will be immediately felt by the whole. Rome, famed for imperial arts, had a glimpse of this great truth; and endeavoured, as well as her hard-hearted policy would permit, to realize it in her colonies. They were miniatures of the capital; but wanted the vital principle of sovereignty, and were too small. They were melted down into, or overwhelmed by, the nations around them. Were they now existing, they might be called, curious *automata*, something like our living originals. These will bear a remarkable resemblance to the mild features of patriarchal government, in which each son ruled his own household, and, in other matters, the whole family was directed by the common ancestor.

Will a people thus happily situated, and respectively attached, as they naturally will be, with an ardour of affection to their own state, ever desire to exchange their condition, for subjection to an absolute ruler; or can they ever look but with veneration, or act but with deference to that union, that alone can, under providence, preserve them from such subjection?

Can any government be devised, that will be more suited to citizens, who wish for equal freedom and common prosperity? better calculated for preventing corruption of manners? for advancing the improvements that enliven or adorn life? or that can be more conformed to the nature, understanding, and best end of man? What harvests of happiness may grow, from the seeds of liberty, that are now sowing? The cultivation will, indeed, demand continual care, unceasing diligence, and frequent conflicts with difficulties. This too is conformant to the laws of our nature. As we pass through night into day, so do we

through trouble into joy. Generally, the higher the prize, the deeper the suffering. We die into immortality. To object against the benefits offered to us by our Creator, by excepting to the terms annexed, is a crime, to be equalled only by its folly.

Delightful are the prospects that will open to the view of united America—her sons well prepared to defend their own happiness, and ready to relieve the misery of others—her fleets formidable, but only to the unjust—her revenue sufficient, yet unoppressive—her commerce affluent, without debasing—peace and plenty within her borders—and the glory, that arises from a proper use of power, encircling them.

Whatever regions may be destined for servitude, let us hope, that some portions of this land will be blessed with liberty; let us be convinced, that nothing short of such an union as has been proposed, can preserve the blessing; and therefore let us be resolved to adopt it.

As to alterations, a little experience will cast more light upon the subject, than a multitude of debates. Whatever qualities are possessed by those who object, they will have the candour to confess, that they will be encountered by opponents, not in any respect inferior, and yet differing from them in judgment, upon every point they have mentioned.

Such untired industry to serve their country did the delegates to the federal convention exert; that they not only laboured to form the best plan they could, but provided for making at any time, amendments on the authority of the people, without shaking the stability of the government. For this end, the congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress.

Thus, by a gradual progress, as has been done in England, we may from time to time introduce every improvement in our constitution, that shall be suitable to our situation. For this purpose, it may perhaps be advisable, for every state, as it sees occasion, to form with the utmost deliberation, drafts of alterations respectively required by them, and to enjoin their representatives, to employ every proper method to obtain a ratification.

In this way of proceeding, the undoubted sense of every state, collected in the coolest manner, not the sense of individuals, will be laid before the whole union in congress; and that body will be enabled, with the clearest light that can be afforded by every part of it, and with the least occasion of irritation, to compare and weigh the sentiments of all united America; forthwith to adopt such alterations as are recommended by general unanimity; by degrees to devise modes of conciliation upon contradictory propositions; and to give the revered advice of our common country, upon those, if any such there should be, that in her judgment are inadmissible, because they are incompatible with the happiness of these states.

It cannot be with reason apprehended, that congress will refuse to act upon any articles calculated to promote the common welfare, though they may be unwilling to act upon such as are designed to advance partial interests: but, whatever their sentiments may be, they must call a convention for proposing amendments, on applications of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several states.

May those good citizens, who have sometimes turned their thoughts towards a second convention, be pleased to consider, that there are men who speak as they do, yet do not mean as they do. These borrow the sanction of their respected names, to conceal desperate designs. May they also consider, whether persisting in the suggested plan, in preference to the constitutional provision, may not kindle flames of jealousy and discord, which all their abilities and virtues can never extinguish.

FABIUS.

*Philadelphia, April 29, 1788.*

LETTER IX.

WHEN the sentiments of some objectors, concerning the British constitution, are considered, it is surprising, that they should apprehend so much danger to united America, as, they say, will attend the ratification of the plan proposed to us, by the late federal convention.

These gentlemen will acknowledge, that Britain has sustained many internal convulsions, and many foreign wars, with a gradual advancement in freedom, power, and prosperity. They will acknowledge, that no nation has existed, that ever so perfectly united those distant extremes, private security of life, liberty, and property, with exertion of public force—so advantageously combined the various powers of militia, troops, and fleets—or so happily blended together arts, arms, commerce, and agriculture. From what spring has flowed this stream of happiness? The gentlemen will acknowledge, that these advantages are derived from a single democratical branch in her legislature. They will also acknowledge, that in this branch, called the house of commons, only one hundred and thirty one are members for counties; that nearly one half of the whole house is chosen by about five thousand seven hundred persons, mostly of no property; that fifty-six members are elected by about three hundred and seventy persons, and the rest in an enormous disproportion\* to the numbers of inhabitants who ought to vote. †

Thus are all the millions of people in that kingdom, said to be represented in the house of commons.

Let the gentlemen be so good, on a subject so familiar to them, as to make a comparison between the British con-

NOTES.

\* No member of parliament ought to be elected by fewer than the majority of 800, upon the most moderate calculation, according to doctor Price.

† By the constitution proposed to us, a majority of the house of representatives, and of the senate, makes a quorum to do business: but, if the writer is not mistaken, about a fourteenth part of the members of the house of commons, makes a quorum for that purpose.

stitution, and that proposed to us. Questions like these will then probably present themselves: is there more danger to our liberty, from such a president as we are to have, than to that of Britons, from an hereditary monarch, with a vast revenue—absolute in the erection and disposal of offices, and in the exercise of the whole executive power—in the command of the militia, fleets, and armies, and the direction of their operations—in the establishment of fairs and markets, the regulation of weights and measures, and coining of money—who can call parliaments with a breath, and dissolve them with a nod—who can, at his will, make war, peace, and treaties irrevocably binding the nation—and who can grant pardons and titles of nobility, as it pleases him? Is there more danger to us, from twenty-six senators, or double the number, than to Britons, from an hereditary aristocratic body, consisting of many hundreds, possessed of immense wealth in lands and money—strengthened by a host of dependents—and who, availing themselves of defects in the constitution, send many of these into the house of commons—who hold a third part of the legislative power in their own hands—and who form the highest court of judicature in the nation? Is there more danger to us, from a house of representatives, to be chosen by all the freemen of the union, every two years, than to Britons, from such a sort of representation as they have in the house of commons, the members of which, too, are chosen but every seven years? Is there more danger to us, from the intended federal officers, than to Britons, from such a monarch, aristocracy, and house of commons together? What bodies are there in Britain, vested with such capacities for enquiring into, checking, and regulating the conduct of national affairs, as our sovereign states? What proportion does the number of freeholders in Britain bear to the number of people? And what is the proportion in united America?

If any person, after considering such questions, shall say, there will be more danger to our freedom under the proposed plan, than to that of Britons under their constitution, he must mean, that Americans are, or will be, beyond all comparison infe-

rior to Britons in understanding and virtue: otherwise, with a constitution and government, every branch of which is so extremely popular, they certainly might guard their rights, at least as well, as Britons can guard theirs, under such political institutions as they have; unless, the person has some inclination to an opinion, that monarchy and aristocracy are favourable to the preservation of their rights. If he has, he cannot too soon recover himself. If ever monarchy or aristocracy appear in this country, it must be in the hideous form of despotism.

What an infuriated, depraved people must Americans become, if, with such unequalled advantages, committed to their trust in a manner almost miraculous, they lose their liberty? Through a single organ of representation, in the legislature only, of the kingdom just mentioned, though that organ is diseased, such portions of popular sense and integrity, have been conveyed into the national council, as have purified other parts, and preserved the whole in its present state of healthfulness. To their own vigour and attention, therefore, is that people, under providence, indebted for the blessings they enjoy. They have held, and now hold the true balance in their government. While they retain their enlightened spirit, they will continue to hold it; and, if they regard what they owe to others, as well as what they owe to themselves, they will most, probably, continue to be happy.\*

They know, that there are powers that cannot be expressly limited, without injury to themselves; and their magnanimity scorns any fear of such powers. This magnanimity taught Charles the first, that he was but a royal servant: and this magnanimity caused James the second's army, rais-

#### NOTES.

\* If to the union of England, Wales and Scotland, one more generous nation be added, the representation in the house of commons be improved, and the prerogative of creating peers be regulated, there seems to be the highest probability, that the empire will be much strengthened and aggrandized.

ed, paid, and kept up by himself, to confound him with huzzas for liberty.

They ask not for compacts, of which the national welfare, and, in some cases, its existence, may demand violations. They despise such dangerous provisions against danger.

They know, that all powers whatever, even those that, according to the forms of the constitution, are irresistible and absolute, of which there are very many, ought to be exercised for the public good; and that when they are used to the public detriment, they are unconstitutionally exerted.

This plain text, commented upon by their experienced intelligence, has led them safe through hazards of every kind; and they now are, what we see them. Upon the review, one is almost tempted to believe, that their insular situation, soil, climate, and some other circumstances, have compounded a peculiarity of temperature, uncommonly favourable to the union of reason and passion.

Certainly, 'tis very memorable, with what life, impartiality, and prudence, they have interposed on great occasions; have by their patriotism communicated temporary soundness to their disordered representation; and have bid public confusions to cease. Two instances out of many may suffice. The excellent William the third was distressed by a house of commons. He dissolved the parliament, and appealed to the people. They relieved him. His successor, the present king, in the like distress, made the same appeal; and received equal relief.

Thus they have acted: but Americans, who have the same blood in their veins, have, it seems, very different heads and hearts. We shall be enslaved by a president, senators, and representatives, chosen by ourselves, and continually rotating within the period of time assigned for the continuance in office of members, in the house of commons? 'Tis strange; but, we are told, 'tis true. It may be so. As we have our all at stake, let us enquire, in what way this event is to be brought about. Is it to be before or after a general corruption of manners? If after, it is not worth attention. The loss of happiness then follows of course. If before, how is

it to be accomplished? Will a virtuous and sensible people choose villains or fools for their officers? Or, if they should choose men of wisdom and integrity, will these lose both or either, by taking their seats? If they should, will not then places be quickly supplied by another choice? Is the like derangement again, and again, and again, to be expected? Can any man believe, that such astonishing phenomena are to be looked for? Was there ever an instance, where rulers, thus selected by the people from their own body, have, in the manner apprehended, outraged their own tender connexions, and the interests, feelings, and sentiments of their affectionate and confiding countrymen? Is such a conduct more likely to prevail in this age of mankind, than in the darker periods that have preceded? Are men more disposed now than formerly, to prefer uncertainties to certainties, things perilous and intamous to those that are safe and honourable? Can all the mysteries of such iniquity, be so wonderfully managed by treacherous rulers, that none of their enlightened constituents, nor any of their honest associates, acting with them in public bodies, shall ever be able to discover the conspiracy, till at last it shall burst with destruction to the whole federal constitution? Is it not ten thousand times less probable, that such transgression will happen, than it is, that we shall be exposed to innumerable calamities, by rejecting the plan proposed, or even by delaying to accept it.

Let us consider our affairs in another light, and be counsel from those who cannot love us, any farther than as we may be subservient to their views.

Not a monarch or sovereignty in Europe, can desire to see these states formed into one flourishing empire. Our difference of government, participation in commerce, improvement in policy, and magnitude of power, can be no favourite objects of their attention. Our loss will be their gain—our fall, their rise—our flame, their ruin. Divided, they may distract, licitate, and destroy. United, their efforts will be waxes dashing themselves into foam against a rock. May our national character be—an animated moderation, that seeks only its

own, and will not be satisfied with less.

To his beloved fellow-citizens of united America, the writer dedicates this imperfect testimony of his affection, with fervent prayers, for a perpetuity of freedom, virtue, piety, and felicity, to them and their posterity.

F A B I U S.

*Philadelphia, May 1, 1788.*



*An account of a remarkable alteration of colour in a negro woman: in a letter to the rev. mr. Alexander Williamson of Maryland, from mr. James Bate, surgeon in that province, 1759.*

Sir,

**I**N compliance with your desire, I send as particular an account of the extraordinary metamorphosis, observable in colonel Barnes's negro woman, as I have been able to procure.

Frank, a cook-maid of the above-named gentleman, a native of Virginia, about forty years of age, remarkably healthy, of a strong and robust constitution, had her skin originally as dark as that of the most swarthy Africans; but, about fifteen years ago, it was observed, that the membrane, in the parts next adjoining to the finger nails, became white: her mouth soon underwent the same change; and the phenomenon hath since continued, gradually, to extend itself over the whole body: so that every part of its surface is become, more or less, the subject of this surprizing alteration. In her present state, four parts in five, of the skin, are white, smooth, and transparent, as in a fair European, elegantly shewing the ramifications of the adjacent blood-vessels: the parts remaining sooty, daily lose their blackness, and in some measure partake of the prevailing colour; so that a very few years will, in all probability, induce a total change. The neck, and back, along the course of the *vertebræ*, maintain their pristine hue the most, and, in four spots, proclaim their original state: the head, face and breast, with the belly, legs, arms, and thighs, are almost wholly white; the *pubenda* and *avillæ*, partly coloured; the skin of these parts, as far as white, being covered with white hair;

where dark, with black. Her face and breast, as often as the passions of anger, shame, &c. had been excited in her, have been immediately observed to glow with blushes; as also, when, in pursuance of her business, she has been exposed to the action of the fire upon those parts, some freckles have made their appearance.

After having described her present appearance as well as I am able, I shall not pretend to offer any conjectures of my own upon the subject; lest, being led away by a train of reasoning, I should lose myself, in endeavouring to establish a favourite hypothesis; but, on the contrary, shall confine myself to a simple narration of such facts, as may prevent mistakes, or obviate difficulties, arising in the investigation of this difficult piece of physical history. And, in the first place, lest the change should be thought the consequence of a previous morbid state—the declares, that, excepting about seven years ago, when she was delivered of a child, she hath never been afflicted with any complaint of twenty four hours continuance: and that she never remembers the *catamenia* to have been either irregular or obstructed, only during this pregnancy: she has never been subject to any cutaneous disorders, or made use of any external applications, by which this phenomenon might be produced. The effects of the bile upon the skin are well known to physicians, and have given rise to an opinion, that its colour was determined thereby. For my own part, I cannot believe it has any thing to do here; since, from all the circumstances I have been able to collect, I cannot find the least reason to suspect, that this fluid, whether cylic or hepatic, has undergone any alteration. As action is known to make the skin of negroes become white, and as she is daily employed in the business of cookery, it may perhaps be supposed the effect of heat: but this can never be the case, as she has ever been well clad; and the change is as obvious in the parts protected from the action of that element, as in those the most exposed thereto. As an emunctory, the skin seems to perform its office as well as possible; the sweat with the greatest freedom, indifferently pervading the black and white parts. The effects of

a blister, I mentioned to you, I am yet a stranger to, as that which I applied upon the outside of the arm, did not answer the intended purpose. Whether this was owing to its being laid upon a part too much exposed, or that the *corpus reticulare* being destroyed, there may be such an adhesion of the cuticle to the *cutis*, as may render them inseparable, a second experiment must determine.



*Observations on the cicada, or locust of America, which appears periodically once in 16 or 17 years. By Moses Bartram.*

ON the 8th of June, 1766, I took several twigs of different kinds of trees, on which I then saw cicadas or locusts, darting, as it is called, to lay their eggs; of those twigs I put some in empty phials; some in phials, with a little water; and some I stuck in a pot of earth, which I kept moist, in order to preserve the twigs fresh.

July 21, the eggs in the twigs in the phial with water, hatched, as did those in the twigs in the pot of earth, soon after them; but the twigs in the empty phial being withered, the eggs perished; yet I have observed that on twigs accidentally broken off in the woods, if they lie near the ground in the shade, so as to be kept moist, the eggs in them will hatch in their due time; but in those that are exposed to the sun, they surely die.

The young locusts, that were hatched in the twigs in the phial, ran down the twigs to the water, on which they floated about four and twenty hours, and then died; those that were hatched in the twigs in the pot of earth, ran down the twigs immediately to the earth, and entered it at the first opening they could find, which they searched for eagerly, as if already sensible of danger, by being exposed to the light of the sun.

I have observed, that, in the natural way, the eggs are usually hatched in six weeks; but if, by the luxuriance of the growth of the shoots, into which the eggs are darted, the rind of the tree closes and confines them, they will in that situation remain several months, till by some lucky accident they are disengaged, and then they will hatch in a few minutes after, and seek their



retreat in the earth, in the same manner as those hatched in the usual time. But many perish by being thus imprisoned.

Viewed through a microscope the moment they are hatched, they appear in every respect as perfect as at the time of their last transformation, when they rise out of the earth, put off their scaly covering, expand their wings, display their gaudy colours, dart forth their eggs, and after a few days existence, to fulfil the wise purposes of their Maker, close the period of their lives by an easy death. How astonishing, therefore, and inscrutable is the design of providence, in the production of this insect, that is brought into life, according to our apprehension, only to sink into the depths of the earth, there to remain in darkness, till the appointed time comes, when it ascends again into light by a wonderful resurrection! The means by which they are enabled to continue their species, is no less singular than their manner of existence. The females are furnished with a bearded dart, with which they pierce the tender shoots of all trees they happen to light upon, without regard to situation or species; many, therefore, perish by the quick growth of the trees into which the eggs are darted; and more, perhaps, by being laid in twigs that hang over streams or standing waters. The dart by which the operation is performed, consists of three parts; a middle, and two sides: The middle is hollow, through which the eggs are darted, and the two sides serve for a covering to defend it. These may easily be taken apart, by slipping the middle through the grooves of the two sides, and it is by slipping the two outside parts by each other rapidly, that they work a kind of slant hole in the soft twig they make choice of, till they reach the pith, and then they eject their eggs into it, to the number of twelve; when this is performed, they begin another hole close by the side of the former, and so continue to work, till they have carried along two rows, each row consisting of twelve or more holes. They then remove to another twig, and proceed as before; and so from twig to twig, till they have exhausted their store, after which they soon expire.

I have not yet been able to disco-

ver the full depth to which these little animals descend. Some, I have heard, have been found thirty feet deep. I myself have seen them ten.

They do not, however, seem to travel to any great distance horizontally; for they are seldom found far from the woods, unless in grounds that have been newly cleared. It often, however, happens, that in the long period of their torpid state, great tracts of country are cleared in North America from trees, and converted into arable or pasture; hence it is, no unusual thing to see them leave their cells in those plain grounds, and hasten to some adjoining fence to put off their incumbrance, and prepare themselves for flight. This they do always in the night, by crawling to some tree, along a fence, or among bushes or strong grass; and it is remarkable, that they differ in this from every other insect in its chrysalis state; for, instead of being wrapped up in a plain covering, which confines the inhabitant to a certain spot till it bursts, they have a covering fitted to their form, in which they can travel to a considerable distance; and which they cannot leave, till they find some solid substance, in which they fix their claws, and then, with an effort which requires the utmost exertion of their strength, they burst their case, which always opens from the shoulders to the forepart of the head, out of which they crawl, leaving it sticking fast behind. Thousands of these cases may be seen in a morning, sticking to all parts of trees, which being hardened in the sun, have a scaly-like substance, which not being flexible after it is dry, often so incumbers them, before they can put it off, that many perish in the attempt. For this reason, they always choose the night for this operation; and wait for the enlivening influence of the warm sun to strengthen and give consistence to their wings, which at first are white, soft, and moist, but soon assume a dark brown colour, with a firmness that enables them to fly, and a transparency that adds a beauty to their appearance, which before was wanting.

It is remarkable, that in every state of this insect's existence, it is eagerly pursued for food by others. In the very egg, it is the prey of ants and birds of every kind; in that of the

grub, by hogs, dogs, and all carnivorous animals that can unearth it; and in its most perfect state, not only by many kinds of bealls and birds, but even by men, many of the Indians, it is said, feeding sumptuously upon them.

Soon after they arrive at their last state of transformation, they seek mates to enable them to continue their species; and in this, too, they are very singular; the female, as has been observed, is furnished with a dart, the shaft of which, takes its rise below the middle of the insect; on the contrary, the male projects his dart from behind, and fixes it near the shaft of what of the female, where it remains for many hours together; during which time, they are not to be separated without laceration.

During the season of copulation, from sun-rise to sun-set, the noise they make is so loud and perpetual, that little else can be heard in the woods where they abound; and it is doubtful, whether, during this season, or indeed during their whole time of existence in this state, they eat any thing, or subsist only by sipping the dew: for which purpose they seem to be furnished with a long tube, extending from their heads flat to their breast, and terminating between their legs, without the power of altering its position. Other than this tube, they seem to have none for the purpose of subsistence.

*Account of an animal surviving the loss of all the small guts extracted from a letter to Peter Collinson, esq. from the rev. Jared Eliot, M. A. at Killingworth in Connecticut, New England, Sept. 14, 1762.*

**T**HE hon. Samuel Lynde, one of the council and a chief judge of the court, told me, that having sent for a man to spay a number of sow pigs, some time after this operation, one of the pigs creeping under a fence, by straining burst the stitches, and all the small guts issued out at the orifice, as big as a person's fist; the pig was lively, and ran about with its mate as though it felt no pain: but Mr. Lynde desired a person that happened to be present, to kill the pig, to prevent a lingering death, which he imagined must inevi-

tably be the case; this the man declined to do, but said that he would try an experiment: he took a sharp knife, and cut off all smooth, and applied a plaister of pitch to the wound the pig ran about, and seemed other wise well; the plaister soon fell off and the pig dunged out at the orifice the operator had made, for a time and then by the natural passage: and the wound healed up.

This swine, the whole time, seemed to be as well as the rest of the litter grew as fast, and at killing time was as fat as any of the others. This was very strange, when so large a portion of the intestines was cut away. I told the gentleman that if I had known it at the season of slaughter, I would have travelled to his house (which was ten miles) to have seen how nature had provided, under such a mutilation for the preservation and support of that animal.

*Useful hints for learning to swim.*  
By Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D.  
F. R. S. In a letter to a friend.

Dear sir,

**I** CANNOT be of opinion with you, that it is too late in life for you to learn to swim: the river near the bottom of your garden, affords a most convenient place for the purpose. And, as your new employment requires your being often on the water, of which you have such a dread, I think you would do well to make the trial; nothing being so likely to remove those apprehensions, as the consciousness of an ability to swim to the shore, in case of an accident, or of supporting yourself in the water, till a boat should come to take you up.

I do not know how far corks or bladders may be useful in learning to swim, having never seen much trial of them. Possibly they may be of service in supporting the body, while you are learning what is called the stroke, or that manner of drawing in and striking out the hands and feet, that is necessary to produce progressive motion. But you will be no swimmer till you can place some confidence in the power of the water to support you; I would therefore advise the acquiring that confidence in the first place, especially as I have known several, who, by a little of the

practice necessary for that purpose, have insensibly acquired the stroke, taught as it were by nature.

The practice I mean is this: choos- ing a place where the water deepens gradually, walk coolly into it, till it is up to your breast, then turn round your face to the shore, and throw an egg into the water, between you and the shore; it will sink to the bottom; and be easily seen there, as your water is clear. It must lie in the water so deep, that you cannot reach it to take it up, but by diving. To encourage yourself, in order to do this, reflect that your progress will be from deeper to shallower water, and that, at any time, you may, by bringing your legs under you, and standing on the bottom, raise your head far above the water. Then plunge under it with your eyes open, throwing yourself towards the egg, and endeavouring, by the action of your hands and feet against the water, to get forward, till within reach of it. In this attempt, you will find that the water buoys you up against your inclination; that it is not so easy a thing to sink, as you imagined; that you cannot, but by active force, get down to the egg. Thus you feel the power of the water to support you, and learn to confide in that power; while your endeavours to overcome it, and to reach the egg, teach you the manner of acting on the water with your feet and hands; which action is afterwards used, in swimming, to support your head higher above water, or to go forward through it.

I would the more earnestly press you to the trial of this method, because, though I think I satisfied you, that your body is lighter than water, and that you might float in it a long time, with your mouth free for breathing, if you would put yourself in a proper posture, and would be still, and forbear struggling; yet, till you have obtained this experimental confidence in the water, I cannot depend on your having the necessary presence of mind, to recollect that posture, and the directions I gave you relating to it. The surprise may put all out of your mind. For, though we value ourselves on being reasonable, knowing creatures, reason and knowledge seem, on such occasions, to be of lit-

tle use to us: and the brutes, to whom we allow scarce a glimmering of either, appear to have the advantage of us.

I will, however, take this opportunity of repeating those particulars to you, which I mentioned in our last conversation; as, by perusing them at your leisure, you may possibly imprint them so in your memory, as, on occasion, to be of some use to you.

First, that, though the legs, arms, and head of a human body, being solid parts, are specifically somewhat heavier than fresh water, yet the trunk, particularly the upper part, from its hollowness, is so much lighter than water, that the whole of the body, taken together, is too light to sink wholly under water; but some part will remain above, until the lungs become filled with water; which happens from drawing water into them, instead of air, when a person, in the fright, attempts breathing, while the mouth and nostrils are under water.

2dly, That the legs and arms are specifically lighter than salt-water, and will be supported by it; so that a human body would not sink in salt-water, though the lungs were filled as above, but from the greater specific gravity of the head.

3dly, That, therefore, a person throwing himself on his back in salt-water, and extending his arms, may easily lie so as to keep his mouth and nostrils free for breathing; and, by a small motion of his hands, may prevent turning, if he should perceive any tendency to it.

4thly, That, in fresh water, if a man throws himself on his back, near the surface, he cannot long continue in that situation, but by a proper action of his hands on the water. If he uses no such action, the legs and lower part of the body will gradually sink, till he comes into an upright position, in which he will continue suspended, the hollow of the breast keeping the head uppermost.

5thly, But if in this erect position the head is kept upright above the shoulders, as when we stand on the ground, the immersion will, by the weight of that part of the head that is out of water, reach above the mouth and nostrils, perhaps a little above the



to the bones of animals, that feed on them. Now, as the tubes, by which trees derive their nourishment from the earth, are analogous to the mouths of animals, it is not unlikely that the curious naturalist, who will endeavour to convey colored juices into the bodies of trees through this channel, may have the pleasure of seeing his experiments attended with the desired success.



*To change the colour of the auricula.*

**T**AKE the root of this flower, at the beginning or the end of winter, when it is not in a state of vegetation; and, with a needle, pass through it several threads of silk, of whatever colour you please: put it in earth; and when the flower blows in the usual season, you will find the colour of the threads communicated to the leaves.



*Letter from the society established in Paris, on the plan of those in England and America, to effect the abolition of the commerce and slavery of the negroes—*

*To the committee of the Pennsylvania society for the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage.*

**T**HE conformity of our designs has engaged us to inform you, that M. John Peter Brissot de Warville, who has hitherto been our secretary, and who, by his humane sentiments, talents, and indefatigable zeal, has principally contributed to the establishment and progress of our society, has undertaken a voyage to North America; that, in the course of his travels, he intends to collect all possible information on the situation of negroes in that part of the world; on the measures which are taken either to set them free, or to prevent the importation of them; on the real consequences of such measures, both in regard to the cultivation of lands, and the moral character of the negroes; and in general, on whatever may concern this unhappy but interesting part of the human species, and may be of service to dispose governments and individuals in their favour. And as the success of M. Brissot de War-

ville, in these enquiries, will principally depend on the assistance he has reason to expect from those who pursue the same object; we earnestly request you to aid him by all the means in your power, and to render him, both personally in consideration of his virtues, and the principles of universal benevolence and liberty so conspicuous in his works, and in regard to the object of his pursuit, all the services he may have occasion to desire from you: and we offer in return, the same services to all the persons that shall be recommended to us from your part.

We do also charge and authorise the said sieur Brissot de Warville, to take, in our behalf, in conjunction with you, all necessary measures for establishing between your society and ours a relation of brotherhood, and mutual correspondence, in which we hope you will not refuse to concur; and we desire you to place full and perfect confidence in whatever M. Brissot de Warville shall communicate on this subject from our part. In testimony of which we have affixed to this letter the seal of our society, and the signature of our president.

Paris, April 29, 1788.

E. CLAVIER, president.



*Letter to the president, vice-president and committee of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, from the committee of the London society for promoting the abolition of the slave trade.*

London, July 30, 1788.

Gentlemen,

**C**APTAIN WILLET's departure affords us an early opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 20th of May, enclosing a copy of the constitution of your society, and also copies of letters from the governors of New-Hampshire and Connecticut to your president. From many wise rules and regulations, adopted in the former, we perceive with satisfaction, that your body has acquired a stability, commensurate to the purposes of its institution: and from the latter, that the cause, in which you are engaged,

is countenanced in the governments alluded to, by the authority of laws, and the co-operation of powerful friends and patrons.

In return, you will rejoice to be informed, that many such friends and patrons are daily standing forth here, in behalf of the natives of Africa, whose peculiar wretchedness, long overlooked in the mass of human misery, seems at this time to excite a general attention.

Upwards of an hundred petitions having been presented to parliament, some soliciting, in unqualified terms, the abolition of a traffic so disgraceful to humanity, and others urging the duty of an immediate enquiry into its nature and circumstances, the house of commons pledged itself to take up the business early in the next sessions. Meanwhile, a bill, which hath for its object the more humane treatment of the negroes on their passage, hath been brought in by a baronet of distinguished benevolence, and is since enacted into a law. Great opposition was given to this bill, in every stage of its progress. It was even asserted, that the proposed regulations would extend to the annihilation of the trade. On which occasion, a gentleman high in office, after repeating his former determination to reserve his opinion upon the general question, till it should come under the fair discussion of parliament, scrupled not to declare, in substance, that if the trade could not exist under the proposed regulations, humanity called for its extinction. Other members, not tied up by the reservation attached to responsibility, fearlessly avowed the principle, that arguments, drawn from policy, were nugatory, when contrasted with the rights of nature, and the maxims of the christian religion. For ourselves, we remained silent spectators of the passing of this bill, dreading, lest any interference on our part, towards the support of regulations in this commerce, should be construed into an admission of its principle. We are willing, however, to hope, that this mutilated act of mercy, being all that could be procured at this time, may produce some temporary benefit; and we have the satisfaction to assure you, that even the interested evidence, which was brought against the mea-

sure, tended to confirm the truth of those cruelties, which this is designed to obviate.

Notwithstanding these encouraging circumstances, we feel that we have many difficulties to encounter; but, as we in part foresaw, so we have been preparing to meet, them, by every exertion in our power. For this purpose, a body of authentic evidence has been accumulated, extending to various parts of this business, from which, we trust, it will appear, that sound policy and humanity call equally for the excision of this iniquitous traffic. The house of commons not admitting any parole testimony, we shall also be able to produce, at their bar, witnesses of much respectability and information. In the mean time, our adversaries in print have been answered by fair argument; and the public opinion, as far as we may be supposed to know it, does credit to the national humanity. On this point, we have only to observe further, that, whilst thus addressing the representatives of a commercial nation on an affair, in which its interests and its justice are inseparable, we cannot for a moment abandon the fundamental principle of our association—that no gains, however great, are to be put in competition with the essential rights of man; and that, as a nation is exalted by righteousness, so it is equally debased and debilitated by the revenues of injustice.

We have received and duly acknowledged an obliging letter from Mr. Dupont of Paris, enclosing him at the same time such tracts, as, we judged, might assist in forwarding the views of the society in France, and requesting the continuance of his communication.

The disinterested zeal, which, on this occasion—discovers itself in different countries, the exertions of confederated bodies in some, and of distinguished individuals in others—a state of peace, more general than the face of Europe usually exhibits—all seem to mark a peculiar designation in the times, which we cannot contemplate, without acknowledging the hand of providence, whose blessing may, without superstition, be hoped for, on an attempt to rescue a large

portion of his creation from misery and oppression.

The abolition of slavery in the West Indies, to which the last paragraph in your letter alludes, is an object, which the philanthropy of individuals may securely cherish. But as that event can only be effected by such gradual and temperate means as the different colonial assemblies may adopt, so it is entirely beyond the business of our society, the sole purpose of whose institution is the abolition of the African slave-trade. And this just representation of ourselves, and our views, we thought it our duty, not long since, to lay before the public, in answer to the often-repeated charge, that our endeavours went not only to abolition, but emancipation; an imputation of little consequence to us, individually considered, but big with mischief to the cause, in which we are engaged.

The report of our proceedings being in great forwardness, we shall transmit you copies, as soon as completed; and shall rejoice, on every occasion, in an interchange of sentiments and friendly offices.

The act, before alluded to, is now enclosed, together with what other publications have lately occurred.

*Grenville Sharp, chairman.*



*Essay on negro slavery.*

NUMBER II.

*(Continued from page 417.)*

UPON no better principle, do we plunder the coasts of Africa, and bring away its wretched inhabitants as slaves, than that, by which the greater fish swallows up the lesser. Superior power seems only to produce superior brutality; and that weakness and imbecility, which ought to engage our protection, and interest the feelings of social benevolence in behalf of the defenceless, seems only to provoke us to acts of illiberal outrage and unmanly violence.

The practice, which has been followed by the English nation, since the establishment of the slave trade—I mean that of stirring up the natives of Africa, against each other, with a view of purchasing the prisoners mutually taken in battle, must strike the

humane mind with sentiments of the deepest abhorrence, and confer on that people a reproach, as lasting as time itself. It is surprising, that the eastern world did not unite, to discourage a custom so diabolical in its tendency, and to exterminate a species of oppression, which humbles the dignity of all mankind. But this torpid inattention can only be accounted for, by adverting to the savage disposition of the times, which countenanced cruelties, unheard of at this enlightened period. That rudeness of demeanor, and brutality of manner, which had been introduced into Europe, by those swarms of barbarians, that overwhelmed it from the north, had hardly begun to dissipate before the enlivening sun of civilization, when this infernal practice first sprung up into existence. Before this distinguished era of refined barbarity, the sons of Africa were in possession of all the mild enjoyments of peace—all the pleasing delights of uninterrupted harmony—and all the diffusive blessings of profound tranquillity. Boundless must be the punishment, which an irritated providence will inflict on those, whose wanton cruelty has prompted them to destroy this fair arrangement of nature—this flowery prospect of human felicity! Engulphed in the dark abyss of never ending misery, they shall in bitterness atone for the stab thus given to human nature; and, in anguish unutterable, expiate crimes, for which nothing less than eternal sufferings can make adequate retribution!—Equally iniquitous is the practice of robbing that country of its inhabitants; and equally tremendous will be the punishment. The voice of injured thousands, who have been violently torn from their native country, and carried to distant and inhospitable climes—the bitter lamentations of the wretched, helpless female—the cruel, agonizing sensations of the husband, the father, and the friend—will ascend to the throne of Omnipotence, and, from the elevated heights of heaven, cause him, with the whole force of almighty vengeance, to hurl the guilty perpetrators of those inhuman deeds, down the steep precipice of inevitable ruin, into the bottomless gulph of final, irremediable, and endless destruction!

Ye sons of America, forbear!—Consider the dire consequence, that will attend the prosecution of a practice, against which the all-powerful God of nature holds up his hands, and loudly proclaims, “desist!”

In the insolence of self-consequence, we are accustomed to esteem ourselves and the christian powers of Europe, the only civilized people on the globe; the rest, without distinction, we presumptuously denominate barbarians. But, when the practices above-mentioned, come to be deliberately considered—when, added to these, we take a view of the proceedings of the English in the East Indies, under the direction of the late lord Clive, and remember what happened in the streets of Bengal and Calcutta—when we likewise reflect on our American mode of driving, butchering, and exterminating the poor, defenceless Indians, the native and lawful proprietors of the soil—we shall acknowledge, if we possess the smallest degree of candour, that the appellation of barbarian does not belong to them alone. While we continue those practices, the term christian will only be a burlesque expression, signifying no more, than that it ironically denominates the rudest set of barbarians, that ever disgraced the hands of their Creator. We have the precepts of the gospel for the government of our moral deportment, in violation of which, those outrageous wrongs are committed: but they have no such meliorating influence among them, and only adhere to the simple dictates of reason and natural religion, which they never violate.

Might not the inhabitants of Africa, with still greater justice on their side, than we have on ours, cross the Atlantic, seize our citizens, carry them into Africa, and make slaves of them, provided they were able to do it? But should this be really the case, every corner of the globe would reverberate with the sound of African oppression; so loud would be our complaint, and so “feeling our appeal” to the inhabitants of the world at large. We should represent them as a lawless, piratical set of unprincipled robbers, plunderers, and villains, who basely prostituted the superior power and information, which God had given them for worthy purposes, to the vilest of

all ends. We should not hesitate to say, that they made use of those advantages, only to infringe every dictate of justice; to trample under foot every suggestion of principle, and to spurn, with contempt, every right of humanity.

The Algerines are reprobated, all the world over, for their unlawful depredations; and stigmatized as pirates, for their unreasonable exactions from foreign nations. But, the Algerines are no greater pirates than the Americans; nor are they a race more destructive to the happiness of mankind. The depredations of the latter on the coasts of Africa, and upon the innocent Indians’ territory, make the truth of this assertion manifest. The piratical depredations of the Algerines, appear to be a judgment from heaven upon the nations, to punish their perfidy and atrocious violations of justice: and never did any people more justly merit the scourge, than the Americans, on whom it seems to fall with peculiar and reiterated violence. When they yoke our citizens to the plough, and compel them to labour in that degrading manner, they only retaliate on us for similar barbarities. For Algiers is a part of the same country, whose helpless inhabitants we are accustomed to carry away. But the English and Americans cautiously avoid engaging with a warlike people, whom they fear to attack in a manner so base and unworthy; whilst the Algerines, more generous and courageous plunderers, are not afraid to make war on brave and well disciplined enemies, who are capable of making a gallant resistance.

Whoever examines into the condition of the slaves in America, will find them in a state of the most uncultivated rudeness. Not instructed in any kind of learning, they are grossly ignorant of all refinement, and have little else about them, belonging to the nature of civilized man, than the mere form. They are strangers to almost every idea, that doth not relate to their labour or their food; and, though naturally possessed of strong sagacity, and lively parts, are, in all respects, in a state of the most deplorable brutality.—This is owing to the iron-hand of oppression, which ever crushes the bud of genius, and binds up in chains every expansion of the hu-



man mind.—Such is their extreme ignorance, that they are utterly unacquainted with the laws of the world—the injunctions of religion—their own natural rights, and the forms, ceremonies and privileges of marriage, originally established by the Divinity. Accordingly they live in open violation of the precepts of christianity; and with as little formality or restriction as the brutes of the field, unite for the purpose of procreation. Yet, this in a civilized country, and a most enlightened period of the world! The resplendent glory of the gospel is at hand, to conduct us in safety through the labyrinths of life. Science hath grown up to maturity, and is discovered to possess not only all the properties of solidity and strength, but likewise every ornament of elegance, and every embellishment of fancy. Philosophy hath here attained the most exalted height of elevation; and the art of government hath received such refinements among us, as hath equally allonished our friends, our enemies, and ourselves. In fine, no annals are more brilliant than those of America; nor do any more luxuriantly abound with examples of exalted heroism, refined policy, and sympathetic humanity. Yet now the prospect begins to change; and all the splendor of this august assemblage, will soon be overcast by sudden and impenetrable clouds; and American greatness be obliterated and swallowed up, by one enormity. Slavery diffuses the gloom, and casts around us the deepest shade of approaching darkness. No longer shall the united states of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades their bowels; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than “painted sepulchres,” containing within them nought but rottenness and corruption.

Ye voluptuous, ye opulent and great, who hold in subjection such numbers of your fellow-creatures, and suffer these things to happen—beware! Reflect on the lamentable change, that may, at a future period, take place against you. Arraigned before the almighty Sovereign of the universe, how will you answer the charge of such complicated enormity? The presence of those slaves, who have been lost,

for want of your instruction, and by means of your oppression, shall make you dart deeper into the flames, to avoid their just reproaches, and seek out for an asylum, in the hidden corners of perdition!

Many persons of opulence in Virginia, and the Carolinas, treat their unhappy slaves with every circumstance of the coolest neglect, and the most deliberate indifference. Surrounded with a numerous train of servants, to contribute to their personal ease, and wallowing in all the luxurious plenitude of riches, they neglect the wretched source, whence they draw this profusion. Many of their negroes, on distant estates, are left to the entire management of inhuman overseers, where they suffer for the want of that very sustenance, which, at the proprietor's seat of residence, is wastefully given to the dogs. It frequently happens, on those large estates, that they are not clothed, 'till the winter is nearly expired; and then, the most valuable only are attended to; the young, and the labour-worn, having no other allowance, in this respect, than the tattered garments, thrown off by the more fortunate. A single peck of corn a week, or the like measure of rice, is the ordinary quantity of provision for a hard-working slave; to which a small quantity of meat is occasionally, tho' rarely, added. While those miserable degraded persons, thus scantily subsist, all the produce of their unwearied toil, is taken away to satiate their rapacious master. He, devoted wretch! thoughtless of the sweat and toil with which his wearied, exhausted dependents procure what he extravagantly dissipates, not contented with the ordinary luxuries of life, is, perhaps, planning, at the time, some improvement on the voluptuous art.—Thus he sets up two carriages instead of one; maintains twenty servants, when a fourth part of that number are more than sufficient to discharge the business of personal attendance; makes every animal, proper for the purpose, bleed around him, in order to supply the gluttonous profusion of his table; and generously gives away what his slaves are pining for;—those very slaves, whose labour enables him to display this liberality!—No comment is necessary, to expose the peculiar

folly, ingratitude, and infamy of such execrable conduct.

But the custom of neglecting those slaves, who have been worn out in our service, is unhappily found to prevail, not only among the more opulent, but thro' the more extensive round of the middle and inferior ranks of life. No better reason can be given for this base inattention, than, that they are no longer able to contribute to our emolument. With singular dishonour, we forget the faithful instrument of past enjoyment, and when, by length of time, it becomes debilitated, it is, like a withered stalk, ungratefully thrown away.

Our slaves unquestionably have the strongest of all claims upon us, for protection and support; we having compelled them to involuntary servitude, and deprived them of every means of protecting or supporting themselves. The injustice of our conduct, and barbarity of our neglect, when this reflexion is allowed to predominate, become so glaringly conspicuous, as even to excite, against ourselves, the strongest emotions of detestation and abhorrence.

To whom are the wretched sons of Africa to apply for redress, if their cruel master treats them with unkindness? To whom can they resort for protection, if he is base enough to refuse it to them? The law is not their friend;—alas! too many statutes are enacted against them. The world is not their friend;—the iniquity is too general and extensive. No one who hath slaves of his own, will protect those of another, lest the practice should be retorted. Thus, when their masters abandon them, their situation is destitute and forlorn, and God is their only friend!

Let us imitate the conduct of a neighbouring state, and immediately take measures, at least, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Justice demands it of us, and we ought not to hesitate in obeying its inviolable mandates.—All the feelings of pity, compassion, affection, and benevolence—all the emotions of tenderness, humanity, philanthropy, and goodness—all the sentiments of mercy, probity, honour, and integrity, unite to solicit for their emancipation. Immortal will be the glory of accomplishing their liberation;

and eternal the disgrace of keeping them in chains.

But, if the state of Pennsylvania is to be applauded for her conduct, that of South-Carolina can never be too strongly execrated. The legislature of that state, at no very remote period, brought in a bill for prohibiting the use of letters to their slaves, and forbidding them the privilege of being taught to read!—This was a deliberate attempt to enslave the minds of those unfortunate objects, whose persons they already held in arbitrary subjection:—Detestable deviation from the becoming rectitude of man!

One more peculiarly distressing circumstance remains to be recounted, before I take my final leave of the subject.—In the ordinary course of the business of the country, the punishment of relations frequently happens on the same farm, and in view of each other:—The father often sees his beloved son—the son his venerable sire—the mother her much-loved daughter—the daughter her affectionate parent—the husband sees the wife of his bosom, and she the husband of her affection, cruelly bound up without delicacy or mercy, and punished with all the extremity of incensed rage, and all the rigour of unrelenting severity, whilst these unfortunate wretches dare not even interpose in each other's behalf. Let us reverse the case, and suppose it ours:—all is silent horror!

OTIELLO.

*Maryland, May 23, 1788.*



*An act to prevent the slave trade\*, passed by the general assembly of the state of Connecticut, October, 1788.*

**B**E it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same; that no citizen or inhabitant of this state, shall for himself, or any other person, either as master, factor, or supercargo, owner or hirer, in whole or in part, of

NOTE.

\* For laws similar to this, passed by Virginia and Rhode-Island, see *American Museum*, vol. II. page 502 — for one passed by Massachusetts, see *Ibid.* III. page 86.—C.

any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or her vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the inhabitants of any country in Africa, as slaves or servants for term of years; upon penalty of fifty pounds for every person so received on board as aforesaid; and of five hundred pounds for every such vessel, employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid; to be recovered by action, bill, plaint, or information, the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the use of the state; and all insurance, which shall be made in this state, on any vessel fitted out to the intent aforesaid, and employed as aforesaid, or on any slaves or servants shipped on board as aforesaid, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be void, and this act may be given in evidence, under the general issue, in any suit commenced for the recovery of such insurance.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person shall kidnap, decoy, or forcibly carry off out of this state, any free negro, Indian, mulatto, or any person entitled to freedom at the age of twenty-five years, inhabitant or resident within this state, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, and be thereof duly convicted, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds to the use of this state, to be recovered by bill, plaint, or information, presented by any friend of such inhabitant or resident, which he is hereby authorized to do: and the court before whom the trial shall be, shall, in addition to said penalty, on conviction, give to the prosecutor, for the use of such injured inhabitant, or his family, if any he have, such sum in damages, as they shall judge just and reasonable, to be applied in such way and manner, as the court shall direct; and the said prosecutor shall give bond with surety, before the court, for the due application of the sums recovered, before he has execution thereof. Provided that nothing in this act shall operate to prevent persons, removing out of this state, for the purpose of residence, from carrying or transporting with them, such negroes or mulattoes, as belong to them, or to prevent persons, living within this state, from directing their servants

out of this state, about their ordinary and necessary business.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the owner, master, or factor of each and every vessel clearing out for the coast of Africa, or suspected by any citizen of this state, to be intended for the slave trade in any part of the world, and the suspicion being declared to the naval officer, by such citizen on oath, and such information being to the satisfaction of such naval officer, shall first give bond with sufficient sureties, to the treasurer of this state, in one thousand pounds, that none of the natives of Africa, or any other foreign country, shall be taken on board such ship or vessel, during her voyage, with intent to be transported as slaves, to any other part of the world.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all persons who now are, or hereafter shall be possessed of any child or children born after the first day of March, 1784, and which by law shall be free at the age of twenty five years, shall, within six months from the rising of this assembly, or within six months after the birth of any such child, deliver or cause to be delivered to the town clerk of the town, where such possessor belongs, the name of such possessor, as also the age, name, and sex of every such child or children, on oath, to the best of his or her knowledge, under the penalty of forty shillings for each and every month's neglect, to be recovered before an assistant or justice of the peace, the one half to the complainant, and the other half to the use of the poor of the town where such child or children live.



*Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London—written in the year 1785.  
(Continued from page 477.)*

#### LETTER III.

SIR,  
YOUR intimate acquaintance with sacred and profane history, has doubtless led you to observe, that nations have their characters as well as individuals: the criterion of distinction is perhaps no less visible in the one than in the other. In every nation

tion we may from time to time, observe, some distinguished individuals, who soar above the level of their fellow mortals; with nations themselves, the case is the same. One will sometimes take the lead of the rest in power, riches, and honour, yea, in every point of view that will serve to characterise a nation as great. This distinction is not accidental, but arises from their moral and political virtue: or, better to express my idea, their religion in this respect is their policy; it is the operating cause, except in those circumstances where God raises up a people for a temporary scourge, that they may fall in their turn, when this work is accomplished. The Jewish nation exemplifies the assertion: nor is the Assyrian monarchy less in favour of the exception. The different religions, that have been embraced by different nations, are not only an evidence of human depravity, but likewise a proof of the necessity of some religion, in every body politic. It was from this principle, that the king of the ten tribes, on their revolt from the house of David, erected his golden calves. He was sensible, that, if the religion of Judah was adopted in the new constitution he was forming, it would endanger his throne; and being equally sensible that some religion was necessary for the support of civil government, he established that of idolatry, though against the light of conscience and revelation. Civil laws, without the laws of religion, have little influence on the mind: it is the latter, which principally give energy to the former. The more enlightened heathens, convinced of this, had their priests, who inculcated into the minds of the people the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and a future state of retribution. They found this to be the best engine, in support of civil policy; and being either ignorant or unfriendly to revelation, their invention, from age to age, was employed on the subject, as a matter, in which national interest was nearly concerned. Nor did they fail in their design—their religion, bad as it was, rendered their laws more energetic, and gave them a more powerful influence over the people: hope and fear, the ruling passions of the mind, were constantly kept alive, and

being directed by their religion to a future world, had such a power over the community, as no civil laws could have done without it. The history of the Roman and Grecian republics, is a living example of this truth. But we, who are favoured with the gospel, and live in this enlightened age of the world, have no need to employ our invention on the subject—the work is done to our hands, and it is done by unerring wisdom: and, notwithstanding the object of this religion is far more sublime, than the mere support of civil government, yet from no quarter does civil government receive such assistance, as from this. Should we, even, like the deistical civilian, view it only in this point of light, as the engine of civil policy, yet in comparison with it, all the wisdom that the heathen sages ever employed on the subject, will appear but folly. For there is no moral system whatever, that gives such a spring to action as this, none, that so powerfully excites, directs, and governs the passions of the human mind; in this, an approaching retribution ceases to be conjecture; nor does the truth of it depend on the well connected arguments of the philosopher: but on the word of him, who is truth itself. The principles, which it inculcates, are of the purest kind, enforced by the strongest motives; nor does it enjoin or forbid any thing, but with a view to form both the ruler and the subject to their respective duties: to these they are mutually urged by the hope of future happiness, and the dread of future misery. This is connecting private happiness with the public good; and this, my friend, is the religion of the Saviour; there never was any artifice made use of by the wisest politician, that was so naturally calculated for the good of civil society: it is so on the principles of reason alone, were we to leave a superintending providence out of the question. If then some religion is necessary for every body politic; and if the christian religion (I mean as held by the protestants) is found to be the most consistent and salutary in its tendency; it is of the most intertelling concern to a people, that this be laid as a foundation stone on which to build their constitution. I am far from enter-

maintaining the idea, that the great end of religion is, to give energy to civil law, for this would be to subordinate the greater to the less. The design of civil government is to secure the lives, liberties, and properties of the subjects; and to aid and protect them, while passing through this world to a better. Certainly then the legislator, who makes civil government the ultimate object of religion, must invert the order; nor, upon his own principles, does he less mistake his policy, when he does not frame the constitution in favour and support of religion; since from this it derives its life and spirit. The American states, like a new married pair, are setting up for themselves in the world; their constitutions are formed or forming by their several legislatures; and, as it is of importance to the one, so is it to the other, that they set out right, and be agreed in the principles of religion: for sameness of religion has a natural tendency to strengthen the bond of union.

I am pleased to find that some of the states discover, in their constitutions, a sacred regard to religion; nor am I less displeased to find it neglected by others, even where I should have least imagined such a defect. The states of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, have in effect severed it from their constitutions: their new code of laws neither support a public worship, nor that class of men who are ordained by heaven to wait at the altar: at least after those of the present generation, are gone off the stage. Surely they have forgotten the God, to whom they so lately appealed in their distress; otherwise they could not, in this public manner, have given up his worship, and withdrawn the civil support from that order of men appointed to sacred offices. Such policy as this will prove destructive to any state, into which it is admitted, and it will gradually root out a learned and able clergy, bring public worship not only into neglect, but contempt; hence immoralities of every kind will prevail, which, like a mortal consumption, will prey upon the seat of public life. I am no bigot to any particular persuasion: while I firmly adhere to my own, I allow myself neither to despise or ridicule that of another. I am therefore fond of

the general toleration, that is given in the states, to every denomination of christians, both upon the principle of sound policy, and the real spirit of christianity; for a man's mind is his kingdom, and if liberty be ever desirable, it is in the choice of that religion on which we rest our hopes of eternal salvation. But this is altogether different from parting with religion by wholesale: let every christian freely worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience: for the civil community cannot flourish without such religious freedom. But where religion is wanting, the laws, like the parts of a distempered body, will cease to perform their office; and dissolution in the course of nature must follow. Could we, therefore, discard the idea of a future world from the subject, it would be of great advantage to the community to support the christian worship: for it preserves order—begets mutual love—and tends to breathe into every subject those principles of duty and morality, which are of the highest importance to the public weal. There is, says Solomon, that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is, that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. And never, perhaps, was this observation more strikingly exemplified than in the case before us. Experience will soon convince the above mentioned states, that they have mistaken their policy, and hit wide of the mark at which they aimed. However, I am less disposed to wonder at New Hampshire than Massachusetts in this matter, as it is natural to suppose that the latter, being older, larger, and more opulent, should influence the former in its politics, especially when we consider them bordering on each other. But this political evil I think easily accounted for, from that general corruption of manners introduced by the war. Boston, I have been ready to conceive from information, the happiest place in the world.

When their civil and religious order—their strict attention to the sabbath—and the solemn silence that reigned in their streets on holy times, have been mentioned to me—I have admired their character, and often wished to possess the happiness of being a

member of their community. But from personal acquaintance, I find this happy period gone—their civil and religious order, as is always the case, have fled together—their tabernacles are desolated—and that God, whose name I mention with reverence, is profaned in their streets. I lament the apostacy, and sincerely pity the people rendered unhappy by their own folly. My former affection often urges me to believe, that their wisdom cannot overlook the cause of this unhappiness; and I should hence be induced to expect a reformation, was I not sensible how hard it is in this respect to recover lost ground. When vice is secured and bound by law, the rulers of a people cannot be too watchful and strict in keeping it confined; a little relaxation of the cord may appear trifling, and is often pleaded for as necessary, but, viewed in its tendency, it is a kind of high treason,—it is at least an indirect attempt upon the commonwealth;—in this way, vice by slow degrees, gets at helm, and the community, after many painful and perilous struggles, is often shipwrecked. I have observed, while passing through the states, that the legislative authority appears much better to fill its place than the executive. The laws are generally wholesome, and pointed with a manly spirit against whatever may threaten the good of the community: but the informing officers, and those entrusted with the execution of the laws, have, for such a course of time, been lax in their duty, that the real which the commonwealth demands of them, has in some respects become unpopular. This is a dangerous symptom,—if men cannot discharge their trust, without incurring the displeasure of their fellow subjects, they will be apt either to turn their backs on the office, or indifferently do their duty when it is urged on them. It is much easier to comply than to execute the law:—men therefore of the greatest stability, and who are least tempted by the bait of popular applause, should be entrusted with the execution of the law. It is a common defect in civil policy, that too little attention is paid to the appointment of informing and executive officers: by these means, wholesome laws often fail of being execut-

ed; and this tends to bring both the law and legislature into contempt,—yea it enervates the whole political system. I have often thought it better for the community, to have a law, however salutary in its nature, wholly repealed, than to stand in force without execution. It will be pleaded, I am sensible, that it is a restraint on some; but, when we consider the mischief that it does to other laws, and the wound it gives to civil authority, I believe the disadvantage, here arising to the community, will be found to preponderate. I am likewise led to conceive, that informing and executive officers are no less criminal, for their deficiency in trust, than the open violators of law, who through their neglect pass with impunity. Men, who, in this manner, are set as sentinels to guard the commonwealth, are entrusted with a charge of the most weighty kind: their fidelity can scarcely be too much applauded, or their neglect too severely reprobated. Is not an assault upon a single life, a crime, that justly kindles our indignation against the inhuman perpetrator? How then can we feel cool towards the criminals, who, in this indirect way, threaten the political salvation of thousands? No brand of infamy deserves a deeper impression, than that, in which the public interest is concerned;—personal injuries we may forgive: but those which respect the public, we have not a right either to forgive or conceal—much less have those such a right, whose duty it is, to discover and avenge the wrong. The commonwealth is like a ship at sea, whose safety and success depend on the skill and fidelity of the managers: they may conduct her to the desired port, or run her upon some unfriendly shore: as wisdom and trust are requisite in the one case, so are they in the other.

America is now entered on the voyage, in which many nations have been shipwrecked; and, as her course is to be shaped and directed by her own skill, she cannot be too cautious, to whose hands the management is committed: nor can the managers have too great a sense of their trust. I sensibly feel for the conscious and faithful, on whose shoulders the burden lies: nor do I less despise the

Rapid wretch, who neglects his duty, and can trifle with concerns so interesting as those of the public weal.

In one sense, I have little to risk in this voyage; and, in another, perhaps no man ventures more than myself; for my happiness, with the common interest, is freighted on board; my love to the rising nation I have joined, forbids the enjoyment in this life, unless success attends it. O America, if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning! if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not America above my chief joy.

I have now completed my tour through the states: for the most part, I have passed *incognito*, which has given me the best advantage for speculation: and those speculations I have spread before you, with that unreserved freedom peculiar to friendship: yea, I have expressed to you the exercise of my heart, with all the impartiality, of which I am master. In the leave I am now taking of my friend, you will doubtless wish to know, in what part of America a letter may hereafter find me. This choice of situation, you likely remember, I reserved for an after period, when I expected assistance from an acquaintance with the whole. My purpose, I confess, is different from what it then was: I find it impossible to take up my residence in any town, through which I have passed, without too great a connexion with those things, which to me fall among the disagreeables of the world. The bustle and confusion which attend a city life, are to me exceedingly irksome; and, to become a slave to the fashions of the town, and undertake their task of ceremonious flattery, in which my tongue was never skilled, would be no less disagreeable. I am therefore resolved on a rule of life of the most retired kind; in the western wilds of America, there is extent sufficient for my retreat: here, beyond the reach of fashion, or the corruption of taste, I mean to bring up my family, which, at present, have but an ideal existence. As those unlocated lands settle fast, I expect to travel far, in order to execute my design. I shall take with me a select number of friends, in

the collection of whom I use the greatest precaution: though a small, yet we propose to go, in some respects, an organized body; for we have an able preacher of the gospel, and no less able instructor for our children, who are engaged in the adventure. Here, by the leave of providence, I propose to try, how far industry, connected with the greatest simplicity of habit and manners, will contribute to the happiness of life. Since I have been in the country, I have paid some attention to the art of farming; I have learned how to fell the timber, and have acquired the use of almost every instrument of husbandry: I have enquired the best seasons for sowing the seed, and the soil most suitable to each particular kind; and, as I expect to devote myself to this agreeable employ, I hope, by experience, with what little philosophy I am master of, to become a tolerable proficient. Should you reject my plan, as discovering a want of benevolence, and think me fleeing from those necessary burdens, in which I ought to share in common with my fellow citizens; I have only to observe, that I am no politician: and, therefore conceive that I should render very little service to the public, however much I might interest myself in its concerns. In the execution of this design, my prospect of doing good is so considerable, that, in my view of the matter, benevolence is much in my favour. The force of example, by theorising on the subject, I have conceived to be very great; but this experiment, I expect, will give the quantum, or shew how great it is. I have been told that a child, merely for the sake of experiment, has been brought up wholly secluded from every means of knowledge, and as much as possible from human society: but this would be to brutalize and not to humanize the mind. Our view is far different from any thing of this nature; for we carry with us the best means both of human and divine knowledge: our object is to avoid that corruption of taste and fashion, which distempers the political system, and preys upon the happiness of domestic life. And though we expect, that human depravity will accompany the adventure, yet we hope to escape those outward immoralities,

which, to the shame of rational nature, prevail in cities and towns. A very laudable attention to the education of youth, appears to be general through the states : but, after all the good which it promises, there is this evil which attends it—the child is so conversant with the popular taste, bad examples are so frequent before his eyes, that these necessarily become a part of his education. The latter we expect wholly to escape, while the former is carried to its highest perfection. From a family or community, bred up in this manner, I confess, I have the highest expectation ; indeed the prospect, in almost every point of view, looks promising. I am sensible, that there are conveniencies, and (I may add) necessities of life, which our lands will not produce ; to obtain which, we design to open a trade with the nearest market town : but, in the use of these, we shall be exceedingly frugal, as the distance of transportation will render them expensive. The trade is to be conducted only by those, who are the most attached to our simplicity, that the idea of foreign superfluities may for ever be withheld from our children ; or, at least, to the time, when age and the force of education shall have fortified them against the temptation. As my disposition has undergone no material change, since I left London, you will not suspect this enterprise to arise from any sour, unsocial turn, which I have newly taken ; for friendship and freedom I more and more admire, and at the same time, I am more and more convinced, that this lies within the circle of a few ; and that an attempt to enlarge the limits, or indulge an intimacy with those who are unacquainted with the delicacy of friendship, would be an inlet to pain, rather than pleasure. My views, I am sure, are not ambitious : I do not seek the honour of founding an empire, or of having the little community which I have the honour to collect, hereafter in historic page, called by my name. The good of posterity, in connexion with my own happiness in life, are the objects of my present pursuit. Thus far, I confess my designs selfish in the matter, that my own comfort in the world is one motive of the enterprise ; I trust, however, it is so far conforma-

ble to the laws of christianity, as not to be unworthy of one, who might better claim the honour of your friendship, than myself.

You will surely gratify me so far, as to suffer your imagination, for a moment, to accompany my retreat into these western wilds. How happy, thus to retire from the confusions of the world, and, as it were, by one leap, to escape the most disagreeable circumstances, which every day occur in it ! here neither ambition to fill the seats of the great, nor fear of being displaced from offices of honour and profit, can disturb the mind ; industry, the companion of virtue and happiness, will be our dependence. Methinks I can already see those stately pines falling before us, the green herbage smiling around us, and the wilderness, by the art of agriculture, blossoming as the rose. Methinks I hear the lowing of the ox and the bleating of the sheep, where beasts, untamed from the beginning, have held possession ; and from this rural retired scene, I anticipate great satisfaction. You will not object to the distance of my retreat, if you have properly philosophised on the matter ; for the spot of earth, on which we settle, simply considered, is no way essential : the attendant properties are what most contribute to the happiness of life. Though I am not so nigh the meridian of London, Boston, or Philadelphia, yet I shall be as nigh to Him who is the source of happiness, as the inhabitants of any of those places. Nor shall my body be more likely to be lost, when mixed with the dust of that western clime, than if lodged with the crowned heads in Westminster abbey : I shall hear, as soon as they, the voice of Gabriel's trump ; my flight shall be as rapid, and my journey as short as theirs, to the final seat of trial. I cannot, therefore, from the most candid examination of the matter, find any rational objection to the plan : the greatest misfortune, which I at present feel, is a separation from my friend : this sinks my spirits, which would be otherwise high ; and in this exercise of mind, I close my correspondence, till it shall be opened anew from the American Canaan, to which I am travelling.



*Bite of a red snake.*

**M**R. William Baker's family, at this place, living near Billing's Pond, were last evening suddenly surprised by a red snake, which had entered the house, and made its first appearance in a coil, in the chimney corner. Mr. Baker's wife supposing it to be only a house snake of a prodigious size, had the courage to seize it with the tongs, in order to destroy it in the fire; but the snake was so strong, that he made his escape, and took shelter behind the back-log, until the heat drove him from thence; when, in an active manner, he advanced into the middle of the room, and then took shelter under a kettle just taken from the fire, containing their children's supper. Mrs. Baker then made an attempt to catch the snake in her hands, with a cloth; but, upon her advancing near him, he suddenly sprang forth, and bit her right hand in three places. The snake, after doing this execution, again advanced into the room, upon which Mr. Baker gave him a kick with his bare foot, and struck him into the fire; but the snake returned immediately into the room; on which Mrs. Baker's sister seized him with the tongs, and held him under the fore-flick, until, by the operation of the fire, the snake grew more tame; then putting him out of the house, the woman bruised the serpent's head. The snake was upwards of three feet in length, and about the thickness of a common chair-post. It was about nine o'clock in the evening when Mrs. Baker was bitten; but the family, being ignorant that it was a poisonous serpent, neglected to seek for immediate relief. The manner, in which the poison operated, was as follows: Mrs. Baker, within ten minutes, grew very sick, and about midnight was taken with a vomiting, and began to swell, so that, within a short time, her arm became as big as a man's thigh; her breast also swelled considerably; and her flesh became spotted, in a manner resembling the colour of the snake. At length it was concluded, that it must have been a red snake, that had bitten her; a neighbour was called in to view the dead snake, and their supposition being found true, a physician was applied to; but, by this time, it was near day light. Mrs. Baker's fi-

nation at first appeared to be very dangerous; but, by the blessing of God, attending the skilfulness of the physician, she is now in a fair way of recovery. The reason, why the poison did not prove fatal, through their delay in seeking relief, is supposed to be owing to her being bitten through the cloth, which kept much of the poison from her hand. However, it is hoped Mrs. Baker's misfortune may prove a caution to others, not to play with a snake.

Stonington, Sept. 5, 1788.



*Observations on the medicinal uses of cod-liver oil, in the chronic rheumatism, and other painful disorders.*

By Thomas Percival, M. D. F. R. S. and S. A. member of the royal society of physicians at Paris, and of the medical societies of London and Edinburgh, &c.

**T**HE multiplicity of articles which constitute the materia medica, has been a subject of complaint with some physicians: and though it is an evil of no great magnitude, it certainly requires correction and reformation. For it must be acknowledged, that many of these articles are known only by their names; and that others are so seldom prescribed, as scarcely to merit the places, which they retain in the official lists. The progressive accumulation, however, of inactive remedies, is not to be deemed an argument against, but an incitement to, the introduction of new ones, which are more efficacious. And, I trust, it will be doing some service to the healing art, to communicate to the public, a brief account of the *oleum jecoris aselli*, or cod-liver oil; the salutary properties of which, I believe, have been little experienced beyond the vicinage of Manchester.

This medicine is dispensed so largely in the hospital here, that near as hoghead of it is annually consumed. It is given in obstinate chronic rheumatism, sciaticas of long standing, and in those cases of premature decrepitude, which originate from immoderate labour, repeated strains and bruises, or exposures to continual dampness and cold; by which the muscles and tendons become too rigid, and the flex-

ibility of the joints is impaired, so as to crackle for want of due secretion of synovia. While I was one of the physicians to this charity, I had the fullest evidence of the successful exhibition of cod-liver oil, in various maladies of the class above described, which had resisted other powerful modes of treatment. And I frequently compared its operation with that of gum guaiacum, by prescribing each at the same time, to different patients in similar circumstances. These trials almost always terminated in favour of the oil; and the patients, who took guaiacum, by conferring with their fellow sufferers, were sometimes so sensible of making a slower progress towards a recovery, as to request a change of one remedy for the other.

At first it occasions, for the most part, an increase of pain; but this effect shortly ceases, and a gradual abatement of the symptoms succeeds. The pulse, in irritable habits, is sometimes accelerated by it; and a glow of warmth has been felt through the whole body, after each dose of the medicine. It is neither uniformly laxative, nor binding; but often promotes a gentle degree of perspiration. However, it proves successful, even when it produces no sensible operation, as generally happens in persons habituated to its use. In a few weeks, the appetite is impaired by it, the tongue grows foul, and an emetic is required. The dose of it varies from one table spoonful to three; and it may be administered twice, thrice, or four times daily. In many cases, it is found serviceable to rub the parts affected, with the oil, during the course of its internal exhibition. But this practice is only to be followed, when no great foreness subsists. Indeed, either fever or inflammation forbids the use of it entirely.

Cod-liver oil is chiefly brought from Newfoundland. It forms a considerable article of merchandise, and comes in barrels from four hundred to five hundred lbs. in weight. The method of obtaining it is, by heaping together the livers of the fish, from which, by a gentle putrefaction, the oil flows very plentifully. A similar oil is procured from the livers of the fish called ling, and also from a small species of cod, found on the coast of Buchan,

in the north of Scotland. The taste is nauseous, and leaves upon the palate a flavour like that of tainted fish. On this account, it is not much prescribed here, in private practice, among the higher orders of people; but the hospital patients make no complaints of it; and such is their confidence in its efficacy, that they often solicit, as I before observed, to take it, and generally persevere with steadiness in the use of it. Indeed we know, that oil of the same kind forms no inconsiderable part of the food of the Laplanders, and other northern nations. For habit soon reconciles the taste to the most disgusting viands. The cod-liver oil may, however, be rendered much less offensive, by the following mode of administering it: take one ounce of cod-liver oil, forty drops of lye, and half an ounce of peppermint water for a draught. By this combination, a liquid soap, not very unpleasant, is produced, which may be readily decomposed by the addition of a tea-spoonful of the juice of lemons. And as the oil is probably most efficacious in its original form, it may be advisable to drink a cup of some acidulous liquor, immediately after the medicine has been swallowed. This will at once cleanse the mouth and gullet, neutralize the alkaline salt, and separate the oil in the stomach. Dr. Russel, in his natural history of Aleppo, has observed, that "in certain seasons, when oil is plentifully taken, the people there become disposed to fevers, and infractions of the lungs, which symptoms wear off by retrenching this indulgence." I have never seen or heard of any such effects, from the long continued use of the *oleum jecoris aselli*. Perhaps this diversity may partly depend on the different qualities of vegetable and fish-oil; the former having a tendency to obstruct, the latter to promote insensible perspiration. But, I apprehend, it is chiefly to be ascribed to the influence of climate. The intense heats of Turkey relax the animal fibres; and oil adds to this relaxation. But, under a northern sky, the fibres are too much disposed to rigidity; and when this actually subsists, as a malady, the emollient powers of oil are so far from being injurious, that they are highly salutary.

*Account of the rice bunting.*

THE birds of this species inhabit in vast numbers, the island of Cuba, where they commit great ravages among the early crops of rice, which precede those of Carolina. As soon as the crops of Carolina are sufficiently ripe for their taste, they quit Cuba, and pass over the sea in numerous flights, directly north; and are very often heard, in their passage, by sailors frequenting that course. Their appearance is in September, while the rice is yet milky; and they commit such devastation, that forty acres of that grain have been totally ruined by them in a short time.

They arrive very lean; but soon grow so fat, as to fly with difficulty; and, when shot, often burst with the fall. They continue in Carolina not much above three weeks; and retire, by the time the rice begins to harden. They are esteemed to be the most delicate birds of the country. The male birds are said to have a fine note.

It is very singular, that, among the myriads, which pay their autumnal visit, there never is found a cock-bird. Mr. Catesby verified the fact by dissecting numbers, under a supposition, that there might have been the young of both sexes, which had not arrived at their full colours; but found them all to be females, which are properly the rice birds. Both sexes make a transient visit to Carolina in the spring. It is said that a few stragglers continue in the country the whole year.

Rice, the periodical food of these birds, is a grain of India. It probably arrived in Europe (where it has been much cultivated) by way of Bactria, Susia, Babylon, and the lower Syria. The time, in which it reached Italy, is uncertain: for the *oryza* of Pliny is a very different grain from the common rice; but the latter has been sown, with great success, about Verona, for ages past: and was imported from thence, and from Egypt, into England; until, by a mere accident, it was introduced into Carolina. It was first planted there about 1688, by sir Nathaniel Johnson, then governor of the province; but he seed being small and bad, the culture made little progress.

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Chance brought there, in 1696, a vessel from Madagascar; the master of which presented a mr. Woodward with about half a bushel of an excellent kind; and from this small beginning sprung an immense source of wealth to the southern provinces of America; and, to Europe, relief from want in times of dearth. Within little more than a century, a hundred and twenty thousand barrels of rice have been, in one year, exported from South Carolina; and eighteen thousand from Georgia; and all from the remnant of a sea store, left in the bottom of a sack! Ought I not to retract the word "chance" and ascribe to Providence so mighty an event, from so small a cause?



*An account of the Free-Martin, by  
mr. John Hunter, F. R. S.*

HERMAPHRODITES in general, seem to be casual and anomalous productions, or *lusus naturae*: but in the *bovine* race, nature, for some reason best known to herself, in the mysterious process of generation, seems to follow a regular system in the production of an hermaphrodite. It seems, that if a cow bring forth twin, that are both bull or cow-calves, each becomes respectively a perfect bull, or cow: but on the contrary, if a cow produce two calves, one of which is a bull calf, the other apparently a cow; though the bull calf becomes a perfect bull, the other calf is a kind of hermaphrodite, unfit for propagation. The animal at least is not known to breed; never shews the least inclination for the bull; nor does the bull ever take the least notice of it. This hermaphrodite is called the free-martin. It has the teats and external female parts of a cow: in other respects, it exhibits an equal mixture of both sexes; in which, (*—at least in three instances, described by the author, —*) the female is predominant. It resembles those imperfect or mutilated animals, the ox or spayed heifer, in form and other particulars. It is much larger than either the bull or cow; its horns are likewise larger, being similar to those of an ox: it also resembles the ox, in its bellow, or voice.

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*Address of the agents for the American loyalists, to the king of Great-Britain.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*

**Y**OUR majesty's ever-dutiful and loyal subjects, the agents for the American loyalists, who have heretofore been the suppliants of your majesty on behalf of their distressed constituents, now humbly beg leave to approach your throne, to pour forth the ardent effusions of their grateful hearts, for your most gracious and effectual recommendation of their claims to the just and generous consideration of parliament.

To have devoted their fortunes, and hazarded their lives, in defence of the just rights of the crown, and the fundamental principles of the British constitution, was no more than their duty demanded of them, in common with your majesty's other subjects; but it was their peculiar fortune, to be called to the trial; and it is their boast and glory, to have been found equal to the task. They have now the distinguished happiness of seeing their fidelity approved by their sovereign, and recompensed by parliament; their fellow subjects cheerfully contributing to compensate them for the forfeitures which their attachment to Great-Britain incited them to incur; thereby adding dignity to their own exalted character, among the nations of the world; and holding out to mankind the glorious principles of justice, equity, and benevolence, as the firmest basis of empire.

We should be wanting in justice and gratitude, if we did not, upon this occasion, acknowledge the wisdom and liberality of the provisions proposed by your majesty's servants, conformable to your majesty's gracious intention, for the relief and accommodation of the several classes of sufferers, to whose cases they apply; and we are convinced, it will give comfort to your royal breast, to be assured they have been received with the most general satisfaction.

Professions of the unalterable attachment of the loyalists, to your majesty's person and government, we conceive to be unnecessary; they have preserved it under persecution; and gratitude cannot render it less permanent. They do not presume to arre-

gate to themselves a more fervent loyalty, than their fellow subjects possess; but, distinguished, as they have been, by their sufferings, they deem themselves entitled to the foremost rank among the most zealous supporters of the constitution. And while they cease not to offer up their most earnest prayers to the divine being, to preserve your majesty, and your illustrious family, in the peaceful enjoyment of your just rights, and in the exercise of your royal virtues, in promoting the happiness of your people—they humbly beseech your majesty to continue to believe them, at all times, and upon all occasions, equally ready, as they have been, to devote their lives and properties to your majesty's service, and the preservation of the British constitution.

W. Pepperel, for the Massachusetts loyalists.

J. Wentworth, jun. for the New-Hampshire loyalists.

George Rome, for the Rhode-Island loyalists.

Ja. Delancy, for the New-York loyalists.

David Ogden, for the New-Jersey loyalists.

Joseph Galloway, for the Pennsylvania and Delaware loyalists.

Robert Alexander, for the Maryland loyalists.

John R. Grymes, for the Virginia loyalists.

Henry Euclase M'Culloh, for the N. Carolina loyalists.

James Simpson, for the S. Carolina loyalists.

William Knox, for the Georgia loyalists.

John Graham, late lieutenant governor of Georgia, and joint agent for the Georgia loyalists.

London, July 2, 1788.

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*The Pennsylvania farmer's letters.  
By the hon. John Dickinson, esq.*

(Continued from page 477.)

LETTER VIII.

*My dear countrymen,*

**I**N my opinion, a dangerous example is set, in the last act relating to these colonies. The power of parliament to levy money upon us, for rais-

ing a revenue, is therein avowed and exerted. Regarding the act on this single principle, I must again repeat, and I think it my duty to repeat, that to me it appears to be unconstitutional.

No man, who considers the conduct of the parliament, since the repeal of the stamp act, and the disposition of many people at home, can doubt, that the chief object of attention there, is, (to use Mr. Grenville's expression,) "providing that the dependence and obedience of the colonies be asserted and maintained."

Under the influence of this notion, instantly on repealing the stamp act, an act passed, declaring the power of parliament to bind these colonies in all cases whatever. This however was only planting a barren tree, that cast a shade indeed over the colonies, but yielded no fruit. It being determined to enforce the authority, on which the stamp act was founded, the parliament having never renounced the right, as Mr. Pitt advised them to do—and it being thought proper to disguise that authority in such a manner, as not again to alarm the colonies—some little time was required to find a method, by which both these points should be united. At last the ingenuity of Mr. Grenville and his party accomplished the matter, as it was thought, in "an act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, for allowing drawbacks," &c. which is the title of the act laying duties on paper, &c.

The parliament having, several times before, imposed duties to be paid in America, it was expected, no doubt, that the repetition of such a measure would be passed over, as an usual thing. But to have done this, without expressly "asserting and maintaining" the power of parliament to take our money without our consent, and to apply it as they please, would not have been, in Mr. Grenville's opinion, sufficiently declarative of its supremacy, nor sufficiently oppressive of American freedom.

Therefore it is, that in this memorable act, we find it expressly "provided," that money shall be levied upon us, without our consent, for purposes, that render it, if possible, more dreadful than the stamp-act.

That act, alarming as it was, declared, the money thereby to be raised, should be applied "towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America;" and it is evident, from the whole act, that, by the word "British," were intended colonies and plantations, settled by British people, and not generally those subject to the British crown. That act therefore seemed to have something gentle and kind in its intention, and to aim only at our own welfare: but the act now objected to, imposes duties upon the British colonies, "to defray the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing his majesty's dominions in America."

What a change of words! what an incomputable addition to the expenses, intended by the stamp-act! "His majesty's dominions" comprehend not only the British colonies, but also the conquered provinces of Canada and Florida, and the British garrisons of Nova-Scotia; for these do not deserve the name of colonies.

What justice is there in making us pay for "defending, protecting, and securing" these places? What benefit can we, or have we ever derived from them? None of them was conquered for us: nor will "be defended, protected, or secured" for us.

In fact, however advantageous the subduing or keeping any of these countries may be to Great-Britain, the acquisition is greatly injurious to these colonies. Our chief property consists in lands. These would have been of much greater value, if such prodigious additions had not been made to the British territories on this continent. The natural increase of our own people, if confined within the colonies, would have raised the value still higher and higher every fifteen or twenty years; besides, we should have lived more compactly together, and have been therefore more able to resist an enemy. But now the inhabitants will be thinly scattered over an immense region; as those who want settlements, will choose to make new ones, rather than pay great prices for old ones.

These are the consequences to the colonies, of the hearty assistance they gave to Great Britain in the late war—

a war undertaken solely for her own benefit. The objects of it were, the securing to herself the rich tracts of land on the back of these colonies, with the Indian trade; and Nova-Scotia, with the fishery. These and much more, has that kingdom gained; but the inferior animals, that hunted with the lion, have been amply rewarded for all the sweat and blood their loyalty cost them, by the honour of having sweated and bled in such company.

I will not go so far as to say, that Canada and Nova-Scotia are curbs on New-England; the chain of forts through the back woods, on the middle provinces; and Florida on the rest; but I will venture to say, that, if the products of Canada, Nova-Scotia, and Florida, deserve any consideration, the two first of them are only rivals of our northern colonies, and the other of our southern.

It has been said, that, without the conquest of these countries, the colonies could not have been "protected, defended, and secured." If that is true, it may, with as much propriety, be said, that Great-Britain could not have been "defended, protected, and secured," without that conquest: for the colonies are parts of her empire, which it as much concerns her, as them, to keep out of the hands of any other power.

But these colonies, when they were much weaker, defended themselves, before this conquest was made; and could again do it, against any that might properly be called their enemies. If France and Spain, indeed, should attack them, as members of the British empire, perhaps they might be distressed; but it would be in a British quarrel.

The largest account I have seen of the number of people in Canada, does not make them exceed ninety thousand. Florida can hardly be said to have any inhabitants. It is computed that there are in our colonies three millions. Our force, therefore, must increase with a disproportion to the growth of their strength, that would render us very safe.

This being the state of the case, I cannot think it just that these colonies, labouring under so many misfortunes, should be loaded with taxes, to main-

tain countries, not only not useful, but hurtful to them. The support of Canada and Florida costs yearly, it is said, half a million sterling. From hence, we may make some guess of the load that is to be laid upon us; for we are not only to "defend, protect, and secure" them, but also to make "an adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary."

Not one of the provinces of Canada, Nova-Scotia, or Florida, has ever defrayed these expenses within itself; and, if the duties, imposed by the last statute, are collected—all of them together, according to the best information I can procure, will not pay one quarter as much, as Pennsylvania alone. So that the British colonies are to be drained of the rewards of their labour, to cherish the scorching sands of Florida, and the icy rocks of Canada and Nova-Scotia, which never will return to us one farthing that we send to them.

Great Britain—I mean the ministry in Great Britain—has cantoned Canada and Florida out into five or six governments, and may form as many more. There now are fourteen or fifteen regiments on this continent; and there soon may be as many more. To make "an adequate provision" for all these expenses, is, no doubt, to be the inheritance of the colonies.

Can any man believe that the duties upon paper, &c. are the last, that will be laid for these purposes? It is in vain to hope, that, because it is imprudent to lay duties on the exportation of manufactures from a mother country to colonies, as it may promote manufactures among them, this consideration will prevent such a measure.

Ambitious and artful men have made it popular; and whatever injustice or destruction will attend it in the opinion of the colonists, at home it will be thought just and salutary.\*

#### NOTE.

"So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing passion,"—Hume's hist. of England.

The people of Great Britain will be told, and have been told, that they are sinking under an immense debt—that great part of this debt has been contracted in defending the colonies—that these are so ungrateful and undutiful, that they will not contribute one mite to its payment—nor even to the support of the army now kept up for their “defence and security”—that they are rolling in wealth, and are of so bold and republican a spirit, that they are aiming at independence—that the only way to retain them in “obedience,” is to keep a strict watch over them, and to draw off part of their riches in taxes—and that every burden laid upon them, is taking off so much from Great Britain. These assertions will be generally believed, and the people will be persuaded that they cannot be too angry with their colonies, as that anger will be profitable to themselves.

In truth, Great Britain alone receives any benefit from Canada, Nova Scotia and Florida; and therefore she alone ought to maintain them. The old maxim of the law is drawn from reason and justice, and never could be more properly applied, than in this case—

*Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus.*

They who feel the benefit, ought to feel the burden.

#### LETTER IX.

*My dear countrymen,*

I HAVE made some observations on the purposes for which money is to be levied upon us by the late act of parliament. I shall now offer to your consideration some further reflexions on that subject: and, unless I am greatly mistaken, if these purposes are accomplished, according to the expressed intention of the act, they will be found effectually to supersede that authority in our respective assemblies, which is essential to liberty. The question is not, whether some branches shall be lopped off. The axe is laid to the root of the tree; and the whole body must infallibly perish, if we remain idle spectators of the work.

No free people ever existed, or can ever exist, without keeping, to use a common, but strong expression, “the

purse strings,” in their own hands. Where this is the case, they have a constitutional check upon the administration, which may thereby be brought into order, without violence: but where such a power is not lodged in the people, oppression proceeds uncontrolled in its career, till the governed, transported into rage, seek redress in the midst of blood and confusion.

The elegant and ingenious Mr. Hume, speaking of the *Anglo-Norman* government, says—“princes and ministers were too ignorant, to be themselves sensible of the advantage attending an equitable administration, and there was no established council or assembly, which could protect the people, and, by withdrawing supplies, regularly and peaceably admonish the king of his duty, and insure the execution of the laws.”

Thus this great man, whose political reflexions are so much admired, makes this power one of the foundations of liberty.

The English history abounds with instances, proving that this is the proper and successful way to obtain redress of grievances. How often have kings and ministers endeavoured to throw off this legal curb upon them, by attempting to raise money by a variety of inventions, under pretence of law, without having recourse to parliament? And how often have they been brought to reason, and peaceably obliged to do justice, by the exertion of this constitutional authority of the people, vested in their representatives?

The inhabitants of these colonies have, on numberless occasions, reaped the benefit of this authority lodged in their assemblies.

It has been, for a long time, and now is, a constant instruction to all governors, to obtain a permanent support for the offices of government. But, as the author of “the administration of the colonies” says, “this order of the crown is generally, if not universally, rejected by the legislatures of the colonies.”

They perfectly know how much their grievances would be regarded, if they had no other method of engaging attention, than by complaining. Those who rule, are extremely apt to think well of the constructions made

by themselves in support of their own power. These are frequently erroneous, and pernicious to those they govern. Dry remonstrances, to shew that such constructions are wrong and oppressive, carry very little weight with them, in the opinions of persons who gratify their own inclinations in making these constructions. They cannot understand the reasoning that opposes their power and desires. But let it be made their interest to understand such reasoning—and a wonderful light is instantly thrown upon the matter; and then, rejected remonstrances become as clear as “proofs of holy writ.”

The three most important articles that our assemblies, or any legislatures can provide for, are, first—the defence of the society: secondly—the administration of justice: and thirdly—the support of civil government.

Nothing can properly regulate the expense of making provision for these occasions, but the necessities of the society; its abilities; the convenience of the modes of levying money in it; the manner in which the laws have been executed: and the conduct of the officers of government: all which are circumstances, that cannot possibly be properly known, but by the society itself: or if they should be known, will not probably be properly considered but by that society.

If money be raised upon us by others, without our consent, for our “defence,” those who are the judges in levying it, must also be the judges in applying it. Of consequence, the money said to be taken from us for our defence, may be employed to our injury. We may be\* chained in by a

#### NOTE.

\* That this design was then in contemplation with the government in Great-Britain, was, soon after the publication of these letters, demonstrated by the Canada bill, vesting the legislative power in the governor, and a few men, not less than seventeen, nor more than twenty-three, appointed by the crown: abolishing trial by jury; restoring the laws prior to the conquest; adding all the country on the back of the colonies, to Canada; and subjecting the whole to the same mili-

line of fortifications—obliged to pay for the building and maintaining them—and be told, that they are for our defence. With what face can we dispute the fact, after having granted that those who apply the money, had a right to levy it? For surely, it is much easier for their wisdom to understand how to apply it in the best manner, than how to levy it in the best manner. Besides, the right of levying is of infinitely more consequence, than that of applying. The people of England, who would burst out into fury, if the crown should attempt to levy money by its own authority, have always assigned to the crown the † application of money.

As to “the administration of justice”—the judges ought, in a well regulated state, to be equally independent of the executive and legislative

#### NOTE.

tary government; and by the tenor of all the subsequent measures. “*Specie tuendi finium, jugum liberis provinciis meditatur.*” *Strada. lib. 2.*

† This word is sometimes used as synonymous with appropriation, though this last seems to be the fittest word to describe the designation of money for particular purposes, in acts of parliament; and this distinction is supported by the best authorities. Bishop Ellys, in his tracts on liberty, says, “The parliament, at present, in granting money, does, for the most part, appropriate it to particular services, whereby the application of it is more effectually secured.” “When any aids are given, the commons only do judge of the necessities of the crown, which cannot be otherwise made manifest to them, than by enquiring, how the money which hath been granted, and revenue of the crown, is expended and applied.”—Words of the commons at a conference with the lords. Parl. Hist.

“But of the aids given by parliament (which, by the law of England, are appropriated, and ought to have been employed in the common profit of the whole realm) many large sums of money, during the times of such heavy taxes upon the people, have been diverted.” Address of the house of commons to queen Anne. Parl. Hist.



powers. Thus in England, judges hold their commissions from the crown "during good behaviour," and have salaries, suitable to their dignity, settled on them by parliament. The purity of the courts of law, since this establishment, is a proof of the wisdom with which it was made.

But in these colonies, how fruitless has been every attempt to have judges appointed "during good behaviour?" Yet, whoever considers the matter will soon perceive, that such commissions are beyond all comparison more necessary in these colonies, than they were in England.

The chief danger to the subject there, arose from the arbitrary designs of the crown; but here, the time may come, when we may have to contend with the designs of the crown, and of a mighty kingdom. What then, must be our chance, when the laws of life and death are to be spoken by judges totally dependent on that crown, and that kingdom—sent over perhaps from thence—filled with British prejudices—and backed by a standing army—supported out of our own pockets, to "assert and maintain" our own "dependence and obedience."

But supposing that through the extreme lenity that will prevail in the government, through all future ages, these colonies will never behold any thing like the campaign of chief justice Jefferies, yet what innumerable acts of injustice may be committed, and how fatally may the principles of liberty be sapped, by a succession of judges, utterly independent of the people? Before such judges, the supple wretches, who cheerfully join in avowing sentiments inconsistent with freedom, will always meet with smiles; while the honest and brave men, who disclaim to sacrifice their native land to their own advantage, but on every occasion boldly vindicate her cause, will constantly be regarded with frowns.

There are two other considerations relating to this head, that deserve the most serious attention.

By the late act, the officers of the customs are "empowered to enter into any house, warehouse, shop, cellar, or other place, in the British colonies or plantations in America, to search for or seize prohibited or un-

accustomed goods;" &c. on "writs granted by the superior or supreme court of justice, having jurisdiction within such colony or plantation respectively."

If we only reflect, that the judges of these courts are to be during pleasure—that they are to have "adequate provision" made for them, which is to continue during their complaisant behaviour—that they may be strangers to these colonies—what an engine of oppression may this authority be in such hands?

I am well aware, that writs of this kind may be granted at home, under the seal of the court of exchequer; but I know, also, that the greatest assertors of the rights of Englishmen, have always strenuously contended, that such a power was dangerous to freedom, and expressly contrary to the common law, which ever regarded a man's house as his castle, or a place of perfect security.

If such power was in the least degree dangerous there, it must be utterly destructive to liberty here. For the people there have two securities against the undue exercise of this power by the crown, which are wanting with us, if the late act takes place. In the first place, if any injustice is done there, the person injured may bring his action against the offender, and have it tried before independent judges, who are \* no parties in committing the injury. Here he must have it tried before dependent judges, being the men who granted the writ.

To say, that the cause is to be tried by a jury, can never reconcile men who have any idea of freedom, to such a power. For we know that sheriffs, in almost every colony on this continent, are totally dependent on the crown; and packing of juries has been frequently practised, even in the capital of the British empire. Even if juries are well inclined, we have too many instances of the influence of over-bearing, unjust judges upon them.

NOTE.

\* The writs for searching houses in England, are to be granted "under the seal of the court of exchequer," according to the statute—and that seal is kept by the chancellor of the exchequer. 4th Inst. p. 104.

The brave and wise men, who accomplished the revolution, thought the independency of judges essential to freedom.

The other security which the people have at home, but which we shall want here, is this :

If this power is abused there, the parliament, the grand resource of the oppressed people, is ready to afford relief. Redress of grievances must precede grants of money. But what regard can we expect to have paid to our assemblies, when they will not hold even the puny privilege of *forte* foreign parliaments—that of registering, before they are put in execution, the edicts that take away our money ?

The second consideration above hinted at, is this. There is a confusion in our laws, that is quite unknown in Great Britain. As this cannot be described in a more clear or exact manner, than has been done by the ingenious author of the history of New York, I beg leave to use his words. “The state of our laws opens a door to much controversy. The uncertainty, with respect to them, renders property precarious, and greatly exposes us to the arbitrary decision of bad judges. The common law of England is generally received, together with such statutes as were enacted before we had a legislature of our own; but our courts exercise a sovereign authority, in determining what parts of the common and statute law ought to be extended : for it must be admitted, that the difference of circumstances necessarily requires us, in some cases, to reject the determination of both. In many instances, they have also extended even acts of parliament, passed since we had a distinct legislature, which is greatly adding to our confusion. The practice of our courts is no less uncertain than the law. Some of the English rules are adopted, others rejected. Two things, therefore, seem to be absolutely necessary for the public security. First, the passing an act for settling the extent of the English laws. Secondly, that the courts ordain a general set of rules for the regulation of the practice.”

How easy it will be, under this “state of our laws,” for an artful judge, to act in the most arbitrary

manner, and yet cover his conduct under specious pretences : and how difficult it will be for the injured people to obtain relief, may be readily perceived. We may take a voyage of three thousand miles to complain ; and after the trouble and hazard we have undergone, we may be told, that the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of the prerogative, must not be discouraged—and if the misbehaviour is so gross as to admit of no justification, it may be said, that it was an error in judgment only, arising from the confusion of our laws, and the zeal of the king’s servants to do their duty.

If the commissions of judges are during the pleasure of the crown, yet if their salaries are during the pleasure of the people, there will be some check upon their conduct. Few men will consent to draw on themselves the hatred and contempt of those among whom they live, for the empty honour of being judges. It is the sordid love of gain, that tempts men to turn their backs on virtue, and pay their homage where they ought not.

As to the third particular, “the support of civil government,”—few words will be sufficient. Every man of the least understanding must know, that the executive power may be exercised in a manner so disagreeable and harassing to the people, that it is absolutely requisite, that they should be enabled by the gentlest method which human policy has yet been ingenious enough to invent, that is, by shutting their hands, to “admonish,” as Mr. Hume says, certain persons “of their duty.”

What shall we now think, when, upon looking into the late act, we find the assemblies of these provinces thereby stripped of their authority on these several heads ? The declared intention of the act is, “that a revenue should be raised in his majesty’s dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government in such provinces where it shall be found necessary, and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions.”

Let the reader pause here one moment—and reflect—whether the colony in which he lives, has not made such “certain and adequate provision” for these purposes, as is by the colony judged suitable to its abilities, and all other circumstances. Then let him reflect—whether, if this act takes place, money is not to be raised on that colony without its consent, to make “provision” for these purposes, which it does not judge to be suitable to its abilities, and all other circumstances. Lastly, let him reflect—whether the people of that country are not in a state of the most abject slavery, whose property may be taken from them under the notion of right, when they have refused to give it.

For my part, I think I have good reason for vindicating the honour of the assemblies on this continent, by publicly asserting, that they have made as “certain and adequate provision” for the purposes above-mentioned, as they ought to have made, and that it should not be presumed, that they will not do it hereafter. Why, then, should these most important trusts be wrested out of their hands? Why should they not now be permitted to enjoy that authority, which they have exercised from the first settlement of these colonies? Why should they be scandalized by this innovation, when their respective provinces are now, and will be, for several years, labouring under loads of debt, imposed on them for the very purpose now spoken of? Why should all the inhabitants of these colonies be, with the utmost indignity, treated as a herd of despicable, stupid wretches, so utterly void of common sense, that they will not even make “adequate provision” for “the administration of justice, and the support of civil government” among them, or for their own “defence”—though, without such “provision,” every people must inevitably be overwhelmed with anarchy and destruction? Is it possible to form an idea of a slavery more complete, more miserable, more disgraceful, than that of a people, where justice is administered, government exercised, and a standing army maintained, at the expense of the people, and yet without the least dependence upon them? If we can find no relief from this infer-

nal situation, it will be fortunate for us, if Mr. Grenville, setting his fertile fancy again at work, can, as by one exertion of it he has stripped us of our property and liberty, by another deprive us of so much of our understanding, that, unconscious of what we have been or are, and ungoaded by tormenting reflexions, we may bow down our necks, with all the stupid serenity of servitude, to any drudgery, which our lords and masters shall please to command.

When the charges of the “administration of justice,” the “support of civil government,” and the expenses of “defending, protecting, and securing” us, are provided for, I should be glad to know, upon what occasions the crown will ever call our assemblies together. Some few of them may meet of their own accord, by virtue of their charters. But what will they have to do, when they are met? To what shadows will they be reduced? The men, whose deliberations heretofore had an influence on every matter relating to the liberty and happiness of themselves and their constituents, and whose authority, in domestic affairs at least, might well be compared to that of Roman senators, will now find their deliberations of no more consequence, than those of constables. They may, perhaps, be allowed to make laws for the yoking of hogs, or the pounding of stray cattle. Their influence will hardly be permitted to extend so high, as the keeping roads in repair, as that business may more properly be executed by those who receive the public cash.

One most memorable example in history is so applicable to the point now insisted on, that it will form a just conclusion of the observations that have been made.

Spain was once free. Their cortes resembled our parliaments. No money could be raised on the subject, without their consent. One of their kings having received a grant from them, to maintain a war against the Moors, desired, that if the sum which they had given, should not be sufficient, he might be allowed, for that emergency only, to raise more money without assembling the cortes. The request was violently opposed by

the best and wisest men in the assembly. It was, however, complied with by the votes of a majority; and this single concession was a precedent for other concessions of the like kind, until at last the crown obtained a general power of raising money, in cases of necessity. From that period the cortes ceased to be useful,—the people ceased to be free.

*Venienti occurrere morbo.*

Oppose a disease at its beginning.

#### LETTER X.

*My dear countrymen,*

THE consequences, mentioned in the last letter, will not be the utmost limits of our misery and infamy, if the late act is acknowledged to be binding upon us. We feel too sensibly, that any ministerial measures\* relating to these colonies, are soon carried successfully through the parliament. Certain prejudices operate there so strongly against us, that it may be justly questioned, whether all the provinces united, will ever be able effectually to call to an account before the parliament, any minister who shall abuse the power by the late act given to the crown in America. He may divide the spoils torn from us in what manner he pleases, and we shall have no way of making him responsible. If he should order, that every governor shall have a yearly salary of 5000*l.* sterling; every chief justice of 3000*l.*; every inferior officer in proportion; and should then reward the most profligate, ignorant, or needy dependents on himself or his friends, with places of the greatest trust, because they were of the greatest profit, this would be called an arrangement in consequence of the "adequate provision for defraying the

#### NOTE.

\* "The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative." Mr. Pitt's speech,

charge of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government: and if the taxes should prove at any time insufficient to answer all the expenses of the numberless offices, which ministers may please to create, surely the members of the house of commons will be so "modest," as not to "contradict a minister" who shall tell them, it is become necessary to lay a new tax upon the colonies, for the laudable purpose of defraying the charges of the "administration of justice, and support of civil government," among them. Thus, in fact, we shall be taxed by ministers. In short, it will be in their power to settle upon us any civil, ecclesiastical, or military establishment, which they choose.

We may perceive, by the example of Ireland, how eager ministers are to seize upon any settled revenue, and apply it in supporting their own power. Happy are the men, and happy the people, who grow wise by the misfortunes of others. Earnestly, my dear countrymen, do I beseech the Author of all good gifts, that you may grow wise in this manner; and if I may be allowed to take such a liberty, I beg leave to recommend to you in general, as the best method of attaining this wisdom, diligently to study the histories of other countries. You will there find all the arts, that can possibly be practised by cunning rulers, or false patriots among yourselves, so fully delineated, that,

#### NOTE.

+ "Within this act (*Statute de tallagio non concedendo*) are all new offices erected, with new fees; or old offices, with new fees: for that is a tallage put upon the subject, which cannot be done without common assent by act of parliament. And this doth notably appear by a petition to parliament, in anno 13 Henry IV. where the commons complain, that an office was erected for measuring of cloths and canvas, with a new fee for the same, by colour of the king's letters patent, and pray that these letters patent may be revoked, for that the king could erect no offices with new fees to be taken of the people, who may not so be charged, but by parliament." Second Inst. p. 533.

changing names, the account would serve for your own times.

It is pretty well known on this continent, that Ireland has, with a regular consistency of injustice, been cruelly treated by ministers in the article of pensions; but there are some alarming circumstances relating to that subject, which I wish to have better known among us.

\* The revenue of the crown there arises principally from the excise, granted "for pay of the army, and

NOTE.

\* An enquiry into the legality of pensions on the Irish establishment, by Alexander M'Aulay, esq. one of the king's council, &c.

Mr. M'Aulay concludes his piece in the following manner. "If any pensions have been obtained on that establishment, to serve the corrupt purposes of ambitious men—if his majesty's revenues of Ireland have been employed in pensions, to debauch his majesty's subjects of both kingdoms—if the treasure of Ireland has been expended in pensions, for corrupting men of that kingdom to betray their country; and men of the neighbouring kingdom to betray both—if Irish pensions have been procured, to support gamesters and gaming houses; promoting a vice which threatens national ruin—if pensions have been purloined out of the national treasure of Ireland, under the mask of salaries annexed to public offices, useless to the nation; newly invented, for the purposes of corruption—if Ireland, just beginning to recover from the devastations of massacre and rebellion, be obstructed in the progress of her cure, by swarms of pensionary vultures preying on her vitals—if, by squandering the national substance of Ireland, in a licentious, unbounded profusion of pensions, instead of employing it in nourishing and improving her infant agriculture, trade, and manufactures, or in enlightening and reforming her poor, ignorant, deluded, miserable natives (by nature most amiable, most valuable, most worthy of public attention)—if by such abuse of the national substance, sloth and idleness, cold and hunger, nakedness and wretchedness, popery, depopulation and barbarism, still maintain

defraying other public charges, in defence and preservation of the kingdom"—from the tonnage and additional poundage, granted "for protecting the trade of the kingdom at sea, and augmenting the public revenue"—from the hearth-money, granted as a "public revenue, for public charges and expenses." There are some other branches of the revenue, concerning which there is not any express appropriation of them for public service, but which were plainly so intended.

Of these branches of the revenue, the crown is only trustee for the public. They are unalienable. They are inapplicable to any other purposes, but those for which they were established; and therefore are not legally chargeable with pensions.

There is another kind of revenue, which is a private revenue. This is not limited to any public uses; but the crown has the same property in it, that any person has in his estate. This does not amount, at the most, to fifteen thousand pounds a year, probably not to seven, and is the only revenue, that can be legally charged with pensions.

If ministers were accustomed to regard the rights or happiness of the people, the pensions in Ireland would not exceed the sum just mentioned: but long since have they exceeded that limit; and in December 1765, a motion was made in the house of commons in that kingdom, to address his majesty on the great increase of pensions on the Irish establishment, amounting to the sum of 153,685*l.*—in the last two years.

Attempts have been made to gloss over these gross encroachments, by this specious argument—"that expending a competent part of the public revenue in pensions, from a principle of charity or generosity, adds to

NOTE.

their ground: still deform a country abounding with all the riches of nature, yet hitherto destined to beggary—if such pensions be found on the Irish establishment; let such be cut off: and let the perfidious advisers be branded with indelible characters of public infamy; adequate, if possible, to the dishonour of their crime."

the dignity of the crown, and is therefore useful to the public." To give this argument any weight, it must appear, that the pensions proceed from "charity or generosity only," and that it "adds to the dignity of the crown," to act directly contrary to law.

From this conduct towards Ireland, in open violation of law, we can easily foresee what we may expect, when a minister will have the whole revenue of America in his own hands, to be disposed of at his own pleasure: for all the monies raised by the late act, are to be "applied by virtue of warrants under the sign manual, counter-signed by the high treasurer, or any three of the commissioners of the treasury." The "residue," indeed, is to be "paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and to be disposed of by parliament." So that a minister will have nothing to do, but to take care, that there shall be no "residue," and he is superior to all controul.

Besides the burden of pensions in Ireland, which have enormously increased within these few years, almost all the offices in that kingdom, have been, since the commencement of the present century, and now are, bestowed upon strangers. For, though the merit of persons born there, justly raises them to places of high trust when they go abroad, as all Europe can witness, yet he is an uncommonly lucky Irishman, who can get a good post in his native country.

When I consider the \* manner in

#### NOTE.

\* In Charles the second's time, the house of commons, influenced by some factious demagogues, were resolved to prohibit the importation of Irish cattle into England. Among other arguments in favour of Ireland, it was insisted—"that by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty, but force and violence."

"The king," says Mr. Hume, in his history of England "was so convinced of the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the com-

mons were resolute in their purpose." "And the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had animated the English extremely to exert their superiority over their dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence, than this by the commons. They even went so far in the preamble of the bill, as to declare the importation of Irish cattle to be a nuisance. By this expression, they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law, so full of injustice and bad policy. The lords expunged the word, but as the king was sensible that no supply would be given by the commons, unless they were gratified in all their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the peers, to make the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure, at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the commons discovered, of retrenching his prerogative.

#### NOTE.

"This law brought great distress for some time upon Ireland, but it has occasioned their applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom."

Perhaps the same reason occasioned the "harring the king's prerogative" in the late act, suspending the legislation of New-York.

This we may be assured of, that we are as dear to his majesty, as the people of Great-Britain are. We are his subjects as well as they, and as faithful subjects; and his majesty has given too many, too constant proofs of his piety and virtue, for any man to think it possible, that such a prince can make any unjust distinction between such subjects. It makes no difference to his majesty, whether supplies are raised in Great-Britain, or America; but it makes some difference to the commons of that kingdom.

To speak plainly, as becomes an honest man, on such important occasions, all our misfortunes are owing to

this pernicious peculiarity—of their \* parliament continuing as long as the crown pleases, I am astonished to observe such a love of liberty still animating that loyal and generous nation; and nothing can raise higher my idea of the integrity and ‡ public spirit of

## NOTES.

a lust of power in men of abilities and influence. This prompts them to seek popularity by expedients profitable to themselves, though ever so destructive to their country.

Such is the accursed nature of lawless ambition; and yet—what heart but melts at the thought!—such false, detestable patriots, in every state, have led their blind, confiding country, shouting their applauses, into the jaws of shame and ruin. May the wisdom and goodness of the people of Great-Britain, save them from the usual fate of nations!

-----“*mentem mortalia tangunt.*”

\* The Irish parliament continued thirty-three years, during all the late king's reign. The present parliament there has continued from the beginning of this reign, and probably will continue till this reign ends.

‡ I am informed, that within these few years, a petition was presented to the house of commons, setting forth, “that herrings were imported into Ireland, from some foreign parts of the north, so cheap, as to discourage the British herring-fishery, and therefore praying that some remedy might be applied in that behalf, by parliament:”

That upon this petition, the house came to a resolution, to impose a duty of two shillings sterling, on every barrel of foreign herrings imported into Ireland; but afterwards dropt the affair, for fear of engaging in a dispute with Ireland, about the right of taxing her.

So much higher was the opinion, which the house entertained of the spirit of Ireland, than of that of these colonies.

I find, in the last English papers, that the resolution and firmness, with which the people of Ireland have lately asserted their freedom, have been so alarming in Great-Britain, that the lord lieutenant, in his speech on the 20th of October last, “recommended to that parliament, that such provision

a people, who have preserved the sacred fire of freedom from being extinguished, though the altar on which it burnt, has been overturned.

In the same manner shall we unquestionably be treated, as soon as the late taxes laid upon us, shall make posts in the “government,” and the “administration of justice” here, worth the attention of persons of influence in Great-Britain. We know enough already, to satisfy us of this truth. But this will not be the worst part of our case.

The principals, in all great offices, will reside in England, making some paltry allowance to deputies for doing the business here. Let any man consider what an exhausting drain this must be upon us, when ministers are possessed of the power of creating what posts they please, and of affixing to such posts what salaries they please, and he must be convinced how destructive the late act will be. The injured kingdom lately mentioned, can tell us the mischiefs of absentee; and we may perceive already, the same disposition taking place with us. The government of New-York has been exercised by a deputy. That of Virginia is now held so; and we know of a number of secretaryships, collectorships, and other offices, held in the same manner.

True it is, that if the people of Great-Britain were not too much blinded, by the passions, that have been artfully excited in their breasts, against their dutiful children, the colonists—these considerations would be nearly as alarming to them as to us. The influence of the crown was thought by wise men, many years ago, too great, by reason of the multitude of pensions and places bestowed by it. These have been vastly increased since ‡;

## NOTE.

may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as shall be thought most expedient.”

What an important concession is thus obtained, by making demands becoming freemen, with a courage and perseverance becoming freemen!

‡ One of the reasons urged by that great and honest statesman, sir William Temple, to Charles the second,

and perhaps it would be no difficult matter, to prove, that the people have decreased.

Surely, therefore, those who wish the welfare of their country, ought seriously to reflect, what may be the consequence of such a new creation of offices, in the disposal of the crown. The army, the administration of justice, and the civil government here with such salaries as the crown shall please to annex, will extend ministerial influence as much beyond its former bounds, as the late war did the British dominions.

#### NOTE.

in his famous remonstrance, to dissuade him from aiming at arbitrary power, was, that the king "had few offices to bestow." Flume's hist. of England.

"Tho' the wings of prerogative have been clapt, the influence of the crown is greater, than ever it was, in any period of our history. For when we consider, in how many boroughs the government has the votes at command—when we consider the vast body of persons employed in the collection of the revenue, in every part of the kingdom, the inconceivable number of placemen, and candidates for places in the customs, in the excise, in the post-office, in the dock-yards, in the ordnance, in the salt-office, in the stamps, in the navy and victualling offices, and in a variety of other departments—when we consider again the extensive influence of the money corporations, subscription jobbers, and contractors, the endless dependencies created by the obligations conferred on the bulk of the gentlemen's families throughout the kingdom, who have relations preferred in our navy and numerous standing army—when, I say, we consider how wide, how binding a dependence on the crown is created by the above enumerated particulars, and the great, the enormous weight and influence, which the crown derives from this extensive dependence upon its favour and power—any lord in waiting, any lord of the bed-chamber, any man may be appointed minister."

A doctrine to this effect is said to have been the advice of L--- H---. Late news paper.

But, whatever the people of Great-Britain may think on this occasion, I hope the people of these colonies will unanimously join in this sentiment, that the late act of parliament is injurious to their liberty; and that this sentiment will unite them in a firm opposition to it, in the same manner, as the dread of the stamp-act did.

Some persons may imagine the sums to be raised by it, are but small; and therefore may be inclined to acquiesce under it. A conduct more dangerous to freedom, as has been before observed, can never be adopted. Nothing is wanted at home but a \* precedent, the force of which shall be established, by the tacit submission of the colonies. With what zeal was the statute, erecting the post office, and another, relating to the recovery of debts in America, urged and tortured, as precedents in support of the stamp-act, though wholly inapplicable. If the parliament succeeds in this attempt, other statutes will impose other duties. Instead of taxing ourselves, as we have been accustomed to do, from the first settlement of these provinces, all our usual taxes will be converted into parliamentary taxes on our importations; and thus the parliament will levy upon us such sums of money as they choose to take, without any other limitation, than their pleasure.

We know, how much labour and care have been bestowed by these colonies, in laying taxes in such a manner, that they should be most easy to the people, by being laid on the proper articles; most equal, by being proportioned to every man's circumstances; and cheapest, by the method directed for collecting them.

But parliamentary taxes will be laid

#### NOTE.

\* "Here may be observed, that when any ancient law or custom of parliament is broken, and the crown possessed of a precedent, how difficult a thing it is to restore the subject again to his former freedom and safety." Second Coke's inst. p. 329.

"It is not almost credible to foresee, when any maxim or fundamental law of this realm is altered (as elsewhere hath been observed) what dangerous inconveniences do follow." Fourth Coke's inst. p. 41.



on us, without any consideration, whether there is any easier mode. The only point regarded, will be the certainty of levying the taxes, and not the convenience of the people, on whom they are to be levied; and therefore all statutes on this head will be such, as will be most likely, according to the favourite phrase, "to execute themselves."

Taxes in every free state have been, and ought to be, as exactly proportioned, as is possible, to the abilities of those who are to pay them. They cannot otherwise be just. Even a Hottentot would comprehend the unreasonableness of making a poor man pay as much for "defending" the property of a rich man, as the rich man pays himself.

Let any person look into the late act of parliament, and he will immediately perceive, that the immense estates of lord Fairfax, lord + Baltimore, and our proprietaries, which are amongst his majesty's other "dominions" to be "defended, protected, and secured" by the act, will not pay a single farthing of the duties thereby imposed, except lord Fairfax wants some of his windows glazed; lord Baltimore and our proprietaries are quite secure, as they live in England.

I mention these particular cases, as striking instances, how far the late act is a deviation from that principle of justice, which has so constantly distinguished our own laws on this continent, and ought to be regarded in all laws.

The third consideration with our continental assemblies in laying taxes, has been the method of collecting them. This has been done by a few officers, with moderate allowances, under the inspection of the respective assemblies. No more was raised from

the subject, than was used for the intended purposes. But by the late act, a minister may appoint as many officers as he pleases, for collecting the taxes; may assign them what salaries he thinks "adequate;" and they are subject to no inspection but his own.

In short, if the late act of parliament takes effect, these colonies must dwindle down into "common corporations," as their enemies, in the debates concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, strenuously insisted they were; and it seems not improbable, that some future historian may thus record our fall:

"The eighth year of this reign was distinguished by a very memorable event; the American colonies then submitting, for the first time, to be taxed by the British parliament. An attempt of this kind had been made about two years before, but was defeated by the vigorous exertions of the several provinces, in defence of their liberty. Their behaviour on that occasion rendered their name very celebrated, for a short time, all over Europe; all states being extremely attentive to a dispute between Great-Britain, and so considerable a part of her dominions. For as she was thought to be grown too powerful, by the successful conclusion of the late war she had been engaged in, it was hoped by many, that, as it had happened before to other kingdoms, civil discords would afford opportunities of revenging all the injuries supposed to be received from her. However, the cause of dissension was removed, by a repeal of the statute that had given offence. This affair rendered the submissive conduct of the colonies, so soon after, the more extraordinary; there being no difference between the mode of taxation which they opposed, and that to which they submitted, but this—that by the first, they were to be continually reminded that they were taxed, by certain marks, stamped on every piece of paper or parchment they used. The author of that statute triumphed greatly on this conduct of the colonies; and insisted, that, if the people of Great-Britain had persisted in enforcing it, the Americans would have been, in a few months, so fatigued with the efforts of

#### NOTE.

+ Maryland and Pennsylvania have been engaged in the warmest disputes, in order to obtain an equal and just taxation of their proprietors' estates: but this late act of parliament does more for those proprietors, than they themselves would venture to demand. It totally exempts them from taxation, tho' their vast estates are to be "secured" by the taxes of other people.

patriotism, that they would have yielded obedience.

"Certain it is, that, tho' they had before their eyes so many illustrious examples in their mother country, of the constant success attending firmness and perseverance, in opposition to dangerous encroachments on liberty, yet they quietly gave up a point of the last importance. From thence the decline of their freedom began, and its decay was extremely rapid; for as money was always raised upon them by the parliament, their assemblies grew immediately useless, and in a short time contemptible: and in less than one hundred years, the people sunk down into that tameness and supineness of spirit, by which they still continue to be distinguished."

*Et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.*

Think of your ancestors and your posterity.



#### LETTER XI.

*My dear countrymen,*

I HAVE several times, in the course of these letters, mentioned the late act of parliament, as being the foundation of future measures injurious to these colonies; and the belief of this truth I wish to prevail, because I think it necessary to our safety.

A perpetual jealousy, respecting liberty, is absolutely requisite in all free states. The very texture of their constitution, in mixed governments, demands it. For the cautions, with which power is distributed among the several orders, imply, that each has that share which is proper for the general welfare, and therefore that any further acquisition must be pernicious.

\* Machiavel employs a whole chapter in his discourses, to prove that a state, to be long-lived, must be frequently corrected, and reduced to its first principles. But of all states that have existed, there never was any, in which this jealousy could be more proper than in these colonies. For the government here is not only mixed, but dependent; which circum-

#### NOTE.

\* Machiavel's discourses—Book 3, chap. 2.

stance occasions a peculiarity in its form, of a very delicate nature.

Two reasons induce me to desire, that this spirit of apprehension may be always kept up among us, in its utmost vigilance. The first is this—that as the happiness of these provinces indubitably consists in their connexion with Great-Britain, any separation between them is less likely to be occasioned by civil discords, if every disgusting measure is opposed singly, and while it is new: for in this manner of proceeding, every such measure is most likely to be rectified. On the other hand, oppressions and dissatisfactions being permitted to accumulate—if ever the governed throw off the load, they will do more. A people does not reform with moderation. The rights of the subject therefore cannot be too often considered, explained, or asserted: and whoever attempts to do this, shews himself, whatever may be the rash and peevish reflexions of pretended wisdom, and pretended duty, a friend to those who injudiciously exercise their power, as well as to them, over whom it is so exercised.

Had all the points of prerogative, claimed by Charles I. been separately contested and settled, in preceding reigns, his fate would in all probability have been very different; and the people would have been content with that liberty, which is compatible with regal authority. But † he thought it would be as dangerous for him to give up the powers, which at any time had been, by usurpation, exercised by the crown, as those that were legally vested in it. This produced an

#### NOTE.

† The author is sensible, that this is putting the gentlest construction on Charles's conduct; and that is one reason why he chooses it. Allowances ought to be made for the errors of those men, who are acknowledged to have been possessed of many virtues. The education of this unhappy prince, and his confidence in men not so good or wise as himself, had probably filled him with mistaken notions of his own authority, and of the consequences, that would attend concessions of any kind to a people, who were represented to him, as aiming at too much power.

equal excess on the part of the people. For when their passions were excited by multiplied grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the powers that were legally vested in the crown, as those which at any time had been by usurpation exercised by it. Acts, that might by themselves have been upon many considerations excused or extenuated, derived a contagious malignancy and odium from other acts, with which they were connected. They were not regarded according to the simple force of each, but as parts of a system of oppression. Every one, therefore, however small in itself, became alarming, as an additional evidence of tyrannical designs. It was in vain for prudent and moderate men to insist, that there was no necessity to abolish royalty. Nothing less than the utter destruction of monarchy, could satisfy those who had suffered, and thought they had reason to believe, they always should suffer, under it.

The consequences of these mutual distrusts are well known: but there is no other people mentioned in history, that I recollect, who have been so constantly watchful of their liberty, and so successful in their struggles for it, as the English. This consideration leads me to the second reason, why I “desire that the spirit of apprehension may be always kept up among us in its utmost vigilance.”

The first principles of government are to be looked for in human nature. Some of the best writers have asserted, that “government is founded on opinion.\*”

NOTE.

\* “Opinion is of two kinds, viz. opinion of interest, and opinion of right. By opinion of interest, I chiefly understand, the sense of the public advantage which is reaped from government; together with the persuasion, that the particular government which is established, is equally advantageous with any other, that could be easily settled.

“Right is of two kinds, right to power, and right to property. What prevalence opinion of the first kind has over mankind, may easily be un-

Custom undoubtedly has a mighty force in producing opinion, and reigns in nothing more arbitrarily than in public affairs. It gradually reconciles us to objects even of dread and detestation; and I cannot but think these lines of Mr. Pope as applicable to vice in politics, as to vice in ethics—

“Vice is a monster of so horrid mien,  
“As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;

“Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,

“We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

When an act, injurious to freedom, has been once done, and the people bear it, the repetition of it is most likely to meet with submission. For, as the mischief of the one was found to be tolerable, they will hope that of the second will prove so too; and they will not regard the infamy of the last, because they are stained with that of the first.

Indeed nations, in general, are not apt to think, until they feel; and therefore nations in general have lost their liberty: for, as violations of the rights of the governed, are commonly not only † specious, but small at the beginning, they spread over the multitude in such a manner, as to touch individuals but slightly. ‡ Thus

NOTES.

derstood, by observing the attachment which all nations have to their ancient government, and even to those names which have had the sanction of antiquity. Antiquity always begets the opinion of right.” “It is sufficiently understood, that the opinion of right to property, is of the greatest moment in all matters of government.” Hume's essays.

† *Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt.* Sallust. Bell. Cat. l. 50.

‡ “The republic is always attacked with greater vigour, than it is defended. For the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act by the least nod of their leaders: whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused

they are disregarded. The power or profit that arises from these violations, centering in few persons, is to them considerable. For this reason, the governors, having in view their particular purposes, successively preserve an uniformity of conduct for attaining them. They regularly increase the ill injuries, till at length the inattentive people are compelled to perceive the heaviness of their burdens. They begin to complain and enquire—but too late. They find their oppressors so strengthened by success, and themselves so entangled in examples of express authority on the part of their rulers, and of tacit recognition on their own part, that they are quite confounded: for millions entertain no other idea of the legality of power, than that it is founded on the exercise of power. They voluntarily fasten their chains, by adopting a pusillanimous opinion, “that there will be too much danger in attempting a remedy,”—or another opinion no less fatal,—“that the government has a right to treat them as it does.” They then seek a wretched relief for their minds, by persuading themselves, that, to yield their obedience, is to discharge their duty. The deplorable poverty of spirit, that prostrates all the dignity bellowed by divine providence on our nature—of course succeeds.

From these reflexions I conclude, that every free state should incessantly watch, and instantly take alarm, on any addition being made to the power exercised over them. Innumerable instances might be produced to shew, from what slight beginnings the most extensive consequences have flowed:

#### NOTE.

to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expense even of their honour, they commonly lose them both.” Cicero’s orat. for Sextius.

Such were the sentiments of this great and excellent man, whose vast abilities, and the calamities of his country during his time, enabled him, by mournful experience, to form a just judgment on the conduct of the friends and enemies of liberty.

but I shall select two only, from the history of England.

Henry VII. was the first monarch of that kingdom, who established a standing body of armed men. This was a band of fifty archers, called yeomen of the guard: and this institution, notwithstanding the smallness of the number, was, to prevent discontent, “disguised under pretence of majesty and grandeur †.” In 1684, the standing forces were so much augmented, that Rapin says—“The king, in order to make his people fully sensible of their new slavery, affected to muster his troops, which amounted to 4000 well armed and disciplined men.” I think our army, at this time, consists of more than seventy regiments.

The method of taxing by excise was first introduced amidst the convulsions of the civil wars. Extreme necessity was pretended for it, and its short continuance promised. After the restoration, an excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, was granted to the \* king, one half in fee, the other for life, as an equivalent for the court of wards. Upon James II.’s accession, the parliament ‡ gave him the first excise, with an additional duty on wine, tobacco, and some other things. Since the revolution, it has been extended to salt, candles, leather, hides, hops, soap, paper, paste-board, mill-boards, scale-boards, vellum, parchment, starch, silks, calicoes, linens, stuffs, printed, stained, &c. wire, wrought plate, coffee, tea, chocolate, &c.

Thus a standing army and excise have, from their first slender origins, tho’ always hated, always feared, always opposed, at length swelled up to their vast present bulk.

These facts are sufficient to support what I have said. ’Tis true, that all the mischiefs apprehended by our ancestors from a standing army and excise, have not yet happened: but it does not follow from thence, that they will not happen. The inside of a house may catch fire, and the most valuable apartments be ruined, before the flames burst out. The question is

#### NOTE.

† Rapin’s history of England.

\* 12 Char. II. chap. 22 and 24.

‡ 1 James II. chap. 1 and 4.

these cases is not, what evil has actually attended particular measures—but, what evil, in the nature of things, is likely to attend them. Certain circumstances may for some time delay effects, that were reasonably expected, and that must ensue. There was a long period, after the Romans had prorogued his command to *Q. Publius Philo*, before that example destroyed their liberty. All our kings, from the revolution to the present reign, have been foreigners. Their ministers generally continued but a short time in authority †; and they themselves were mild and virtuous princes.

A bold, ambitious prince, possessed of great abilities, firmly fixed in his throne by descent, served by ministers like himself, and rendered either venerable or terrible by the glory of his successes, may execute what his predecessors did not dare to attempt. Henry IV. tottered in his seat during his whole reign. Henry V. drew the strength of that kingdom into France, to carry on his wars there; and left the commons at home, protesting, “that the people were not bound to serve out of the realm.”

It is true, that a strong spirit of liberty subsists at present in Great-Britain; but what reliance is to be plac-

## NOTES.

‡ In the year of the city 428, “*Duo singularia haec ci viro primum contingere—prorogatio imperii, non autem in ullo facta, et, alto honore, triumphus.*” Liv. B. 8. chap. 26.

“Had the rest of the Roman citizens imitated the example of L. Quintus, who refused to have his consulship continued to him, they had never admitted that custom of proroguing of magistrates; and then the prolongation of their commands in the army had never been introduced, which very thing was at length the ruin of that commonwealth.” Machiavel’s discourses, B. 2. chap. 24.

† I don’t know but it may be said, with a good deal of reason, that a quick rotation of ministers is very desirable in Great-Britain. A minister there has a vast store of materials to work with. Long administrations are rather favourable to the reputation of a people abroad, than to their liberty.

ed in the temper of a people, when the prince is possessed of an unconstitutional power, our own history can sufficiently inform us. When Charles II. had strengthened himself by the return of the garrison of Tangier, “England,” says Rapin “saw on a sudden an amazing revolution: saw herself stripped of all her rights and privileges, excepting such as the king should vouchsafe to grant her: and, what is more astonishing, the English themselves delivered up these very rights and privileges to Charles the second, which they had so passionately, and, if I may say it, furiously defended against the designs of Charles the first.” This happened only thirty-six years after this last prince had been beheaded.

Some persons are of opinion, that liberty is not violated, but by such open acts of force; but they seem to be greatly mistaken. I could mention a period within these forty years, when almost as great a change of disposition was produced by the secret measures of a long administration, as by Charles’s violence. Liberty, perhaps, is never exposed to so much danger, as when the people believe there is the least: for it may be subverted, and yet they not think so.

Public disgusting acts are seldom practised by the ambitious, at the beginning of their designs. Such conduct silences and discourages the weak, and the wicked, who would otherwise have been their advocates or accomplices. It is of great consequence, to allow those, who upon any account, are inclined to favour them, something specious to say in their defence. Their power may be fully established; though it would not be safe for them to do whatever they please. For there are things, which, at some times, even slaves will not bear. Julius Cæsar, and Oliver Cromwell, did not dare to assume the title of king. The grand signior dares not lay a new tax. Certain popular points may be left untouched, and yet freedom be extinguished. The commonalty of Venice imagine themselves free, because they are permitted to do what they ought not. But I quit a subject, that would lead me too far from my purpose.

By the late act of parliament, taxes

are to be levied upon us, for “defraying the charge of the administration of justice—the support of civil government—and the expenses of defending his majesty’s dominions in America.”

If any man doubts what ought to be the conduct of these colonies on this occasion, I would ask him these questions :

Has not the parliament expressly avowed their intention of raising money from us for certain purposes ? Is not this scheme popular in Great-Britain ? Will the taxes, imposed by the late act, answer those purposes ? If they will, must they not take an immense sum from us ? If they will not, is it to be expected, that the parliament will not fully execute their intention, when it is pleasing at home, and not opposed here ? Must not this be done by imposing new taxes ? Will not every addition, thus made to our taxes, be an addition to the power of the British legislature, by increasing the number of officers employed in the collection ? Will not every additional tax, therefore, render it more difficult to abrogate any of them ? When a branch of revenue is once established, does it not appear to many people invidious and unadvisable, to attempt to abolish it ? If taxes, sufficient to accomplish the intention of the parliament, are imposed by the parliament, what taxes will remain to be imposed by our assemblies ? If no material taxes remain to be imposed by them, what must become of them, and the people they represent ?

“If any person considers these things, and yet thinks our liberties are in no danger, I wonder at that person’s security.”\*

One other argument is to be added, which, by itself, I hope, will be sufficient to convince the most incredulous man on this continent, that the late act of parliament is only designed to be a precedent, whereon the future vassalage of these colonies may be established.

Every duty thereby laid on articles of British manufacture, is laid on some commodity, upon the exportation of

which from Great-Britain, a drawback is payable. Those drawbacks, in most of the articles, are exactly double the duties given by the late act. The parliament therefore might, in half a dozen lines, have raised much more money, only by stopping the drawbacks in the hands of the officers at home, on exportation to these colonies, than by this solemn imposition of taxes upon us, to be collected here. Probably, the artful contrivers of this act, formed it in this manner, in order to reserve to themselves, in case of any objection being made to it, this specious pretence—“that the drawbacks are gifts to the colonies, and that the late act only lessens those gifts.” But the truth is, that the drawbacks are intended for the encouragement and promotion of British manufactures and commerce, and are allowed on exportation to any foreign parts, as well as on exportation to these provinces. Besides, care has been taken to slide into the act, some articles on which there are no drawbacks. However, the whole duties, laid by the late act on all the articles therein specified, are so small, that they will not amount to as much as the drawbacks which are allowed on part of them only. If, therefore, the sum to be obtained by the late act, had been the sole object in forming it, there would not have been any occasion for “the commons of Great-Britain, to give and grant to his majesty rates and duties for raising a revenue in his majesty’s dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the expense of defending the said dominions ;”—nor would there have been any occasion for an † expensive board

#### NOTE.

† The expense of this board, I am informed, is between four and five thousand pounds sterling a year. The establishment of officers, for collecting the revenue in America, amounted, before, to seven thousand six hundred pounds *per annum*; and yet, says the author of “the regulation of the colonies,” “the whole remittance from all the taxes in the colonies, at an average of thirty years, has not

#### NOTE.

\* Demosthenes’s 2d Philippic.

of commissioners, and all the other new charges to which we are made liable.

Upon the whole, for my part, I regard the late act as an experiment made of our disposition. It is a bird sent out over the waters, to discover, whether the waves, that lately agitated this part of the world with such violence, are yet subsided. If this adventurer gets footing here, we shall quickly find it to be of the \* kind described by the poet—

*"Infelix vates."*

A direful foreteller of future calamities.

#### LETTER XII.

*My dear countrymen,*

SOME states have lost their liberty by particular accidents: but this calamity is generally owing to the decay of virtue. A people is travelling fast to destruction, when individuals consider their interests as distinct from those of the public. Such notions are fatal to their country, and to themselves. Yet how many are there, so weak and sordid, as to think they perform all the offices of life, if they earnestly endeavour to increase their own wealth, power, and credit, without the least regard for the society, under the protection of which they live; who, if they can make an immediate profit to themselves, by lending

#### NOTE.

amounted to one thousand nine hundred pounds a year, and in that sum seven or eight hundred pounds *per annum* only, have been remitted from North-America."

The smallness of the revenue arising from the duties in America, demonstrates that they were intended only as regulations of trade: and can any person be so blind to truth, so dull of apprehension in a matter of unspeakable importance to his country, as to imagine, that the board of commissioners lately established at such a charge, is instituted to assist in collecting one thousand nine hundred pounds a year, or the trifling duties imposed by the late act? Surely every man on this continent must perceive, that they are established for the care of a new system of revenue, which is but now begun.

\* *"Dira Celuena,"* &c. *Æneid* 3.

their assistance to those, whose projects plainly tend to the injury of their country, rejoice in their dexterity, and believe themselves entitled to the character of able politicians. Miserable men! of whom it is hard to say, whether they ought to be most the objects of pity or contempt: but whose opinions are certainly as detestable, as their practices are destructive.

Tho' I always reflect, with a high pleasure, on the integrity and understanding of my countrymen, which, joined with a pure and humble devotion to the great and gracious Author of every blessing they enjoy, will, I hope, insure to them, and their posterity, all temporal and eternal happiness; yet, when I consider, that in every age and country there have been bad men, my heart, at this threatening period, is so full of apprehension, as not to permit me to believe, but that there may be some on this continent, against whom you ought to be upon your guard—men, who either \* hold, or

#### NOTE.

\* It is not intended by these words, to throw any reflexion upon gentlemen, because they are possessed of offices: for many of them are certainly men of virtue, and lovers of their country. But supposed obligations of gratitude and honour, may induce them to be silent. Whether these obligations ought to be regarded or not, is not so much to be considered by others, in the judgment they form of these gentlemen, as whether they think they ought to be regarded. Perhaps, therefore, we shall act in the properest manner towards them, if we neither reproach nor imitate them. The persons meant in this letter, are the base-spirited wretches, who may endeavour to distinguish themselves, by their sordid zeal in defending and promoting measures, which they know, beyond all question, to be destructive to the just rights and true interests of their country. It is scarcely possible to speak of these men with any degree of patience—it is scarcely possible to speak of them with any degree of propriety; for no words can truly describe their guilt and meanness—but every honest bosom, on their being mentioned, will feel what cannot be expressed.

expect to hold certain advantages, by setting examples of servility to their

NOTE.

If their wickedness did not blind them, they might perceive along the coast of these colonies, many men, remarkable instances of wrecked ambition, who, after distinguishing themselves in the support of the stamp-act, by a courageous contempt of their country, and of justice, have been left to linger out their miserable existence, without a government, collectorship, secretaryship, or any other commission, to console them as well as it could, for loss of virtue and reputation—while numberless offices have been bestowed in these colonies on people from Great-Britain, and new ones are continually invented, to be thus bestowed. As a few great prizes are put into a lottery, to tempt multitudes to lose, so here, and there an American has been raised to a good post.

*“Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.”*

Mr. Grenville, indeed, in order to recommend the stamp-act, had the unequalled generosity, to pour down a golden shower of offices upon Americans; and yet these ungrateful colonies did not thank Mr. Grenville for shewing his kindness to their countrymen, nor them for accepting it. How must that great statesman have been surprised, to find, that the unpollished colonies could not be reconciled to infamy by treachery? Such a bountiful disposition towards us never appeared in any minister before him, and probably never will appear again: for it is evident, that such a system of policy is to be established on this continent, as, in a short time, is to render it utterly unnecessary to use the least art in order to conciliate our approbation of any measures. Some of our countrymen may be employed to fix chains upon us, but they will never be permitted to hold them afterwards; so that the utmost, that any of them can expect, is only a temporary provision, that may expire in their own time: but which, they may be assured, will preclude their children from having any consideration paid to them. Natives of America must sink into total neglect and contempt, the moment that their country loses the constitutional powers she now possesses.

countrymen.—men, who, trained to the employment, or self-taught by a natural versatility of genius, serve as decoys for drawing the innocent and unwary into snares. It is not to be doubted but that such men will diligently bestir themselves on this and every like occasion, to spread the infection of their meanness as far as they can. On the plans they have adopted, this is their course. This is the method to recommend themselves to their patrons.

From them we shall learn, how pleasant and profitable a thing it is, to be, for our submissive behaviour, well spoken of at St. James's, or St. Stephen's; at Guildhall, or the Royal Exchange. Specious fallacies will be dressed up with all the arts of delusion, to persuade one colony to distinguish herself from another, by unbecoming condescensions, which will serve the ambitious purposes of great men at home, and therefore will be thought by them to entitle their assistants in obtaining them, to considerable rewards.

Our fears will be excited. Our hopes will be awakened. It will be insinuated to us, with a plausible affectation of wisdom and concern, how prudent it is to please the powerful—how dangerous to provoke them—and then comes in the perpetual incantation that freezes up every generous purpose of the soul in cold, inactive expectation—“that if there is any request to be made, compliance will obtain a favourable attention.”

Our vigilance and our union are success and safety. Our negligence and our division are distress and death. They are worse—they are shame and slavery. Let us equally shun the benumbing stillness of overweening sloth, and the feverish activity of that ill-informed zeal, which busies itself in maintaining little, mean, and narrow opinions. Let us, with a truly wise generosity and charity, banish and discourage all illiberal distinctions, which may arise from differences in situation, forms of government, or modes of religion. Let us consider ourselves as men—freemen—christian freemen—separated from the rest of the world, and firmly bound together by the same rights, interests, and dangers. Let these keep



our attention inflexibly fixed on the great objects, which we must continually regard, in order to preserve those rights, to promote those interests, and to avert those dangers.

Let these truths be indelibly impressed on our minds—that we cannot be happy, without being free—that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property—that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away—that taxes imposed on us by parliament, do thus take it away—that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes—that attempts to lay such duties should be instantly and firmly opposed—that this opposition can never be effectual, unless it is the united effort of these provinces—that therefore benevolence of temper towards each other, and unanimity of councils, are essential to the welfare of the whole—and lastly, that for this reason, every man amongst us, who in any manner would encourage either dissension, diffidence, or indifference, between these colonies, is an enemy to himself, and to his country.

The belief of these truths, I verily think, my countrymen, is indispensably necessary to your happiness. I beseech you, therefore, “teach them diligently unto your children, and talk of them when you sit in your houses, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise up.”

What have these colonies to ask, while they continue free? Or what have they to dread, but insidious attempts to subvert their freedom? Their prosperity does not depend on ministerial favours, doled out to particular provinces. They form one political body, of which each colony is a member. Their happiness is founded on their constitution; and is to be promoted, by preserving that constitution in unabated vigour, throughout every part. A spot, a speck of decay, however small the limb on which it appears, and however remote it may seem from the vitals, should be alarming. We have all the rights requisite for our prosperity. The legal authority of Great-Britain may, indeed, lay hard restrictions upon us; but, like the spear of Telephus, it will cure, as well as wound. Her un-

kindness will instruct and compel us, after some time, to discover, in our industry and frugality, surprising remedies—if our rights continue unviolated: for as long as the products of our labour, and the rewards of our care, can properly be called our own, so long it will be worth our while to be industrious and frugal. But if, when we plough—sow—reap—gather—and thresh—we find, that we plough—sow—reap—gather—and thresh for others, whose pleasure is to be the sole limitation, how much they shall take, and how much they shall leave, why should we repeat the unprofitable toil? Horses and oxen are content with that portion of the fruits of their work, which their owners assign them, in order to keep them strong enough to raise successive crops; but even these beasts will not submit to draw for their masters, until they are subdued by whips and goads.

Let us take care of our rights, and we therein take care of our prosperity. \* “Slavery is ever preceded by sleep.” Individuals may be dependent on ministers if they please, states should scorn it; and if you are not wanting to yourselves, you will have a proper regard paid you by those, to whom, if you are not respectable, you will be contemptible. But—if we have already forgotten the reasons that urged us, with unexampled unanimity, to exert ourselves two years ago—if our zeal for the public good is worn out before the homespun clothes, which it caused us to have made—if our resolutions are so faint, as by our present conduct to condemn our own late successful example—if we are not affected by any reverence for the memory of our ancestors, who transmitted to us that freedom, in which they had been blest—if we are not animated by any regard for posterity, to whom, by the most sacred obligations, we are bound to deliver down the invaluable inheritance—then, indeed, any minister—or any tool of a minister—or any creature of a tool of a minister—or any lower † instrument of ‡ admi-

## NOTES.

\* Montesquieu's spirit of laws, book 14, chap. 12.

† “*Instrumenta regni.*” Tacitus's Ann. book 12, § 66.

‡ If any person shall imagine that

nistration, if lower there be, is a personage, whom it may be dangerous to offend.

I shall be extremely sorry, if any man mistakes my meaning in any

NOTE.

he discovers, in these letters, the least dislike of the dependence of these colonies on Great-Britain, I beg that such person will not form any judgment on particular expressions, but will consider the tenor of all the letters taken together. In that case, I flatter myself, that every unprejudiced reader will be convinced, that the true interests of Great Britain are as dear to me, as they ought to be to every good subject.

If I am an enthusiast in any thing, it is in my zeal for the perpetual dependence of these colonies on their mother country. A dependence founded on mutual benefits, the continuance of which can be secured only by mutual affections. Therefore it is, that with extreme apprehension I view the smallest seeds of discontent, which are unwarily scattered abroad. Fifty or sixty years will make astonishing alterations in these colonies; and this consideration should render it the business of Great-Britain more and more to cultivate our good dispositions towards her: but the misfortune is, that those great men, who are wrestling for power at home, think themselves very slightly interested in the prosperity of their country fifty or sixty years hence, but are deeply concerned in blowing up a popular clamour for supposed immediate advantages.

For my part, I regard Great-Britain as a bulwark, happily fixed between these colonies and the powerful nations of Europe. That kingdom remaining safe, we, under its protection, enjoying peace, may dilute the blessings of religion, science, and liberty, thro' remote wildernesses. It is therefore incontestably our duty, and our interest, to support the strength of Great-Britain. When confiding in that strength, she begins to forget from whence it arose, it will be an easy thing to shew the source. She may readily be reminded of the loud alarm spread among her merchants and tradesmen, by the universal association of these colonies, at the time of the stamp-

thing I have said. Officers employed by the crown, are, while according to the laws they conduct themselves, entitled to legal obedience, and sincere respect. There it is a duty to render them; and these no good or prudent person will withhold. But when these officers, through rashness or design, desire to enlarge their authority beyond its due limits, and expect improper concessions to be made to them, from regard for the employments they bear, their attempts should be considered as equal injuries to the crown and people, and should be courageously and constantly opposed. To foster our ideas to be confounded by names, on such occasions, would certainly be an inexcusable weakness, and probably an irremediable error.

We have reason to believe, that several of his majesty's present mini-

NOTE.

act, not to import any of her manufactures.

In the year 1718, the Russians and Swedes entered into an agreement, not to suffer Great-Britain to export any naval stores from their dominions, but in Russian or Swedish ships, and at their own prices. Great-Britain was distressed. Pitch and tar rose to three pounds a barrel. At length the thought of getting these articles from the colonies; and the attempt succeeding, they fell down to fifteen shillings. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, Great-Britain was threatened with an invasion. An easterly wind blowing for six weeks, she could not man her fleet, and the whole nation was thrown into the utmost consternation. The wind changed. The American ships arrived. The fleets sailed in ten or fifteen days. There are some other reflexions on this subject, worthy of the most deliberate attention of the British parliament; but they are of such a nature, that I do not choose to mention them publicly. I thought it my duty, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, while the stamp-act was in suspense, to write my sentiments to a gentleman of great influence at home, who afterwards distinguished himself, by espousing our cause, in the debates concerning the repeal of that act.

flers are good men, and friends to our country; and it seems not unlikely, that, by a particular concurrence of events, we have been treated a little more severely than they wished we should be. They might not think it prudent to stem a torrent. But what is the difference to us, whether arbitrary acts take their rise from ministers, or are permitted by them? Ought any point to be allowed to \* a good minister, that should be denied to a bad one? The mortality of ministers, is a very frail mortality. A—— may succeed a Shelburne—A—— may succeed a Conway.

We find a new kind of minister lately spoken of at home.—“The minister of the house of commons.” The term seems to have peculiar propriety, when referred to these colonies, with a different meaning annexed to it, from that in which it is taken there. By the word “minister” we may understand not only a servant of the crown, but a man of influence among the commons, who regard themselves, as having a share in the sovereignty over us. The “minister of the house” may, in a point respecting the colonies, be so strong, that the minister of the crown in the house, if he is a distinct person, may not choose, even where his sentiments are favourable to us, to come to a pitched battle upon our account. For though I have the highest opinion of the deference of the house for the king’s minister, yet he may be so good natured, as not to put it to the test, except it be for the mere and immediate profit of his master or himself.

But whatever kind of minister he is, that attempts to innovate a single iota in the privileges of these colonies, him I hope you will undoubtedly oppose; and that you will never suffer yourselves to be either cheated or frightened into any unworthy obsequiousness. On such emergencies you may surely, without presumption, believe, that Almighty God himself will look

## NOTE.

\* *Ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit; novum illud exemplum, ab dignis et idoneis, ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur.* Sall. Bell. Cat. § 50.

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down upon your righteous contest with gracious approbation. You will be a “band of brothers,” cemented by the dearest ties,—and strengthened with inconceivable supplies of force and constancy, by that sympathetic ardour, which animates good men, confederated in a good cause. Your honour and welfare will be, as they now are, most intimately concerned; and besides—you are assigned by divine providence, in the appointed order of things, the protectors of unborn ages, whose fate depends upon your virtue. Whether they shall arise the generous and indisputable heirs of the noblest patrimonies, or the dastardly and hereditary drudges of imperious task-masters, you must determine.

To discharge this double duty to yourselves, and to your posterity, you have nothing to do, but to call forth into use the good sense and spirit, of which you are possessed. You have nothing to do, but to conduct your affairs peaceably—prudently—firmly—jointly. By these means you will support the character of freemen, without losing that of faithful subjects—a good character, in any government—one of the best, under a British government—You will prove, that Americans have that true magnanimity of soul, that can resent injuries, without falling into rage; and that, though your devotion to Great-Britain is the most affectionate, yet you can make proper distinctions, and know, what you owe to yourselves, as well as to her—You will, at the same time that you advance your interests, advance your reputation—You will convince the world of the justice of your demands, and the purity of your intentions—while all mankind must, with unceasing applause, confess, that you indeed deserve liberty, who so well understand it, so passionately love it, so temperately enjoy it, and so wisely, bravely, and virtuously assert, maintain, and defend it.

“*Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem, faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites.*”

For my part, I am resolved to contend for the liberty delivered down to me by my ancestors; but whe-

ther I shall do it effectually or not, depends on you, my countrymen.  
 "How little soever one is able to write, yet, when the liberties of one's country are threatened; it is still more difficult to be silent."

February 15, 1768.



*Address to the hon. John Dickinson, Esquire, author of the preceding letters, presented by the Society of Fort St. David, on Tuesday, May 10, 1768.*

*Respected Sir,*

**W**HEN a man of abilities, prompted by love of his country, exerts them in her cause, and renders her the most eminent services, not to be sensible of the benefits received, is stupidity; not to be grateful for them, is baseness.

Influenced by this sentiment, we, the governor and company of Fort St. David, who, among other inhabitants of British America, are indebted to you for your most excellent and generous vindication of liberties, dearer to us than our lives, beg leave to return you our heartiest thanks, and offer to you the greatest mark of esteem, that, as a body, it is in our power to bestow, by admitting you, as we hereby do, a member of our society.

When that destructive project of taxation, which your integrity and knowledge so signally contributed to baffle, about two years ago, was lately renewed under a disguise, so artfully contrived, as to delude millions; you, sir, watchful for the interests of your country, perfectly acquainted with them, and undaunted in asserting them, alone detected the monster, concealed from others by an altered appearance; exposed it, stripped of its insidious covering, in its own horrid shape; and, we firmly trust, by the blessing of God on your wisdom and virtue, will again extricate the British colonies on this continent, from the cruel snares of oppression; for we already perceive these colonies, roused by your strong and seasonable call, pursuing the salutary measures, advised by you for obtaining redress.

Nor is this all that you have performed for your native land. Animated by a sacred zeal, guided by truth, and supported by justice, you have penetrated to the foundations of the constitution; have poured the clearest light on the important points, hitherto involved in a darkness, bewildering even the learned; and have established, with an amazing force and plainness of argument, the true distinctions and grand principles, that will fully instruct ages yet unborn, what rights belong to them, and the best methods of defending them.

To merit far less distinguished, ancient Greece or Rome would have decreed statues and honours without number: but it is your fortune and your glory, sir, that you live in such times, and possess such exalted worth, that the envy of those, whose duty it is to applaud you, can receive no other consolation, than by withholding those praises in public, which all honest men acknowledge in private that you have deserved.

We present to you, sir, a small gift of a society not dignified by any legal authority: but when you consider this gift as expressive of the sincere affection of many of your fellow citizens for your person, and of their unlimited approbation of the noble principles maintained in your unequalled labours, we hope this testimony of our sentiments will be acceptable to you.

May that all-gracious Being, who, in kindness to these colonies, gave your valuable life existence at the critical period when it would be most wanted, grant it a long continuance, filled with every felicity; and when your country sullains its dreadful loss, may you enjoy the happiness of heaven, and on earth may your memory be cherished, as we doubt not it will be, to the latest posterity.

Signed by order of the Society,  
*John Bayard, Secretary.*

The Box was finely decorated, and the inscriptions neatly done in letters of gold. On the top was represented the cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cypher of the letters J. D. Underneath the cypher in a semicircular label—*Pro patria*—Around the whole the following words:

*The gift of the governor and society  
of Fort St. David, to the author  
of the Farmer's Letters, in  
grateful testimony of  
the very eminent  
services thereby  
rendered to  
this coun-  
try, 1768.*

On the inside of the top—  
*The liberties of  
the British colonies in America  
asserted  
with Attic eloquence,  
and Roman spirit,*  
by

*John Dickinson, esquire,  
barrister at law.*

On the inside of the bottom—  
*Ita cuique eveniat,  
ut de republica meruit.*

On the outside of the bottom—A  
sketch of Fort St. David.

*To which the following answer was  
returned.*

Gentlemen,

I VERY gratefully receive the fa-  
vour, you have been pleased to  
bellow upon me, in admitting me a  
member of your company; and I re-  
turn you my heartiest thanks for your  
kindness.

The "esteem" of worthy fellow  
citizens is a treasure of the greatest  
price; and as no man can more high-  
ly value it than I do, your society  
in "expressing the affection" of so  
many respectable persons, for me, af-  
fords me the sincerest pleasure.

Nor will this pleasure be lessened  
by reflecting, that you may have regard-  
ed with a generous partiality, my at-  
tempts to promote the welfare of our  
country; for the warmth of your  
praises, in commending a conduct you  
suppose to deserve them, gives worth  
to those praises, by proving your me-  
rit, while you attribute merit to ano-  
ther.

Your characters, gentlemen, did not  
need this evidence, to convince me,  
how much I ought to prize your "es-  
teem," or how much you deserved  
mine.

I think myself extremely fortunate,  
in having obtained your favourable o-  
pinion, which I shall constantly and  
carefully endeavour to preserve.

I most heartily wish you every kind

of happiness, and particularly, that you  
may enjoy the comfortable prospect of  
transmitting to your posterity those  
"liberties dearer to you than your  
lives," which God gave to you, and  
which no inferior power has a right  
to take away.

JOHN DICKINSON.

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*Observations on capital punishments:  
being a reply to an essay on the  
same subject, published in the Ame-  
rican Museum for July 1788, page  
78.*

(Continued from page 453.)

HAVING now established the  
point proposed, by the authority  
of scripture, of reason, from provi-  
dence, and the general consent of man-  
kind in all nations and in all ages, yea  
from the consent of the murderers  
themselves when in their right minds,  
I shall proceed to shew the weakness  
and inconclusiveness of our author's  
reasoning.

He says, "it is a violation of the  
first political compact;" for, says he,  
"men have absolute power over their  
property and liberty, but not over their  
lives." I have made it appear, that  
the very contrary is true: that the  
social compact is such, that the pow-  
er to defend the life of the innocent,  
necessarily involves a power to take  
away the life of the aggressor; for, on  
many occasions, it could not other-  
wise be done; and it is not good sense,  
to say, that men have an absolute  
power over their property and liberty,  
but not over their lives; because it is  
certain, that our property and liberty  
are at God's disposal, as much as our  
lives. "The earth is the Lord's, and  
the fulness thereof." When the  
Chaldeans and Sabeans took away the  
property of Job, he devoutly acknow-  
ledged the hand of providence in it.  
When Joseph was sold into Egypt, he  
said, "God sent me before you, to  
preserve life; it was not you that sent  
me hither, but God." And we have  
no more moral power or authority to  
dispose of our property and liberty in  
an unlawful manner, than of our lives;  
we are regulated and restrained, in  
both, equally by the divine law. We  
may not dispose of any of them in an  
unjust manner, or against law and  
equity. We may not use them, but

in conformity to the will of God ; and must be accountable to him, for the use, or abuse, of them all.

If we may then commit the protection of property and liberty to the care of civil society, according to divine law, with equal propriety we may commit to it the protection of life, according to that law ; and indeed life is the principal thing committed to the protection of society. To preserve it from violence, is the chief object, the principal design of the institution of civil government ; and the preservation of the others, is only a subordinate concern. What will liberty and property avail a man, if his life be not safe ? “ All that a man hath, will he give for his life.” And what is this committing of it ? if it be done according to the divine law, or on conditions conformable to it, it is committed to the protection of that law itself ; that is, to God’s protection : for God, in his moral government of the world, does not act by his own immediate agency or interposition, nor by force or compulsion, but by laws, by statutes, and ordinances, given to men ; by reason, moral suasion, and the authoritative institution of order, justice, and moral government among them. And if we commit the preservation of life to society in a conditional manner, which is certainly the case, this necessarily implies, that, if we violate the conditions or terms, on which we hold it, society is no longer under any obligation to protect it ; which amounts to the same thing, as to take it away. The fundamental law of society are these conditions, and particularly this is one of them, that we do no violence to the blood of our neighbour. Take away this fundamental law, and immediately society rushes to ruin : no man’s life is safe. When any one, then, violates this fundamental condition, on which all hold the tenure of life, he forfeits his life by the social compact, and by his own consent.

Our author’s scheme would involve society in total confusion and ruin. He would make the tenure of life absolute and unconditional. He says, men can never forfeit it by the law of society. Then the preservation of no man’s life is a fundamental law or condition of the social

union ; for, if my neighbour may injuriously take away my life, while none has a legal right to take away his for the crime, it is clear, that all men are in the same predicament. Another may do the same to him, and another to another, and each to all ; thus no man’s life is safe. And then one of two evils must follow, perhaps both ; assassination or murder, must become common : or the administration of justice be placed in the hands of individuals. And, if we hold life by an absolute and unconditional tenure, I cannot see, but that we must hold liberty and property in like manner, and can never forfeit them ; for all are committed to the protection of society in the same manner ; and this would set aside punishment altogether, and, in effect, repeal all the laws of society ; for take away the penalty from a law, and you immediately repeal it. This would introduce universal anarchy and ruin. Thus an unconditional and absolute tenure would amount to none at all.

But if he allow of punishments, he must also admit a ratio between crimes and punishments. It would be absurd, to make the punishment of murder, the highest crime that can be committed against society, the same with the punishment of trespass or theft. I have, on this principle, sometimes questioned the propriety of punishing burglary or highway robbery with death : but am dissident even here. It argues much folly, self-conceit, and presumption, to arraign the wisdom of the wisest men in all ages and nations, and set up my wisdom as superior to theirs. It is certain, that these crimes naturally lead to the perpetration of murder, and are often accompanied with it. But this is not all. We are apt, in balancing this matter, to put in the one scale, the robber’s life, and in the other, only his neighbour’s property ; and then say, what is a little property to life ? But this is not weighing things justly. It is not the property taken away, that ought to be balanced against the robber’s life ; no, the property is perhaps recovered—but it is the order, the peace, the quiet, and safety of society ; and then it may be asked, what is one man’s life, or the lives of a thousand, when

compared to this? Indeed this object is of such magnitude, that it is the grand and ultimate end of all government.

Our author is for leaving the life of the murderer to the judgment of God alone; "for, says he, God is the proprietor of our life." But God is the proprietor of our property and liberty likewise. Why then not leave these also to the judgment of God alone? A thief steals my goods, a robber assaults me on the highway, and takes my money. Why prosecute them at law? Is it only to obtain restitution? But the stolen goods often cannot be restored: and though they be restored, the criminal is justly punished, to deter him and others from the like crimes. Restitution is not the end of punishment. A neighbour owes this gentleman a debt, which he will not pay; God is the giver and disposer of our property: his providence over-rules all these things. Why does he prosecute at law? Why will he have money for money, pound for pound, and not blood for blood? It is true, that taking away the life of the murderer will not restore the life of the murdered: but it may save, and certainly does tend to save, the lives of thousands.

Besides, it ought to be considered, that civil magistracy is an ordinance of God; courts of justice are his courts; just laws are his laws; honest magistrates are his ministers. There is no power but of God; "the powers that be, are ordained of God; they are ministers of God for good:" and when they judge according to his law, it is not man's judgment, but God's. He gives the decision, and his minister announces and executes the sentence. The magistrate bears the sword, and wields it for God, and he bears it not in vain.

It is said, Cain, who murdered his brother Abel, was permitted to go free by God himself, and that this is a pattern for us to follow. This argument proves too much, more than our author would wish: for Cain was not even put under confinement, which he allows to be necessary. But this argument is of no force; for it may be asked, where was the body politic, to put him to death? There was but one other man in the world, after A-

bel's death; and for a long time afterwards, there were none but Adam and Cain. What civil compact had been formed? What social laws established? Where was the force, requisite to execute the sentence of death? The Almighty would not execute it by an immediate stroke of his own hand; because he intended to establish society, and secure its safety, on another foundation, viz. to commit its protection to magistrates, and entrust them, as his ministers, with the execution of the laws. But he put a mark of his highest displeasure on Cain, drove him from his presence, pronounced him a fugitive and vagabond on the earth. And, as men only began then to exist on the earth, this may be a reason, why God spared him, that the world might not be too long uncoupled, and over-run by wild beasts. But, I doubt not to affirm, that Cain himself, after his posterity were multiplied and formed into a regular society, would see the necessity of punishing murder with death, and accordingly punish it.

I find, from conversation with the amiable gentleman, whose opinion I am constrained to oppose, that, to make his scheme hang together, or bear the appearance of consistency, he declares against all wars, defensive as well as offensive; and I once put the question to him, would you not defend your house against a midnight robber? Yes, said he, I would shut my door. We must suppose your door to have been shut at midnight, before the robber came: and he, not regarding this circumstance, attempts to break through it. What will you do then? Will you make no resistance? The very shutting of the door is to make some resistance. And what is a fleet on the seas, and an army on land, raised for the defence of a country? What is it but shutting the door? The united states are a house too large in its dimensions, to be shut with a door of boards or brass, or even a wall of stone. Therefore, there is no other way to defend such a house, but by a fleet and army: and a fleet and army that durst not fight, would be a solecism. And strange it must be, if we may lawfully destroy our enemy in battle, and not by a judicial process.

Many who scruple the lawfulness of war, have no doubt about the

legality of judicial proceedings, even to the death of the criminal. Offensive wars are, doubtless, contrary to the spirit and precepts of christianity; but mere self-defence is not liable to the same objection. Christianity was never intended to overthrow or subvert the immutable laws of nature, such as that of self preservation. Had devils found such an absurdity in it, they would have triumphed more in this, and with more just reason too, than in all their other arguments. Do those men, who pretend to be friends to it, act a friendly part, in charging such absurdities on it? Jesus Christ, it is clear, while he does not intermeddle with the policy and laws of states, and is far, infinitely far, from giving encouragement to wars and violence, at the same time allows of self-defence. "He that hath no sword, (says he) let him sell his coat, and buy one." I shall introduce here a remark made by Mr. Jenyns in his treatise on the internal evidences of the christian religion. "To the judicious omission of these false virtues, we may add that remarkable silence, which the christian legislator every where preserves, on subjects, esteemed, by all others, of the highest importance—civil government, national policy, and the rights of war and peace: of these he has not taken the least notice, probably for this plain reason, because it would have been impossible to have formed any explicit regulations concerning them, which must not have been inconsistent with the purity of his religion, or with the practical observance of such imperfect creatures, as men, ruling over, and contending with each other: for instance, had he absolutely forbid all resistance to the reigning powers, he had constituted a plan of despotism, and made men slaves; had he allowed it, he must have authorized disobedience, and made them rebels; had he, in direct terms, prohibited all war, he must have left his followers an easy prey to every infidel invader; had he permitted it, he must have licen'ed all that rapine and murder, with which it is unavoidably attended."

There is indeed one thing, which, perhaps, I should have noticed before: Christ gives particular directions concerning divorce, and regulates it

otherwise, than it was in the Jewish church. "Moses, (says he) for the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives." But marriage is not properly a civil institution; it is a natural one. By it, families are formed, not nations. Christ knew, that but few, comparatively, of the real members of his spiritual kingdom, would be the rulers of the kingdoms of this world. "Not many mighty, not many noble are called:" but it was necessary to allow to all the members of his church, the help of marriage; and indeed marriage is the foundation of a succession in the church, as well as in the state. It was therefore necessary to establish it in the church, in its purity, to rectify the abuses of it, and reduce it back to its original institution immediately after the creation of Adam and Eve.

Polygamy prevailed exceedingly among the oriental nations, and divorce is its inseparable attendant. The Jews were a small nation, separated from all the rest of the world, by peculiar laws and institutions, delivered in the oracles of inspiration, committed to them. They were encompassed with other nations, exceedingly differing from them in customs and laws, and particularly with respect to marriage. These nations, as might have been expected, had no small influence upon their manners; and polygamy itself was not entirely kept out of the nation. But it never prevailed nearly so much among them, as among some of their neighbours. "This time of ignorance God winked at." A high degree of perfection, at such a time, and in such circumstances, was perhaps impossible among the Jews. A law in the highest degree perfect, rigorous and strict, on the head of marriage and divorce, infinite wisdom did not think proper to give at that time. The Jewish state was also the church of God, and indeed the only visible church which he then had on earth; and as, on account of the hardness of their hearts, divorce was permitted by the law given to Moses, in some cases, in which it would be altogether improper to admit it in the church of the new testament, which enjoys a far superior degree of light, and higher privileges every way; Jesus Christ acted with infinite propriety, in reducing the law



to perfection, on that head, in the new testament church.

Our author quotes Ez. 20, 25. "I gave them statutes, that were not good; and judgments, whereby they should not live." The phrases, good and evil, must be often understood in very different senses. It is granted, that the Jewish dispensation was not the most perfect; it was introductory to the christian economy, which far excels in glory. But it would be dreadful to say, that any statute, morally evil, or contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, was established by divine authority. Penal evil is of a different nature. I suppose the culprit does not feel it good to be whipped, nor the murderer to be hanged; and yet it is just; and the administration of justice is essentially good to society. He gave Moses "a statute, that was not good" in this sense, when he said, Numb. 25, 4. "Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up: "and when, (as in Deuteron. 27.) He threatened direful curses on their disobedience, and obliged them to say, "amen," to every curse; in these instances he gave them "judgments by which they should not live," but die. No doubt of it: those who will not be bound by the precept, must endure the penalty; and in this sense of evil, it may with propriety be said, "Shall there be evil in the city, and the lord hath not done it?"

Our author farther says, "the punishment of murder, by death, is contrary to reason, and to the order and happiness of society." I have proved it to be perfectly agreeable to reason, and necessary to the order and happiness of society. But, says he, "It lessens the horror of taking away life." It is clear that his argument here, rests not on death itself, because that daily takes place among men, according to the ordinary course of nature: but on the manner of it, viz. by a judicial sentence; "this, says he, familiarizes men to violence:" the drift, then, of his reasoning must be this: that, to assure a man, if he commit murder, he must suffer a premature, ignominious, and violent death, is a strong temptation to make him commit the crime. I fancy, however, that few men will believe this. It is contrary to experience, and to

all the principles of nature. Death is the king of terrors, and an ignominious and violent death, preceded by all the solemnities of a formal judicial trial, and attended with all the majesty and awful pomp of the executive authority, must be much more terrible. And I firmly believe, it is a powerful restraint on thousands, that holds them back from the commission of the crime, which would bring them to it.

"But, says he, it produces murder, by the influence it has on people, who are tired of life." This is, like the former, a groundless assumption, a mere hypothesis. None of those unhappy people, who are so wretched as to be weary of life, ever, I believe, murdered an innocent person, just for the purpose of bringing themselves to an ignominious end. They know, that they can accomplish the dreadful work, by their own hands in secret. W——n B——le of Wethersfield in New-England, indeed, murdered his wife and four children: but, immediately after, destroyed himself. He gloried in dying a deist, as appeared from some of his papers, left behind him. In these he declared, that he had long premeditated the dreadful tragedy; and averred, that it was from tenderness and compassion to his family, that he had determined to destroy them. It is probable, that he was not only a deist, but what is commonly called a mortal deist: or believed, that he and they should have no existence after death. There is some reason to think, from the manuscripts which he left behind him, that he was altogether a sceptic, not only with respect to divine revelation, but also with regard to the principles or natural religion, the doctrine of providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state. And yet, I remember, he says in some of his wretched scrawls which were printed, that, from frightful dreams, with which his poor unhappy lady had been troubled, and which she had mentioned to him, and from other incidents, he fancied, that heaven gave intimations of approving his design. This, at the time when I read it, put me in mind of the inconsistency of Lord Herbert, the great apostle of deism in England, mentioned by

dr. Leland. He, it seems, went to his knees, and devoutly prayed, that God would give him a revelation, whether it were his will, that he should publish his book against all revelation.

His third reason is like the former it is altogether imaginary. "Punishing murder by death, (says he) multiplies murders, by the difficulties, which it creates, of convicting persons, who are guilty of it. Humanity, revolting at the idea of the severity and certainty of a capital punishment, often steps in; and collects such evidence in favour of a murderer, as screens him from justice altogether, or palliates his crime into manslaughter." &c. I believe this perversion of justice, and abuse of law, may, on some occasions, be chargeable on some of the gentlemen at the bar, who, for the sake of reward, and to acquire a character of ability, twist facts and pervert the law. But the very contrary is the truth, with regard to the great body of the people; for, mankind, in general, conceive such a horror at the unnatural crime of murder, that almost all men are anxious to detect and secure the perpetrator, and bring him to condign punishment. This is undoubtedly the truth; experience proves it: for, few murderers, comparatively, escape seizure. All men are ready and forward to seize and lay fall such an enemy to society. And few, I believe, who are brought to trial, fail to meet with condign punishment.

He says further, "The punishment of murder by death, is contrary to the operations of universal justice, by preventing the punishment of every species of murder; quack doctors, frauds of various kinds, and a licentious press, often destroy life." As to quack doctors, I shall not say much. Perhaps they sometimes kill: but probably their prescriptions are generally innocent. The people, who deal with them, do not know the qualities of medicine. They may be imposed on by any thing, that has the name. If quacks get money, they gain their purpose; and if they may get it as well by innocent things, as by pernicious, they would be downright demons to give the latter. However, I wish they could be restrained;

and also wish, that our amiable author would, on proper occasions, discover as much zeal against quack preachers, who go about, poisoning the souls of men, as he manifests against quack doctors. As for frauds, and a licentious press murdering people, it must argue great weakness in any persons, to be so moved with the loss of property, or even by the illiberal abuse of a licentious press, as to take away their lives on that account. Besides, when the press becomes very licentious, it carries the antidote in the poison; for, by and by, nobody regards it. But the amount of his reasoning here, were it all real, is just this; that because we cannot punish all murderers, therefore we ought to punish none; which is to say, that because men cannot administer justice perfectly in this world, therefore they ought to administer none. But the truth is, that while the supreme governor will take care to preserve so much of a just distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, as clearly to discover the foot-steps of his divine majesty, in the government of the world: he will also permit so much imperfection unavoidably to blend with it, as to announce to us, and be at all times a sufficient memento, that the day is approaching, when he will sit judge alone, and render to every man according to his works. Quack doctors and others will then meet with their deserts.

I have now answered, I think, in one part or another of this essay, every thing worthy of notice in our author's performance. I was loth to enter on the disagreeable task; as I have a strong aversion to scribbling, and particularly controversial scribbling. The author, whom I have opposed, I love and esteem on many accounts; and believe, that he wishes to promote the good of society, even in what he has written—But, *humanum est errare*. If I have in any thing, misunderstood his meaning, or misrepresented it, I can say with integrity, I did not intend it, and would gladly hope there is not too much asperity in any thing I have advanced; though indeed it is almost impossible to manage a controversy, without provoking on one side or the other—If our composition be languid and dull, it is despised; if lively and

animated, it is apt to fling. I have endeavoured to tread the middle path. My reasons for writing on this subject, are these—Liberty in the united States is verging fast towards licentiousness. I see government in a relaxed and feeble state. I see the magistracy, as well as the gospel, even in the hands of good men, treated with neglect and contempt. Religion, the only sure basis of good government, is entirely set aside, as an unnecessary thing : its necessity to government is, with many, not so much as a question ; that is, they can see no necessity at all for it. Dr. Price, and some other writers, have contributed their endeavours, to bring us to this. Humanity is become the popular cry ! Weak men join in the cry, to gain the applause of the unthinking ; but, as understood, it degenerates into nonsense. Liberality, in religious sentiments, is become as popular and common a cry ! But what is this liberality of sentiment ? It is, with too many, a total indifference about religion ; with many more, a high contempt of it. We are become so wise, as to see, that even the tolerant zeal of our forefathers, for the support of religion, was absurd bigotry and folly. We can do without it—But, if we once should arrive at such a state, as to lose all reverence for God, and all dread of civil government too, all regard both to divine and human laws, we will soon feel the consequences, and they must be tremendous !

In fine, I cannot help expressing my wishes, that our author, who is truly amiable on many accounts, and (I believe) a sincere friend to humanity and society, would, for the future, abstain from hazarding such sentiments. I wish it for his own sake. They cannot honour him.—To treat the word of God, as if it gave an uncertain sound, or were obscure, where it is altogether explicit ; to treat the wisdom of the wisest men, as if it were folly and savage cruelty, cannot honour him. I wish it, for the sake of the community, of which I am a member ; for I am certain, it can receive no benefit from such publications. No man is fit for all things. Our author, I doubt not, understands his own profession ; but I am persuaded, that he would make

but an indifferent legislator or divine. It would be well for us all, to remember the ancient adage—“ *Nesutor ultra crepidam.*” I wish ever to be a friend to humanity—but let it be a rational and judicious humanity. Humanity of this kind is the image of God on man. May it increase more and more ! But that humanity, which would overturn the pillars of justice, order, and good government, the laws of God and man, I deprecate as the worst of evils ! Humanity, that would spare murderers, would be the most shocking inhumanity and cruelty to the religious, sober, and virtuous part of the community. For, if the wicked may destroy the life of the innocent, while no power on earth can lawfully touch the life of the wicked, injustice is more powerful than justice ; lawless outrage more mighty than legal government ; Satan stronger than the Almighty ; the war, between the kingdom of justice and the kingdom of injustice, quite unequal ; and the advantage entirely on the side of iniquity, which would soon establish its throne. Here would be an evil in civil society, for which there would be no adequate remedy. Every man has the physical power of destroying the life of his neighbour. Strange indeed it must be, if there be no moral authority or power, lodged with society, adequate to restrain this brutal force—if every man may kill his neighbour, while no legal authority can touch the life of the murderer—all men are exposed to lawless outrage, private assassination, and revenge ; which would introduce absolute anarchy, and soon exterminate the whole human race.



*Case of Thomas Philpot, who was tried and condemned, in the court of king's bench, Dublin, for indenting servants for America.*

ON the 26th of May last, a cause came on, before lord chief justice Earlsfort, sir Samuel Bradstreet, judges Henn and Bennet, wherein the king was plaintiff, against Thomas Philpot, mariner, for endeavouring to entice and inveigle certain manufacturers and artisans to leave Ireland, and emigrate with him, as redemptioners, to George-town, and o-

ther parts of the continent of America.

The 1<sup>st</sup> witness produced, was John Siberry, a wire-drawer, who deposed, that he was walking on John's-quay, and called at a rendezvous house, where he met the traveller, and offered to indent with him for three years: Philpot told him, that, if he was an apprentice, he would have nothing to do with him; but that, if he was his own master, and willing, he would indent him for four years: that accordingly the deponent consented, and was taken on board the *Golden Rule*, where he concluded with Philpot, who, notwithstanding, told him, that provided he paid for his maintenance a shilling a day, he might go ashore, whenever he thought proper; that he was perfectly at ease until the 1<sup>st</sup> of March last, when he was seized upon by alderman James, and others, who put him into Bridewell, where he had been allowed until the day of trial, six-pence a day. Upon the whole, this wire-drawer appeared an object of pity, unable to earn bread at home, and willing to go any where for a support.

Mr. Diaper was next examined: who swore that he found a box with the traveller, which he claimed as his own; that in it he found Siberry's indentures, and forty or fifty pair beside; that Philpot acted as supercargo; and that, although there were a number of people on board, he brought none on shore, but Siberry and two or three others, the rest being unwilling to leave the vessel.

Henry Welsh, an unfortunate, ragged, famished tailor, was also examined, who declared, that he would much rather have gone to America, than have done worse; that Mr. Philpot never strove to entice him to go; but that, on the contrary, he himself solicited to go; wishing rather to go any where, than rob or steal; and that he had worked but one week, in nine months, in the city (at that time, there was a long vacation amongst the tailors); in short, that he was famishing for want of employment, and therefore wished to go to America.

Abraham Rogers was the only witness examined, on the part of the traveller, who deposed, that Philpot

lodged in his house; that he frequently heard him turn away apprentices, men who had families, or were in liquor, and that he never saw, or heard, that he endeavoured to entice any person on board the *Golden Rule*.

Upon the closing of the evidence, Mr. Calbeck most ably defended the traveller; and even insinuated, that he himself (if he had inclination) could not for the benefit of his health go to any part of France, as he had been a manufacturer of gunpowder; and that the only free people, in his mind, were lawyers, clergymen, physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries; for, that any other description of people were bound by the law in question, never to leave their country. He said, that once a law subsisted, making it death to draw blood in the streets; by which, if a person fainted in the street, and a surgeon bled him, the surgeon ran a risk of being hanged, as the letter of the law was absolutely against the humane action.

On Mr. Calbeck's finishing, the judges severally gave their charges to the jury; whereupon they found the said Thomas Philpot guilty of contracting with John Siberry, the wire-drawer, in order to bring him, the said Siberry, to a part of America out of his majesty's dominions; but acquitted Mr. Philpot of all the other charges. The court fined Philpot five hundred pounds, and ordered him to be imprisoned one year. 'Tis thought, however, that both the fine, and term of imprisonment, will be much mitigated; and that the judges merely wanted to make an example, in terrorem; as poor Philpot was the first person tried upon this act, which inflicts a penalty of five hundred pounds, and imposes a year's imprisonment upon any person, who shall entice or inveigle any manufacturer out of the British dominions.



*Case of Joseph Harrington, who was tried, and condemned, on a charge similar to the preceding.*

A Cause was tried, May 28, in the court of king's bench, at the suit of the king, against Joseph Harrington, second mate of the *Baltimore*, for enticing manufacturers to emigrate out of the British dominions.

The first witness was one Burleigh, a thread-maker, who swore, that one day, in a drunken frolic, he called upon the traveller, and told him, that he wished to go to America; on which Harrington told him to send his name to captain Darley, and that he (Darley) would indent him for three or four years: in consequence of which, the deponent went on board, where he remained, until his friends went in quest of him, and brought him home, after paying a shilling a day for his diet, whilst on board the vessel. Deponent swore, that certain people told him, he might prosecute Harrington; for that he had acted both illegally and improperly; and that, in consequence, he had lodged informations against him, for the service of his king and country: he declared, that he did not indent with any person; that Joseph Harrington was but second mate, and acted for the captain and not for himself, and that one Dickenson was first mate. Upon the whole, Burleigh seemed to be a well-tutored, hardened, impudent fellow.

Mr. Draper, the informer, was next examined, who produced a book, that he had forcibly drawn out of the bosom of Joseph Harrington, which contained a list of redemptioners, in which was the name of Burleigh, and a memorandum, specifying that Burleigh had agreed to indent with the captain for three years. He declared that he believed, Harrington acted by orders of the captain; and that he was convinced, he could never pay the fine.

John Norwood was then called upon, and declared that he knew the traveller: that he had sailed with him from Baltimore to Cork; and that he never was in an higher station, on board any vessel, than that of second mate: he swore that no thread-maker was worth his passage to America, and therefore Burleigh could have been no acquisition to any person: in fact, the evidence did by no means support the indictment; Harrington having neither indented any person, nor enticed, seduced, or solicited any one to indent with him.

The jury acquitted Harrington of every indictment but that of agreeing

with Burleigh, to carry him out of his majesty's dominions: for which he was fined five hundred pounds, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The jury were the same who had before tried Hulpot, and found him guilty.



*Opinion of the attorney general of England, relative to American trade.*

THE question propounded to Mr. attorney, was "whether a man born in Great-Britain, is capable, and by what means, of becoming a subject of the united states, to the effect of being qualified to own, command, or navigate an American ship, importing (into England) tobacco, or other American commodities?"

The answer. "Very different questions may arise, in consequence of the independence of America.

"But, if I understand the present question, it is, whether a man born in Great-Britain, and not resident in America, at the time of her independence being granted, can make himself a subject of America.

"I am of opinion—That he cannot—and that he is, notwithstanding his residence in America, a British subject; and consequently cannot command an American vessel in a British port, according to the act of navigation."

N. B. Vessels, to belong to America, must be American-built, and owned by American subjects—and at least three-fourths of the crew must be Americans. On a failure of these requisites—the vessel is forfeited.



*Observations on the best method of restoring worn-out soils, without manure.*

THE first thing, necessary on such lands, is, immediately after harvest, to turn them up with the plough, as deep as possible. In order to do this effectually, it will sometimes be needful, that a second plough should follow the first in the same furrow; which will throw the mould over, and bury the stubble and weeds. In this case, there will be a new soil uppermost, which, being fresh to the air, will receive much greater and

more lasting benefit from the sun, the rain, and the frosts, than it otherwise could do: as thereby it will attract a greater quantity of the nutrition, which these afford. The stubble and weeds, being, by this method of ploughing, buried deep, will much sooner rot, than when just covered. In this state, the ridges will lie high; and if the land be wet, or of the brick-earth kind, they will be full of clots or large lumps.

No time should now be lost, by delaying to render this newly turned up soil as fine, as harrowing can make it. I know that, in this particular, my judgment will be called in question by numbers. Common farmers will say, "To what purpose is all this expence and labour, when, if the land be suffered to lie in its rough state through the winter, the frost and the rains will do the work for you?"—But this is the language of the indolent and inexperienced husbandman only.

I am convinced, by repeated experiments, close observation, and plain reasoning on known facts, that lands which are made fine before the sharp frost and winter rains come on, will receive a much greater share of their influence, than any other.

If the land be left in a rough state, there is seldom time for the rains and frost to affect more than the outside of the large clods or lumps: the outside will indeed be pulverized: but the middle of the lumps, wherever they are large, will be found nearly in the same hard stiff state, as when turned up by the plough. Hence it must appear to everyone, that, in this case, the benefit of air, winter rains, and frosts on lands, thus left, is partial; and the consequence is, that harrowing it in the spring, when these are over, is too late. It is receiving the benefit which would otherwise have accrued from them, and the power of vegetation is not so vigorous.

But to make winter fallows as fine as they can be in autumn, and then rid them up in that pulverized state, is acting in a manner the most conformable to nature. The greatest possible quantity of surface is, by this means, exposed to the atmosphere; and the land is left in a state in which the rains and the frost are most easily admitted. They will then penetrate

and enrich the whole mass to a greater depth.

If the frost penetrates a quantity of earth, formed into a large hard clod, partially, on account of its bulk and hardness (which is always found to be the case) it is evident that the same clod, broken into four parts, would be thereby penetrated four times as much; or, in other words, four times the quantity of earth would be affected by it, and, on a thaw, be pulverized. For we find that, after the breaking up of a severe frost, all the small clods crumble easily into powder; while the larger ones are only made smaller, by the crumbling of their surface to a certain depth.

By this deep ploughing, which I have recommended, the worn-out soil being turned in, the second stratum, or fresh earth, is now uppermost; and having been made as fine as it can be in autumn, and thus exposed to the air, the rain, and frost, during winter, and cleansed of its impurities; it becomes a fresh, fertilized earth, in the best possible state for vigorous vegetation.

Many farmers will probably object to this method, on account of its being attended with a little extra expence. But I wish them to consider, first, that this expence is more in appearance than reality; for less labour is requisite in the spring—and secondly, that it will be amply repaid by the goodness of succeeding crops.

About seven years since, I made a comparative experiment of this kind on a field of ten acres, the soil of which was as equal as possible in goodness. The one half of this field I left, after ploughing, in its rough state, the surface being covered with large hard clods. The other half I made as fine as possible, by harrowing with ox harrows, and beating in pieces the hardest and largest clods, which the harrow would not break.

In the spring, the part which I had harrowed, was, without any additional labour, much finer than I could render the other (which was left in its rough state) by repeated harrowing; for the rain and the frost having not penetrated the middle of the large clods, they had received no benefit from either; and were as hard as bricks; being only lested in size.

I sowed the whole field with barley the last week in April, and threw nine pounds of broad clover in with it. On reaping it, I kept the crops separate; the part left rough produced twenty four bushels per acre; the other thirty one; the latter by much the finer sample. The crop of clover next year was equally in favour of the method I recommend, being heavier by near half a ton per acre.

The extra expense, on this part, was only about eight shillings per acre; the extra produce yielded an extra profit of more than twenty shillings per acre.



*The following method of preventing the smut in corn, may probably be efficacious in destroying the Hessian fly. Should any farmer make the experiment, the printer of the American Museum requests to be favoured with an account of its success.*

I presume that nothing need be said here relating to the cause of smut; and therefore I pass on to the cure. Having, about thirty years ago, discovered insects, or vermin, to be the true cause of smut, and withal how they propagate their species from one generation to another, whereby our corn frequently becomes infected with blackness, and the crops are often much reduced, according as they happen to be more or less affected with this fatal disease; I made use of a kind of pickle, in order to destroy their brood; which has, for near thirty years past, very effectually answered this purpose, and rendered the wheat much better, either for sowing or drilling, than the common methods of brining and liming can do.

*To make the pickle.*

Put in a tub, with a hole at the bottom, (in which a staff and taphole are to be placed as in the manner of brewing) seventy gallons of water; to this put half a hundred weight of stone-lime, which, in measure, is found to be a corn-bushel-full; stir it well for about half an hour, then let it stand for about thirty hours:—run it off into another tub, in which the grain is to be steeped; which generally produces about a hoghead of good lime-water: to this add three pecks of salt (forty two

pounds) which, when dissolved, is fit for use. But in case sea water can be obtained, much less salt will suffice: the rule is, to have the specific gravity sufficient to float an egg, by adding salt sufficient for this purpose: in this liquor, with a basket made on purpose (which for a large farm ought to be two feet diameter at the top, and twenty inches deep) dip the grain gradually in small quantities, from one bushel to two: stirring it, and skimming off the light grains, which ought not to be sown, because many of them are infectious: this done, draw up the basket, to drain over the pickle for a few minutes, and so proceed in like manner. This seed will be fit for sowing in twenty-four hours: but for drilling, forty-eight are better. Should the driller meet with any difficulty herein, more lime must be added to make the pickle more astringent; for lime differs much in quality: here the matter must rest his own discretion. In case the seed is made ready for sowing, or drilling, five, six, seven, eight, or ten days before hand, I know no difference at all: I have let it lie much longer, without the least injury or inconvenience. I. R.



*Remarkable change in the complexion of an Indian: in a letter from Mr. Benedict, of Lebanon, to the rev. president Stiles, of Yale college.*

“THIS Indian is about forty years of age: he calls himself by the name of Samuel Addams, and was born at Farmington, in the state of Connecticut: he is tall and well made; his hair is long, coarse, and of the pure Indian black, but grows out of a skin as white as a lily.—He tells me, that he began to whiten about two years before I saw him, which was in July one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six—the white first appeared upon his breast, and gradually spread from thence.—I carefully examined him, and found him to be entirely white, except the prominent parts of his face, viz. his forehead, cheek bones, nose, and about his chin, which were of the pure Indian colour, and I think darker than common for that nation: the colours in his face did not form a shade, by running into each other; but were

both of them entire, to the very line of contact, and exhibited a very grotesque appearance.—His arms were white, but his hands were pied, and his fingers of the natural Indian colour; it was the same with his feet as with his hands; they were interspersed with the natural tawny; his toes are black; but his legs and thighs are wholly white: what is worthy of observation, is, that the white is perfectly natural, and would be deemed very fair for an Englishman. I compared him with fourteen or fifteen persons of both sexes, that were at my house, and he was visibly the fairest: he told me, that he had enjoyed uninterrupted good health, both before and since he began to whiten.—He appears pleased with his transmutation: and from the information of others, who have seen him since these observations were made, I learn that the remaining black still continues to disappear.”



*The great efficacy of white ash bark, in expelling the poison communicated by the bite of venomous animals.*

**J**EREMIAH HALSEY, esq. of Preston, was, some time since, stung by a bee, in the upper lip. The pain, which it occasioned, immediately extended over the whole body. In fifteen minutes his limbs swelled, with large eruptions, which covered the body. Every appearance indicated a high state of inflammation. The case soon became very alarming: as in about twenty minutes, the lungs were sensibly affected; and fainting fits indicated approaching death. As soon as it could be procured, he chewed some of the white ash bark, and immediately received sensible relief at the breast. He then took a decoction of it with milk, and perfectly recovered; the swelling continuing about two days.

The same gentleman attests the following as a fact, of which he was a witness.—A dog, in attempting to kill a red snake, was bitten in three or four places in the head. The bite of this snake is said to be more venomous than that of the rattlesnake. In about an hour, the dog became much sicker, and discovered severely any signs of life. Milk, boiled with the

white ash bark, was now poured down his throat. The effect was surprising, and may appear incredible. The next morning, which was about twelve hours after the dog was bitten, he was as active as ever; and hunted in the woods, as usual.

It is an undoubted truth, that the Indians, who are generally well acquainted with the virtues of indigenous productions, have the white ash in great estimation, as peculiarly unfriendly to venomous snakes.

As the bite of a mad dog, is thought to communicate a slow, though fatal, poison, it is submitted to the gentlemen of the faculty, whether, from the above facts, this bark might not be tried in cases of canine madness.



#### *Singular phenomenon.*

*Winchester, March 17, 1787.*

**A**BOUT three o'clock last Tuesday afternoon, a heavy, rumbling noise was heard in a mountain the south-east part of the town, at several times, for the space of 20 or 30 minutes, when, all of a sudden, Mr. Gold, who lived at the foot of the mountain, saw it break forth, and the rocks and dirt move in vast bodies; soon after the first were discovered, rocks and dirt were seen to fly in the air, though the main body made its way down the mountain. Mr. Gold stood viewing it, until the noise seemed to be over, when he suddenly heard it again, and perceived a second eruption taking place, at the distance of about 8 or 10 feet from the first: the noise and motion were as sudden as if they had been occasioned by a blast of powder, though he saw no appearance of smoke or fire, nor did he smell any thing of a sulphureous nature. I have since viewed the ground, but could not discover any thing of a sulphureous kind, sufficient to cause the eruption: there are many conjectures respecting the cause of it. The distance from the place where the eruption began, to where it ended, was about 10 or 12 rods, and in some places 30 or 25 feet wide, and from 4 to 8 feet in depth. Rocks of several tons weight were thrown many rods down the mountain, and I suppose, at a moderate computation, there was as much as an acre of land, covered with rocks



and gravel. The rocks and dirt thrown out, are supposed by many to be several thousand tons.



*Salutary effects of wearing flannel next to the body; proved by a course of experiments made to determine the positive and relative quantities of moisture absorbed from the atmosphere by various substances, under similar circumstances.*

THESE experiments were made, with a view to discover, whether there be any relation between the power of conducting heat, and that of absorbing moisture from the atmosphere; and from them it appears that these two properties have no dependence on, or connexion with, each other.

The substances, employed in these experiments, were chiefly those which are commonly used for clothing; sheep's wool, beaver's fur, the fur of a Russian hare, raw silk, ravelings of white taffety, cotton-wool, fine lint, and ravelings of fine linen. These, spread on clean China plates, were kept twenty-four hours in the dry air of a warm room, which had been heated every day, for several months, by a German stove. Equal quantities of them, weighed on the spot in this dry state, were set first in a large, uninhabited room, on the second floor, for forty-eight hours; and afterwards for three days and three nights, in a cellar, where the air was remarkably damp. The sheep's wool gained an increase, in the uninhabited room, of 84 parts, and, in the cellar, of 163 parts, in 1000: the ravelings of linen increased only 44 in the former situation, and 82 in the latter: and the others gained intermediate quantities, in the order in which they are above set down: except, that the cotton-wool differed very little, and somewhat irregularly from the linen, being one more in the uninhabited room, and seven less in the cellar.

The result of these experiments is the very reverse of what might have been expected: for, as linen is known to imbibe water with avidity, while wool, hair, and other like animal substances, are with difficulty made wet, it would be natural to expect, that, li-

men would most powerfully absorb moisture from the atmosphere; especially, when we consider the apparent difference in the dampness of linen and woollen clothes, when they are both exposed equally to the same air. The experiments, however, shew the contrary; and that bodies, which receive water itself with the greatest ease, are not always those which most powerfully attract its vapour from the air.

It is probably in virtue of the strong attraction, which these experiments shew to subsist between wool and watry vapour, that woollen, worn next the skin, so greatly promotes perspiration—the perspired fluid being freely absorbed, and transmitted through it, and thus exposed, by a large surface, to be carried off by the atmosphere. The author is hence led to recommend, very earnestly, the wearing of flannel next to the skin: having himself experienced great benefit from it, before he had any idea of discovering the physical cause. ‘I am astonished,’ says he, ‘that this custom should not have prevailed more universally; I am confident it would prevent a multitude of diseases; and I know of no greater luxury, than the comfortable sensation, which arises from wearing it, especially after one is a little accustomed to it. It is a mistaken notion, that it is too warm a clothing for summer: I have worn it in all climates, and in the hottest seasons of the year; and never found the least inconvenience from it. It is the warm bath of a perspiration, confined by a linen shirt, wet with sweat, which renders the summer heats of southern climates so insupportable: but flannel promotes perspiration, and favours evaporation; and evaporation, as it is well known, produces positive cold.



*Curious remarks on the different degrees of heat imbibed from the sun's rays, by cloths of different colours. From Dr. Franklin's experiments and observations on electricity, &c.*

FIRST, let me mention an experiment you may easily make yourself. Walk but a quarter of an hour in your garden, when the sun shines, with a part of your dress white, and a

part black; then apply your hand to them alternately, and you will find a very great difference in their warmth. The black will be quite hot to the touch, the white still cool.

Another. Try to fire paper with a burning glass. If it is white, you will not easily burn it;—but if you bring the focus to a black spot, or upon letters, written or printed, the paper will immediately be on fire under the letters.

Thus, fullers and dyers find black cloths, of equal thickness with white ones, and hung out equally wet, dry in the sun much sooner than the white, being more readily heated by the sun's rays. It is the same before a fire, the heat of which sooner penetrates black stockings than white ones, and is therefore apt sooner to burn a man's limbs. Also beer much sooner warms in a black mug, set before the fire, than in a white one, or in a bright silver tankard.

My experiment was this: I took a number of little square pieces of broad cloth from a tailor's pattern card, of various colours. There were black, deep blue, lighter blue, green, purple, red, yellow, white, and other colours, or shades of colours. I laid them all out upon the snow in a bright sunshiny morning. In a few hours (I cannot now be exact as to the time, the black, being warmed most by the sun, was sunk so low as to be below the stroke of the sun's rays: the dark blue almost as low, the lighter blue not quite so much as the dark, the other colours less as they were lighter; and the white remained on the surface of the snow, not having entered it at all.

What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use? May we not learn from hence, that black clothes are not so fit to wear in a hot sunny climate, or season, as white ones; because, in such clothes the body is more heated by the sun when we walk abroad, and are at the same time heated by the exercise, which double heat is apt to bring on dangerous putrid fevers? That soldiers and seamen, who must march and labour in the sun, should, in the East or West-Indies, have an uniform of white? That summer hats, for men or women, should be white, as repelling that heat

which gives head-achs to many, and to some, the fatal stroke that the French call the *coup de soleil*? That the ladies' summer hats, however, should be lined with black, as not reverberating on their faces those rays which are reflected upwards from the earth or water? That the putting a white cap of paper, or linen, within the crown of a black hat, as some do, will not keep out the heat, though it would if placed without? That fruit walls being blacked, may receive so much heat from the sun, in the day-time, as to continue warm, in some degree, through the night, and thereby preserve the fruit from frosts, or forward its growth? With sundry other particulars of less or greater importance that will occur, from time to time, to attentive minds?



*Rules to make a good tradesman.*

1st. **E**NDEAVOUR to be possessed in the calling, you are engaged in; and be assiduous in every part thereof—industry being the natural means of acquiring wealth, honour, and reputation—is idleness is of poverty, shame, and disgrace.

2d. Lay a good foundation, with regard to principle. Be sure not, wilfully, to over-reach or deceive your neighbour: but keep always in your eye the golden rule, of doing to others, as you would they should do unto you.

3d. Be strict in discharging all legal debts. Do not evade your creditors, by any shuffling arts, in giving your notes of hand, only to defer the payment. But, if you have it in your power, discharge all debts, when they become due. Above all, when you are straitened for want of money, be cautious of taking it up at high interest. This has been the ruin of many; therefore endeavour to avoid it.

4th. Endeavour to be as much in your shop or warehouse, or in whatever place your business properly lies, as possibly you can. Leave it not to servants to transact: for customers will not regard them, as they would yourself; they generally think they shall not be so well served: besides, mistakes may arise by the negligence or inexperience of servants; and,

therefore your presence will probably prevent the loss of a good customer.

5th. Be complaisant to the meanest, as well as to the greatest; you are as much obliged to use good manners, for a farthing, as for a pound; the one demands it from you, as well as the other.

6th. Be not too talkative; but speak as much as is necessary to recommend your goods; and always keep within the rules of decency. If customers slight your goods and undervalue them, endeavour to convince them of their mistake, if you can; but do not affront them. Do not be pert in your answers; but "with patience hear, and with meekness answer;" for if you affront in a small matter, it may probably hinder you from a future good customer. They may think, you are dear in the articles they want; but, by going to another, they may find it is not so, and probably may return again: but if you behave rudely, and affront them, there is no hope either of their returning, or of their future custom.

7th. Take care to keep your accounts well; enter every thing necessary in your books, with neatness and exactness; often state your accounts, and examine, whether you gain or lose; and carefully survey your stock, and inspect into every particular of your affairs.

8th. Take care, as much as you can, whom you trust; neither take nor give long credit; but at farthest, settle your accounts annually. Deal at the fountain head, for as many articles as you can; and, if it lies in your power, for ready money; this method you will find to be the most profitable in the end. Endeavour to keep a proper assortment in your way, but do not overstock yourself. Aim not at making a great figure in your shop, in unnecessary ornaments; but let it be neat and convenient. Too great an appearance may rather prevent, than engage, customers.

9th. To all these things, and above all, add a serious and conscientious regard to the practice of all the duties of the christian religion. They have a natural tendency to promote your present, as well as future, felicity; and besides, by such a practice, you will infallibly secure the blessing of pro-

vidence, which is better than every earthly blessing.



The bachelor. No. VIII.

(Continued from page 126.)

I Might have sat in my elbow-chair 'till doomsday, and revolved the matter over, and over, and over again, 'till my brain had become as dry, as a box of Scotch snuff—I might have waited the midnight lamp, read all the works of the ancients and moderns, the learned, and the unlearned, on the subject, and even out-studied *Duns Scotus* himself; yet I should not have been able to determine the point. 'Tis very strange, said I, that any speculation whatever should be supported and attacked, established and confuted, by reasons so exactly balancing each other, as to leave the judgment hanging in the air, like Mahomet's coffin—The hundred thousandth part of a grain would set all a-going; and yet, I cannot throw that hundred thousandth part of a grain into one scale, but I find as much hath dropped into the opposite one; and I am left just where I was. In short, I found it impossible to determine, whether I had better marry, or not.

At last, an accident—who could have thought it!—an accident settled this important matter—broke the dam, which I had been many years building up, strengthening, and repairing; and let out all my objections, at once, in a torrent. It would have surprised any one, to see, how my prudential motives, self-love, avarice, pride, peculiarities of opinion, &c. &c. &c. tumbled out, helter-skelter, head over heels, like the breaking up of a play-house.—Here, your might have seen pride slouncing and bouncing indignant through the foaming tide;—there, lay avarice wriggling and twisting in mud and slime:—in one place, self-love, like a mud-turtle, collected within its own dirty shell; and thousands of odd notions and peculiarities of opinion; crawling about every where, like snails, wood-lice, tadpoles, and a variety of filthy, disgusting vermin.

But the accident, which occasioned this extraordinary revolution, is worth recounting;—you shall hear it.—

In my last, I informed you of my

illness, and recovery : for the better establishment of my health, the exercise of walking was much recommended. Accordingly, I made it a rule, whenever the weather would permit, to walk two or three miles before dinner. One day, in taking my usual exercise, I crossed the commons, and found myself on the lower-ferry road. Two women passed me in a chair. The younger of the two drew the attention of a momentary glance. I thought I discovered something in her, that made me wish for a longer view. They had not proceeded above an hundred yards, when their horse took fright, ran up against a fence, and over-set the chair. I made all the haste I could, to the assistance of the unfortunate ladies. The elder of the two seemed to have received no great injury from the accident ; but the younger, either from the force of the fall, or through fear, had fainted away. I took her in my arms. Her head reclined on my bosom. She was delicate—she was beautiful. I felt an anxiety, which I had never felt before. Love, though I knew it not, stole into my heart, in the disguise of compassion. I chafed her temples, her wrists, and the palms of her hands. The soft touch thrilled through every vein, and awakened unusual sensations. She recovered, and, observing her situation, with a gentle effort, disengaged herself from my arms ; then thanked me for my care, with graceful ease, and a languishing voice. The elder lady, who, I found, was her mother, joined her in grateful acknowledgments. The horse, and broken chair, were left at a neighbouring house ; and I insisted on conducting the ladies home. Little passed during this walk, but grateful expressions on the part of the ladies, and polite assurances on mine. I did not fail, however, to examine the young lady's person and deportment, with eager attention ; and the more I examined, the more I was pleased with her. As they were both much discomposed by the accident, I did not choose to intrude upon them at that time ; but took my leave at their door, with a promise to wait on them next day, and enquire after their health.

After I returned home, this adven-

ture engrossed the whole of my thoughts. I secretly wished myself some twenty years younger, that I might, with propriety, endeavour to make this amiable young lady my own. What a treasure, said I to myself, must she be, to a man of sense, and delicacy ! How happy should I be at this time, if I had, in the earlier part of my life, connected myself with such an engaging companion ! But, I have missed the golden opportunity, and must e'en fret out the remainder of my life, as well as I can.

The day was long—the night longer. The next morning was chiefly spent in preparations, for my afternoon's visit. I was uncommonly particular about my dress : although I had no determined design in view. Particular orders were given, with respect to the dressing of my wig ; my best suit of broad-cloth was taken out of the press ; and my new beaver neatly and carefully brushed ;—in short, I was more attentive to my dress, than for many years before. But I satisfied myself, by placing all to the score of politeness and civility. When all was ready, I went to the glass, to adjust my wig. I thought I looked uncommonly well ; at least I observed a neatness in my dress, and a vivacity in my countenance, to which I had been long unaccustomed. Certain reflexions arose in my mind, which I could not then suppress. And thus I reasoned with myself—few men carry their age better, than I do—this must be owing to the regularity and temperance of my past life—a discreet man of fifty enjoys the powers of life in greater vigour, than a debauchee of twenty. Who knows what may happen ?—perhaps—Oh the enchanting idea !—stranger things have come to pass—My fortune is unexceptionable ; my person, I think, not disagreeable ; and my constitution rather better, since my late illness, than before. At this instant I took up my hat, which lay on the table, close by an old quarto family bible : the corner of my hat in lifting, caught the upper cover of the bible, and threw it back ; when, behold, on the first leaf of the aforesaid bible, these words, in legible characters, saluted my eye—George, the son of Thomas and Alice Sanby, was born in the city.

of London, on the 10th of October, anno domini\*\*\*\*—I need not give you the figures ; suffice it, to say, that this malicious accident had a great effect upon my mind : it lowered the top-sails of my vanity in a moment, and dispersed all the gay ideas I had assembled before me. I left home somewhat disconcerted. Many jarring sensations distracted my mind, till I reached the house, where I was to make my visit.

It is time to inform you, that the mother of this young lady keeps a small shop in ——— street, upon the profits of which, and the interest of a thousand pounds, left her by her deceased husband, she maintains herself and her only daughter. Her husband had been a merchant of some note; but partly by losses in trade, and chiefly by living too expensively for his income, he had it not in his power, to leave his family any thing considerable at his death. This intelligence I artfully got from a friend, in the common way of chat.

I was received by my new friends with the utmost cordiality and respect. The mother was all complaisance and civility; the daughter all sweetness and innocence, heightened by a pleasing vivacity. Our discourse first turned upon the accident of the preceding day. I was happy in finding it attended with no bad consequences to the ladies: and happier still (as I took care to observe) that it was the means of introducing me to such agreeable acquaintance; declaring, at the same time, my intention of taking all the advantage it afforded, by paying my respects to them in occasional visits. To this a reply was made, quite to my satisfaction. In short, I spent the afternoon, and a good part of the evening, most agreeably. I returned home in high spirits, much enamoured with the young lady's person, deportment, and amiable disposition, as far as I could discover it, on so short an acquaintance. I thought no more on the accident of the family bible; but indulged myself, during the remainder of the evening, in a thousand golden dreams.

I amused myself next day with writing this letter; but, if ever you expect to hear from me again, I must insist upon it, that you do not entitle

this, or any subsequent letter, the old bachelor ; but only, the bachelor. I am not so old, perhaps, as you may imagine. I dare say, Methuselah, at my age, was only in leading-strings, and beginning to cut his teeth. A man, as hearty and ruddy as I am, cannot, with any propriety, be called old. Old philosopher, old hermit, old conjurer, old married man, may be expressions proper enough ; but, I insist upon it, the epithet old should never be applied to a bachelor, unless he be considerably older, than I am as yet—thank God !—You may allege, that, in some of my letters, I have called myself the old bachelor—true—but I was then not well, and a little low spirited. I have a right to recal the expression. Indulge me in this particular, and you may hear from me again.



*To the bachelor.*

SINCE the epithet "old" is no longer to be applied to you, sir, I shall endeavour to wave that, and every thing else, in the course of this epistle, that may hurt your sensibility. Though I cannot avoid subjoining, that the above-mentioned epithet, of all others, is thought to convey an indisputable title to its possessor, by having remained some time in his custody. And now, my good friend, let me assure you, that when you gave us an account, a few months past, of your indisposition, I was fearful, lest it should prove a prelude to your quitting the stage, in some shape or other: but, as death is a debt which we must all pay sooner or later, I could, with much more resignation, have submitted to your departure, at that juncture, than your retiring from us, in the way your last paper seems to intimate.

Your predecessor, of most respectable memory, the prince of old bachelors, sir Roger De Coverly, was so great a favourite of Mr. Addison's, who had the sole forming of him, that on being asked by one of that brilliant group of wits that assisted in the Spectator, "why sir Roger died so soon?" He answered, that he had killed the knight, to prevent any other person's murdering him.

The spirit of Sir Roger rose up in some degree, though in a different

style, in the philanthropic character of uncle Toby; and gleamed out again in the person of Mr. Matthew Bramble, the last production of Dr. Smollet, in his book of Humphrey Clinker. And it by no means entirely vanished from the outlines delineated of the Bachelor in your former letters. Though I will not carry my complaisance so far, as to say, that a double portion of the *departed's spirit* fell upon the earthly survivor.

But, good Mr. Bachelor, that you may read my letter, free from all prejudice, and know that I take my pen in hand, purely for your benefit, it is absolutely necessary, that some particulars be premised; for, as the purport of this is to divert you from the prosecution of your interesting courtship, it is entirely proper, you should be convinced, that, in this attempt, I have no sinister ends in view. I am neither one of your female cousins, who shewed their officious assiduity to you, in your late illness; nor am I, in any shape, a puppet moving on their wires: I am no discreet virgin, busy in forming schemes upon your sweet person; nor am I a widow, that has just dried up her tears for her last poor dear: neither have I daughter, sister, or kinswoman, for whom I have formed prudent plans of future settlements. I am myself a married woman, and most sincerely hope, I shall never be flung into a situation, that can admit of my committing matrimony again.

But whether this wish flows from my superior felicity, that would never suffer me to think of a second mate, or from a disapprobation of the state itself, is not material to explain: for different effects sometimes arise from the same cause, and different causes sometimes produce the same effect. But, before you proceed definitely in your present important pursuit, take another glance at your family-bible: perhaps it may open on some of Solomon's pithy sentences; he says much on the subject of our sex. But, (with all due deference to sacred writ be it spoken,) suppose the leaf should open in the third chapter of Isaiah, the nineteenth verse, and the four following ones:—would not such a catalogue of female ornaments, as is there exhibited, frighten a plain man from

marriage? And be assured, that the paraphernalia of a modern woman of fashion, is no way inferior, either in elegance or expense, to the toilets of the daughters of Zion; which any genteel milliner of your acquaintance can inform you the truth of. And, I have generally observed, that, when young ladies marry gentlemen of a certain age, they seem to expect a greater profusion of superficial ornaments, than when they connect themselves with persons similar to them, in regard to years. Why it should be so, is a point much too deep, for me to investigate. Probably it takes its source from the best of motives; that of a desire to appear charming in the eyes of a partner, whose taste is refined by experience, and long contemplation of distant beings unpossessed. Yet I can see those ladies' expenses not confined only to what relates to adorning of their own persons; but extended also to plate, equipage, and finery of every species. However, as money does not appear to be your *leading foible*, and as your fortune is easy, I do not think this objection will have any great weight, to turn the balance against your present propensity. Therefore, to advance in my obstacles: as every piece of advice, that is given with candour, should take in all the various circumstances, that belong to the party advised; so, I apprehend, Mr. Sanby, with regard to you, that your ideas of connubial bliss may *have rose* higher, than if you had sooner made the experiment of matrimony; and, although your opinion might not mount so high, as a complete panegyric on the state; yet occasionally, I dare say, your fancy painted other people's happiness superior to your own. However, far be it from me to hint any thing derogatory to a state, of which I acknowledge myself an unworthy member. To illustrate my meaning by an instance or two, which might be selected out of numbers of others: when you, in your solitary mode of life, have come down in a morning, and have not found your breakfast-apparatus regularly arranged, nor a brisk fire kindled; which, I own, of all external little vexations of that kind, is the most trying, in a gloomy morning. Well, methinks I hear you call, till

you are hoarse, to know, why they are so late with matters ;—in comes old black Prue, the negro wench, lingering and drawling out, “ why, mas- so, the brakfast no quite ready yet ; the wood all wet with snow, and the fire no good.” I know, indeed, that, in your heart you esteem Prue, for her late deed of kindness, in furnishing you with some cold water in your fever ; but a man is not always in a humour to recollect good offices ; therefore, with a peevish pish, you bid her get about her business. “ Ah ! (think you,) there is neighbour Twist, who has a notable wife ; by the time he makes his appearance, his hearth is clean-swept, his andirons and fender as bright as a mirror, his hickory fire of fine dry wood, snapping and crackling like nuts, that the girls burn on all-hallow-eve to try their sweet-hearts ; and his hot roll, and buttered buck-wheat cake placed by his chocolate, that is milled up with a froth like a whipt syllabub : that’s something like living.”

Very good, very good, all this. Well, we suppose you mated, and the flurry of visiting, and ail the rest of the fuls of that period, vulgarly called the honey-moon, got over, and the family settled in a regular track. You probably an early riser—your wife the reverse ; in such a case, your parlour will look far more forlorn, when you come to take your morning repast by yourself, than it did formerly, when you had no companion in the house to expect : we will suppose you have turned down your cap, and puffs pawing and purring about you for her accustomed dues ; your wife entering, first directs her eyes to the intruding animal, whom she orders into the kitchen : in the same instant of time, you and the cat think (for I am of opinion, dumb creatures think) “ Ah ! times are strangely altered !”

Now for an evening scene. I make no doubt, but very damp cold nights you have felt, these ten years past : you have imagined that, if you were married, your night-gown would be folded on a chair, and laid by your bed-side ; and that your linen-cap would be regularly shifted every Wednesday and Saturday, and put inside your cotton one, and placed on your pillow ; and the clothes tight tucked

in round you : and the servants in their apartments, and the house quiet, by the time the watchman called ten o’clock ; with many other little subordinate comforts, of a like nature. But, instead of this, depend upon it, your wife will have her young friends about her, long after that hour, giggling and tittering at a thousand little freaks and vagaries, that you cannot see into the humour of. In vain may you pull out your watch, or yawn, or complain that you did not sleep well the preceding night : the best you can expect in that case is, that Mrs. Sanby will say, “ Pray, my dear, let me be no restraint on your hours : there’s the candle, please to go to bed.” “ Well, but you know, my love, that I can never settle to sleep, if there is any noise in the house, that disturbs my first nap.” “ Ah, my dear mr. Sanby, that is a foolish habit you have got : you must break yourself of it.” “ And, my dear mrs. Sanby, that is a worse than foolish habit, you have got, of sitting up so late : it is a very pernicious one : it ruins your health, injures your complexion, and is attended with a thousand bad effects, as has been fully demonstrated by the faculty, from Hippocrates down to Cado-gan. But women think themselves wiser, than all the world besides.” “ Prithee, my dear, don’t teize me with the precepts of such old hum-drum preceptors ; I am in perfect health ; and, while I am so, than’t change my mode of life, to humour a college of doctors.” Now, as you were not in the best of humours, before your wife made use of the epithet, “ old,” with regard to the physicians ; her applying it just then, though without any ill intention, carries an oblique reflexion with it, that stings your sensibility. So you take up the candle, and retire to your own chamber ; perhaps the lady follows reluctantly ; or perhaps she sits up a couple of hours longer, which will appear four to you ; for, every time the door opens, or a foot is on the stairs, you are *on the listen*, with all the organs of hearing on the full stretch. And, in that time, fifty false alarms may be given, before the happy moment arrives, that deposits the wife of your bosom in the same apartment with yourself.

And now, mr. Sanby, as a prudent man always thinks of consequences, especially a person that has seen the world, as you have—Let me see, this is the beginning of January; we suppose your match concluded. By the month of July or August, where may we all be? Such muttering, and blustering, and flustering, as will be going forward. And your lady, very probably, by that time, in a most critical situation. But I shall not pursue that thought any farther; but leave it to your imagination, which, I am sure, is none of the dullest.

I own, I have many pardons to beg of the young lady, that you have honoured with so tender a regard. But I must confess, it is your happiness I have ultimately in view, more than hers; as she has not fastened on my mind, by the claim of prior acquaintance; though it is the case with respect to you.

I could point out a variety of embarrassing circumstances, that might occur in the course of your future connexions; but I fear, already, I have been too prolix. But if you are not too deeply engaged, to retreat with honour, before this reaches you, I must beg you to read with attention, the reflexions on marriage, so judiciously and candidly given us by that accurate and discerning writer, Epaminondas; not written in the common-place, trite style of retailed precepts, but in a manner that shews, he has deeply and intimately investigated the human heart and its affections. Recollect, also, the humorous and picturesque description of the unfortunate trip to New-York, sent for your consolation.

If all these remonstrances fail of effect, I shall not scruple to apply to you with a little variation, those lines, that have been so often quoted, as an apology for the unfortunate part of my sex:

“When bachelors to wedlock stray,

“Their stars are more in fault, than they.”

The stars of their hemisphere, I take it, may be construed a pair of bright eyes in the head of a pretty woman; which have frequently as impulsive and fascinating a power over you men, as blind superstition ever gave to the system of judicial astrology.

But if, after all these warnings, you

still impatiently long for some approaching happy Thursday, (a day, that, in this corner of the world, seems to be peculiarly consecrated to Hymen) and that, or any other day should join you to your Dulcinea, all I have to add, is, may you never look back with regret on your walk to the lower ferry.

Now as I am a stranger to the environs of your city, when I heard of the lower ferry, the thought that struck me, was, that of old Charon wafting his passengers across the Styx. That being the grand lower ferry of the classical heroes, celebrated by the Greek poets; and no bad emblem of matrimony: as the departed spirits, till they had performed that dernier voyage, could not be placed in the regions of Elysium or Tartarus.

But far be so gloomy an idea removed from a bridegroom's imagination, who ought to think of every thing that is soothing and delightful. I shall not promise you an *epithalamium*; but, when I hear the indissoluble knot is tied, I will heave a sigh, and, in the language of an universally admired writer, say,

“*Alas! poor Yorick!*”

A S P A S I A.

Jan. 8, 1776.

P. S. If you have not already disposed of all your jibes, and your jokes, and your jeers, your quips, and your cranks, a small packet would be very acceptable; any little thing by way of a keep-sake.



*The Bachelor to Aspasia.*

NUMBER IX.

Madam,

THIS is to let you know, that I am in good health, hoping that these few lines will find your ladyship in the same condition. I received your kind letter; but, to be free with you, I cannot say, I was much pleased with its contents. I think you might have known, by this time, that a bachelor of some standing is not often greatly delighted with the advice or remarks of married ladies, when they are too particular. However, you have made so many declarations of impartiality, that I am obliged, in good manners, to believe, that you were actuated by pure good will, and a desire of saving me from a pit, to-



wards which I was hastening. Therefore, since, (as the saying is) one good turn deserves another, I am disposed to requite your friendship, by bestowing on you also some wholesome advice, which perhaps may be as little acceptable to you, as yours was to me. Should that happen to be the case, it will be, properly speaking, a payment in kind.

In the first place, I would advise you to pronounce your sentences, after you have written them, with an audible voice, in your own hearing. This, I am sure, is not impracticable, or even difficult; for many wives can speak so loud, that a whole family may hear them. The reason of the advice is, that you may be able to judge, whether it is possible for other people to read your writings, so as to make them be understood. I have made several trials upon the following expression in your letter, "that a double portion of the departed's spirit fell upon the earthly survivor;" and I have not met with any reader who could make his hearers understand it, unless they looked upon the book at the same time. The two *s*'s, which belong to different words, cohere so firmly in the utterance, that the effort to distinguish them is painful; the sound is barbarous; and yet the meaning is lost. It is somewhat surprising that a cacophony of this kind should come from a lady; for I remember, dean Swift says, that women, by the more abundant use of vowels and liquids, generally soften the pronunciation of a language, whereas men, by a collision of rough consonants, render it harsh and barbarous.

In the next place, whenever you think proper to use hard or learned phrases, it would be best to call honey out of his study or office, and beg the favour of him, if he can, to explain them fully to you, both as to the meaning, and proper construction. You have been kind enough to inform me, that "the paraphernalia of a modern woman of fashion, is no way inferior to the toilets of the daughters of Zion." Now, madam, give me leave to suggest that the paraphernalia were more things than one; the term is, in the plural number, as grammarians say; and therefore you ought to

have written, "are no way inferior," &c. Had there been any likeness between the words *is* and *are*, I should have imputed the mistake to the carelessness of the corrector of the press; but this could scarcely have been the case, in the present instance. It is certainly a rule with all good writers, when they use words from a foreign language, to give the same attention to their construction in a sentence, as if they belonged originally to their own: for example, we say, *a* phenomenon was clearly explained, or accounted for; *or*, the phenomena were explained.—

I am sorry to add, that you have not only erred in the construction of Greek and Latin words, but of English also, as in the following, "Your ideas of connubial bliss may have *rose* higher," instead of *risen* higher. Several of your sentences want the reddition, as some grammarians call it; for instance, that which begins, "When you, in your solitary mode of life, have come down in a morning, and have not found your breakfast-apparatus regularly arranged, nor a brisk fire kindled, which, I own, of all external little vexations of that kind, is the most trying in a gloomy morning." *When*, in that sentence, we have read a good while, expecting the corresponding inference, *then* are we fairly disappointed, and brought up with a point. But of all your mistakes in phraseology, which are many, I think the most curious is in your description of my night-scene, in which we find the following words, "For every time the door opens, or a foot is on the stairs, you are *on the listen*." Now, madam, be pleased to know, that *listen* is what we call a verb, and not a substantive noun, as you have made it in that sentence. Perhaps you will say, these are mere bagatelles, that ought to be forgiven and passed over, in a lady; to which I answer, in conversation undoubtedly, but not in publication. Therefore, my most dear lady, if ever you and I should happen to meet at a friend's house, or if you will condescend to pay my wife a visit the week after my marriage, the moment that you are *upon the speak*, I will be *upon the listen*. This I hope will satisfy you.

But all is not over. Besides those

literary mistakes, I complain of a great want of precision in your sentiments : you say, “ however, as money does not appear to be your *leading foible*.” I do not understand that money is either the *leading* or *following foible* of any body. The love of money is the foible of some persons, and the neglect of it, that of others. Money itself is neither virtue nor vice, but may be the object either of a just and lawful, or an irregular and vicious desire. The following sentence also is very remarkable : “ however, far be it from me to hint any thing derogatory to a state (meaning that of marriage) of which I acknowledge myself an unworthy member.” Your unworthiness I do not pretend to dispute. The term may with great propriety and justice, be applied to many in every state. But the force or precision of calling yourself a member of the married state, I have not yet been able to see. We read sometimes, indeed, of free states and despotic states ; and I think, if a man may be said to be a member of the one, he ought to be called a subject of the other. But whether, in your married relation, you are a member of a free state, or the subject of a despotic one, is best known to yourself, and, as you have hinted, is not very material to explain.

As authors, who conceal themselves, have generally some enigmatical meaning, in the choice they make of a feigned signature, I have been considering what could induce you to choose that of Aspasia. She was, I admit, a person of some note, a celebrated courtesan, in Athens. I also confess, that, if we believe some authors of considerable name, she actually became “ an unworthy member ” of the married state ; having, by her arts, induced Pericles, one of the most eminent orators and statesmen of that city, to marry her. It is not, however, easy to conceive, that either of these circumstances recommended her name to you : and therefore I suppose it was her fame for eloquence, in which she is said to have been so eminent, that Pericles was often “ *upon the listen* ” to her discourse, and was formed by her in the art of speaking. We are also told, that several other gentlemen in Athens, and even Socrates himself, frequented her house, with

the same view. If my conjecture be right, and you burn with desire to emulate her in this particular, and be the preceptor of the famous politicians of the present important era in America, it is a laudable ambition ; and I heartily wish you success. At the same time, may I not be permitted to indulge the sweet hope, that I have by the above strictures, contributed a little to give the finishing polish to your already shining talents ; and therefore, that I shall share, in some small measure, in your future fame ?

Thus, madam, I have, according to the request in your postscript, sent you a small packet by way of keepsake, although it is a word, that I never heard before, and do not understand. As for *jibes, jokes, jeers, quips, and cranks*, the thoughts of matrimony and your own sweet self, have put them so entirely out of my head, that it is a question, whether ever they will return : but, such as I am, you may always command my service. With my respects to your husband unknown,

I remain,

Madam,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

The BACHELOR.



*Thoughts on the cultivation of vines—  
and on the wine trade between  
France and America. By M. John  
P. Briffot de Warville.*

**B**EFORE the commencement of the late war, the wines which were most generally consumed in the united states, were, as in England, Oporto, Madeira, and some from Spain. French wines, charged (as in Britain) with enormous duties, were introduced by contraband only.

Liberty has caused those Britannie shackles to disappear. French wines are freely imported into the united states, and pay but little duty.

Such is the state of things : and it leads me to the discussion of three questions :

1. Does it suit the united states to cultivate vines, and to make wine ?
2. Ought they not, if they renounce this cultivation, to give the preference to French wines ?
3. What means ought the French

to use, in order to obtain and preserve this preference?

It would be absurd to deny, that the united states can produce wine, merely because the experiments, hitherto made, have been fruitless. Extended as they are, and having countries lying still farther to the south than any part of Europe, it is impossible, there should not be, in many places, a soil proper for the vine.

The little success of former attempts may, therefore, without hazarding too much, be attributed either to the ignorance of the cultivator, his want of perseverance, or a bad choice of plants.

However that may be, if the Americans will attend to the advice of able observers, and reap advantage from the errors of other nations, they will carefully avoid the cultivation of vines. In every country, where they have been cultivated, for one man, who has been enriched by them, numbers have been reduced to want and wretchedness.

The long and considerable advances, which vines require—the preparation, preservation and sale of their produce, have put all the good vineyard plots into the hands of rich people, who, not cultivating these themselves, pay the real cultivator very badly. The salary of the wretched vine-dresser is every where unalterably fixed; the time he does not work, is not calculated; and few wine countries offer any employment by which lost time may be filled up; and, besides, the variations in the prices of the most necessary commodities, occasioned by a thousand causes, by the abundance or even scarcity of wine, are not considered for him.

Would it be believed, that abundance is the most unfortunate thing that can happen, either to the proprietor, or cultivator of a vineyard? In fact, the expense of the vintage is increased, and the price of the produce diminishes. There is more work to be done, more hands are necessary, and they are paid more wages;\*

#### NOTE.

\* The day's hire of a vintager varies according to the scarcity or abundance of wine, from six to fifty sols.

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more hogheads are wanted, the expenses of carriage are greater; more capacious store-houses are required: the sale is less, and consequently the income.

The scarcity of wines, or the sterility of the vineyard, is perhaps less unfortunate, than the abundance, at least to the proprietor. But it is cruelly felt by the vine-dresser, and by those wandering troops of day-labourers, whom the barrenness of their native soil, or a bad government, forces to go from home, in search of employment.

The numerous variations, which have an influence upon the produce of the vineyard, make it a very inconvenient property, and, at best, productive of but trifling emolument. The return must be waited for, when much has been gathered; payments must be made, when there has been but little. The proprietor must, therefore, have other resources, whether it be to wait, or to pay. The vine-dresser, who is so unfortunate as to possess a vineyard, without any of these resources, ruins himself sooner or later. He is obliged to sell at a low price, or to consume his wines himself; thence results his stupidity and idleness, his discouragement, his dull and quarrelsome humour, and especially the ruin of his health. Too much wine, in the time of abundance,—no bread, in that of scarcity; such are the two alternatives which divide his life.

For this reason it is, that, countries covered with vineyards, are, in general, more thinly inhabited, and present a picture of a degenerated, weak and wretched population. For

#### NOTE.

The price of hogheads has likewise variations from three to fifteen livres. There are years wherein the price of the hoghead is higher than that of the wine which it contains.

§ The situation of a vine-dresser is different according to the custom of countries. In some he is hired only by the day, and there he is completely wretched. In others, as in Switzerland, he has half of the produce. But an unjust and tyrannical tax, laid on by the proprietors themselves, reduces this half to a quarter.

the most part, they want hands to cultivate the vineyard, in a season when the work cannot be delayed. It is done by those bands of strangers, of whom I have already spoken, and who come to sell some days work to the poor vine-dresser.

The cultivation of a vineyard cannot be better compared than to those manufactures, of which the hopes of success are founded upon the low price of workmanship, and which enrich none but the undertakers, and retailers or shopkeepers.

The pernicious influence of the vine is extended, in wine countries, even to those who do not cultivate it; for the cheapness of wine leads to excesses; and, consequently, it becomes a poison for all ranks of society; for those, especially, who find in it a means of forgetting their sorrows.

Therefore, as I have already remarked, industry carefully avoids these dangerous vineyard plots. None of the great manufactures, whose success is the consequence of order, assiduity and labour, are seen in the neighbourhood of them.

The result of all these observations is, that the Americans ought to proscrib the cultivation of the vine.

It would infallibly render miserable that class of society, that would be employed in it; and in a republic there should be none, who are wretched, because want obliges them to disturb civil order, or, what is still worse, they are at the command of the rich, by whom they are paid, and who may make use of them, to destroy the liberties of the republic.\*

Considered, with respect to the proprietors, the vine ought still to be proscribed by the united states; because every profession or calling, susceptible of too great a variation of fortune, which sometimes heaps up riches on one person, and at other times reduces to indigence individuals in easy circumstances, ought carefully to be avoided. Oeconomy, simplicity, private virtues, are scarcely consistent with such rapid fluctuations of property.

#### NOTE.

\* The mean language of shopkeepers, who humbly offer their merchandise, has already begun to find its way into the American papers.

They are found in the bosom of mediocrity only, from easiness of circumstances, founded upon that kind of toil, whose produce is constant.† Such is that of agriculture in general; it embraces divers productions, which, in case of accident, replace each other.‡

Finally, if it be insisted, that wine is necessary to man, let it not stupify him; it should be used with moderation; and its dearth alone may oblige men to be moderate in the use of it. It being greatly the interest of the American republics to remove all excesses from individuals,—in order to prevent this degeneracy, they ought to keep perpetually at a distance from them a commodity, whose dearth will prevent the abuse of it, whose cultivation would render it cheap; and consequently bring on dangerous excesses both to policy and morals.§

The catalogue which I have just gone over, of the evils and abuses, occasioned by the culture of vines, will not induce the French to destroy

#### NOTES.

† The inhabitants of India are almost all husbandmen or weavers, which is the reason why private morals have been better preserved among those people than any where else, in spite of the excesses of despotism.

‡ What recompense would be considerable enough for an ingenious man, who should furnish society with the means of preserving potatoes for several years; especially if the process were simple and not expensive? In that case, want would be no longer feared. The embarrassment about the legislation of corn would disappear, and want and beggary perhaps be driven from among men.

§ It will be objected, that men employed in agriculture have need of wine to support them in their labour. This is but an opinion: there are found, in countries where it is least used, vigorous and indefatigable men. In truth, wine contains an active spirit which may supply the want of substantial aliment, and it is for this reason, the peasants have recourse to wine or brandy, which is more within their reach. Give them meat and potatoes, and they will easily do without wine.

their vineyards : but it ought, at least, to excite them to increase in foreign markets the consumption of wines, in order to keep up their price, and consequently to diminish a part of the evils, which they produce. This will be doubly advantageous, by an additional exterior profit, and a diminution of interior ill : nobody will deny, that French wines must obtain the preference in the united states. They are the most agreeable, the most wholesome, if moderately used ; the least prejudicial, if used to excess. They ought to be the basis of our exportations to America ; no nation can raise a competition with us. Lord Sheffield himself pays this homage to our wines ; but in order to assure to them this advantage for ever, the art of making, preserving, and transporting them, must be improved.



### *Hints, scraps, &c.*

#### *Coal.*

THE present trade laws of France permit coal to be carried from America, to their free ports in the West-Indies. The Virginia pits supply it at seven-pence sterling per bushel.

The large sugar ships from France, going to Virginia with salt, &c. might take out coal, lumber, &c. to their islands, in little more time, than they employ in the passage from France to the islands.

#### *Skins.*

The people, in some parts of Europe, wear stockings made of sheep-skin and buckskin ; and in other parts they wear waistcoats of skins dressed in the hair.

#### *Glass.*

It is highly proper that the people of the united states, who have immense forests to clear, should establish glass-manufactories, and increase them as much as possible. The labour employed to destroy the woods, for the clearing of lands, at the same time that it disposes the land to culture, will serve for the production of a very extensive object of manufacture ; therefore the utility of this destruction is of a double nature. It cannot be doubted, but we shall one

day be able to furnish Europe with glass-ware.

#### *Hops.*

American hops cannot be imported into Great-Britain\* ; but still they deserve more attention, than they have hitherto received from the American farmers. At the present price, 14*d.* to 15*d.* per lb. they must be immensely profitable, and were found a very beneficial article, before the revolution, at 6*d.* and 7*d.*

#### *Solitary confinement.*

If any stimulus is requisite to urge an universal adoption of solitary confinement, for persons committed to prison, and, in particular, separate rooms for those who for trivial offences may be immured within the walls thereof ; we imagine, no greater can be offered, than the dying words of two convicts, lately executed at Limerick for burglary—"We," said they, at the place of execution, "were at first committed to the city jail, on suspicion of crimes we never committed, among a company of wretches, whose whole scheme was, when they should be liberated, whom they should plunder ; thus, when acquitted, we came out fully ripened for all manner of iniquity."

#### *Knitting stockings.*

The knitting of stockings deserves the greatest encouragement. It peculiarly recommends itself by its great utility to the poor, from the ease with which it is practised, and the immediate application which may be made of it. It is so easily practised, that a child of five years old, or an old woman of a hundred, may work at it ; it may be performed, when walking about the streets, or when confined to a sick room, and by persons blind, lame, or bed-ridden.

In the north of England, plough boys are taught its use, and drive their horses with their needles and worsted in their hands ; and women, after a day's labour in the field, may work at it without any fatigue, till they go to rest. This is not the case, I believe, with any other manufacture,

#### NOTE.

\* *The assertion in our last, page 477, that hops from this country were admissible, free of duty, into England, proves to be erroneous.—C.*

and therefore its general use should be strongly inculcated : as, to a poor person, it would be a never-failing source of occupation where manufactures of this kind could be carried on. And it would be an immediate application of a useful part of dress to be worn as soon as executed, even where the public were not interested in its behalf.



*A remedy for corns on the feet.*

**R**OAST a clove of garlic on a live coal, or in hot ashes ; apply it to the corn, and fasten it on with a piece of cloth. This must be made use of at the moment of going to bed. It softens the corn to such a degree, as to loosen, and wholly remove it in two or three days, however inveterate. Afterwards wash the foot with warm water. In a little time the indurated skin, that forms the horny tunic of the corn, will disappear, and leave that part as clean and smooth as if it had never been attacked with any disorder. It is right to renew this application two or three times in twenty-four hours.

*Cure for frost bites.*

**R**UB the part affected three or four times before the fire with the fat of dunghill fowls—then rub it with flannel, and wrap it up. In two or three days the cure will be effected.



*A recipe for bitters, to prevent the fever and ague, and all other fall-fevers.*

**T**AKE of common meadow calamus, cut into pieces, of rue, wormwood and camomile, or centaury or horehound, of each two ounces ; add to them a quart of spring water, and take a wine-glass full of it every morning fasting. This cheap and excellent infusion, is far more effectual in preventing fevers than raw spirits, or the strongest bitters made with spirits ; both of which make the breath offensive : and those who use them are very apt to get into a habit of drinking spiritous liquors.

## SELECT POETRY.

*Ode, distributed among the spectators, during the federal procession, at New-York, July 1788.*

I.

**E**MERGING from old ocean's bed,  
When fair Columbia rear'd her awful head  
To his \* enraptur'd view, whose dauntless soul  
Heav'n had impell'd t' explore the unknown goal ;  
The genius of the solitary waste,  
With ecstacy the godlike man embrac'd,  
Prophetic of her future state :  
And smil'd serene, and blest'd th' approaching day,  
When older nations, envious, should survey  
Our wisdom, virtue, pow'r, how great !  
But still she sigh'd, and dropt a tear,  
And still she entertain'd a fear,  
Anticipating what she knew too well ;  
And what, this memorable day, the muse  
With retrospective ken reluctant views,  
And this blest epocha forbids to tell†.

II.

Distress'd she saw—but, with predictive eyes,  
Through scenes of horror future blis descries ;  
Sees greater good from partial evil rise.—

NOTES.

\* Columbus, † The late war.

She knew, how empires rise and fall ;  
That ev'ry change on this terrestrial ball  
Is wrought by heav'n's command,  
Nor can its will withstand—  
Submissive, she that pow'r ador'd,  
The sov'reign universal Lord,  
Almighty, wise and good !  
Whose eye omniscient saw 'twas right,  
We should attain that glorious height,  
Through seas of kindred blood.

III.

And, lo ! the all-important period's nigh,  
And swells the mighty theme—  
An era, greater than the golden age,  
Of which the poets dream ;  
And adds a wond'rous, and illustrious page  
To this terrestrial globe's vast history.  
Begin, oh muse,  
And far diffuse  
Th' inspiring news,  
To earth's remotest bound :  
Throughout the world let joy like ours be found ;  
And echo catch the animating sound ;  
Now all our highest hopes are crown'd.  
Through time's incessant round,  
Fame shall resound  
This long desir'd event,  
And tell what mighty blessings heav'n has sent !  
Immortal fame,  
Whose loud acclaim  
Is deathless as the poet's song,  
To countless ages shall the theme prolong.

IV.

Ten sov'reign states, in friendship's league combin'd,  
Blest with a government, whose arms embrace  
The dearest int'rests of the human race,  
This festive day, to joy resign'd,  
This signal day we celebrate—  
Let ev'ry patriot heart dilate,  
Let ev'ry care be banish'd far ;  
Nor aught the honours of this solemn season mar.  
Behold th' admir'd procession move along,  
Our sister states, the happy ten, to greet—  
What animation in the crowded street !  
What joy resounds from ev'ry tongue !  
In beautiful arrangement, lo !  
Majestically slow,  
Assembled thousands—fed'ral band—  
Advancing, hand in hand—  
Heart-cheering sight !—ne'er did such loud applause  
Great Alexander's pompous entries crown ;  
Ne'er did the victor gain such true renown—  
This grand display can boast a nobler cause.

V.

Hail liberty, heav'n's darling child !  
Young, smiling cherub, virtuous, mild !  
We feel, we feel thy pow'r divine !  
These solemnities are thine !

Our hearts o'erflow ;  
 Our bosoms glow ;  
 Sorrow fades ;  
 Joy pervades  
 Th' intoxicated senses !  
 Floods of transport fill the soul,  
 And melancholy's haggard train control ;  
 For now our country's happiness commences !

## VI.

Joy to the union ! Fair Columbia hail !—  
 Distraction in our councils now shall fail,  
 And strength, respect, and wisdom join'd, prevail !  
 Justice shall lift her well-poiz'd scale ;  
 With placid aspect, peace her wand extend ;  
 And white-robd' virtue from the sky descend ;  
 Genius shall mount a glorious tow'ring height,  
 By genial science foster'd and relin'd ;  
 And never-dying wreaths our offspring's temples bind—  
 While dwindling Europe, sickens at the sight,  
 Arts, still increasing, shall our clime adorn,  
 Success and wealth crown millions yet unborn,  
 Glorious and smiling as the op'ning morn !  
 And, if fair industry but prompt the hand,  
 The cultur'd earth shall teem at their command,  
 And health and plenty bless heav'n's fav'rite land.  
 Pomona's charge shall grow luxuriant here,  
 And bounteous Ceres crown the blissful year ;  
 Commerce shall raise her languid head—  
 The nation's dignity, which with her fled,  
 Triumphant shall her place resume :  
 And navies start from the tall forest's gloom.

## VII.

Joy to our far-fam'd chief ! whose peerless worth  
 Makes monarchs sicken at their royal birth ;  
 And thou, grown dim with honourable age,  
 Whose lore shall grace the scientific page,  
 Franklin, the patriot, venerable sage,  
 Of philosophic memory ! And thou\*  
 Our city's boast, to whom so much we owe—  
 In whom, tho' last and youngest of the three,  
 No common share of excellence we see :  
 In ev'ry grateful heart thou hast a place :  
 Nor time, nor change thy image can erase.  
 All hail, ye champions in your country's cause !  
 Soon shall that country ring with your applause—  
 With such, and with ten thousand patriots more,  
 To what vast fame this western world shall soar !  
 Discord shall cease, and perfect union reign ;  
 And all confess that sweetly-pow'rful chain,  
 The fed'ral system, which, at once, unites  
 The thirteen states, and all the people's rights.  
 Oh, may those rights be sacred to the end,  
 And to our late posterity descend—  
 That beauteous structure flourish and expand,  
 And ceaseless blessings crown this happy land !

## NOTE.

\* Alexander Hamilton, esquire.



*Address to rum.*

**G**REAT spirit, hail !—confusion's angry fire,  
And, like thy parent Bacchus, born in fire ;  
The jail's decoy ; the greedy merchant's lure ;  
Disease of money, but reflexion's cure.

We owe, great dram ! the trembling hand to thee,  
The headstrong purpose, and the feeble knee ;  
The loss of honour, and the cause of wrong ;  
The brain enchanted, and the fault'ring tongue ;  
Whilst fancy flies before thee unconfin'd,  
Thou leav'st disabled prudence far behind.  
In thy pursuit, our fields are left forlorn,  
Whilst giant weeds oppress the pigmy corn.  
Thou throw'st a mist before the planter's eyes ;  
Rust eats the idle plough ; the harvest dies.

By thee inspir'd, no pinching frosts we fear :  
'Tis ever warm and calm, when thou art near ;  
On the bare earth, for thee, expos'd we lie,  
And brave the rigors of th' inclement sky.  
Like those who did in ancient times repent,  
We sit in ashes, and our clothes are rent.



*On miss H——*

**W**HEN Cupid saw his pow'r decay'd,  
On earth, and in the realms above ;  
" Let Phillis be !" he smiling said—  
Phillis appear'd—and all was love.



*On miss M——*

**T**O sing the beauteous Mira's praise  
My muse in humble measures try'd ;  
When, list'ning to my feeble lays,  
Apollo thus indignant cry'd :

Audacious poet, cease thy song !  
Nor dare attempt, on mortal lyre,  
Immortal charms !—such themes belong  
To Phœbus, and the virgin choir.

I. C.



*The real strength of a nation.*

**W**HAT constitutes a state ?—  
" Not high-rais'd battlement, or labour'd mound,  
" Thick wall or moated gate :  
" Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd ;  
" Not bays, and broad-arm'd ports,  
" Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride :  
" Not starr'd and spangled courts,  
" Where low-brow'd baseness wafers perfume to pride ;  
" No :—men—high-minded men,  
" With pow'rs as far above dull beasts endu'd,  
" In forest, brake, or den,  
" As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude ;—  
" Men, who their duties know,  
" But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain ;  
" Prevent the long-aim'd blow,



*To obscurity—by a lady of Maryland.*

**V**IRGIN meek, of modest mien,  
Tranquil air, and brow serene;  
Come, Obscurity, sweet maid;  
Wrap me in thy peaceful shade!

Come in all thy simple charms;  
Come, and fold me in thy arms;  
Lead me to thy low-roof'd cell,  
Woodland walk, or rocky dell!

Adulation's croud profane,  
Int'rest, and her sordid train,  
Pining care, and wild desire,  
From thy hallow'd walks, retire!

Come, thou dear, pacific maid—  
Far from pomp and vain parade;—  
Where the murmur'ing waters moan,  
By the rock with moss o'ergrown;

Thither by the stillness led,  
Soft recline thy gentle head;  
Come, and with thee let me rest,  
Happy, happy, on thy breast!



*On the present scarcity of specie in America.*

**W**HILE freedom smiles on fair Columbia's plains,  
Where gentle peace, in god-like triumph, reigns;  
While plenty shows her blessings o'er the land,  
And golden harvests fill each labourer's hand;  
While justice dwells in ev'ry ruler's heart,  
And virtue aids him to perform his part;—  
Sweet *Poverty*! thy face we wish to see;  
Our injur'd country long has wanted thee:  
Thy child, industry, claims thy tender care;  
Extravagance has driv'n her to despair;  
And pride and wealth, in cursed plots combin'd,  
With fixt enchantments keep her still confin'd;  
At thy approach, pride shall no more be found;  
Her sister, wealth, shall feel a deadly wound;  
Industry then reliev'd, shall raise her head,  
And o'er our fields her happy influence shed.



*Qualifications, required in a wife:—addressed to a young lady.*

**S**HOULD you ask me, dear Mira, what charms I require  
To relish the conjugal life;  
Nor beauty, nor titles, nor wealth I desire,  
To bias my choice in a wife.  
The charms of a face may occasion a sigh;  
The costly allurements of art  
May yield a short moment of joy to the eye,  
But give no delight to the heart.

Would equipage, splendor, or noble descent  
Bring comfort wherever they fall;—  
Could these add a drop to the cup of content;  
I'd gladly partake of them all.  
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But vain the assistance, that riches bellow,  
 The raptures that beauty imparts,  
 To soften the painful reflexions of woe,  
 Or banish dillrefs from our hearts.

Then give me the temper unclouded and gay,  
 The countenance ever serene ;  
 To chear with sweet converse, as youth wears away ;  
 And dissipate anger and spleen ;  
 Whose smiles may endear and enliven the hours,  
 Retirement shall oft set apart ;  
 Whose virtues may sooth, when disquietude fours,  
 And tenderness cherish the heart .

For fortune, be honour her portion assign'd ;  
 For beauty, bright health's rosy bloom :  
 Let justice and candour ennoble her mind,  
 And chearfulness sorrow consume :  
 Thus form'd, would she share, with me, life's little store,  
 It's mixture of pleasure and smart,  
 She'd ever continue, 'till both were no more,  
 The constant delight of my heart.

*On the frost.*

NOW baleful mists no more prevail,  
 Nor Auster's dreaded breath,  
 Who spreads, in his contagious gale,  
 Variety of death.

The summer's agues, that invade  
 The student's close recess,  
 Nor art could conquer with its aid,  
 Nor gen'rous wine repress.

But see ! the salutary cold  
 Shall drooping vigour rear ;  
 Shall brace the young, and give the old  
 To breathe another year.

Man feels alone the partial good ;  
 Whilst all the feather'd kind,  
 And beasts that range the pathless wood,  
 No warm retreats can find.

See, where the dreary scenes extend,  
 Defac'd with lifeless trees ;  
 Whence icicles in streams depend,  
 Whilst all their juices freeze.

The fish with labour draw their breath,  
 (On fins no longer fleet)  
 And linger out a hopeless death,  
 Beneath the scater's feet.

In rapid glide, with sport elate,  
 He skims the slipp'ry way ;  
 And thoughtless of the victim's fate,  
 Enjoys his frosty day.

*On suicide.*

WHEN fate, in angry mood, has frown'd,  
And gather'd all his storms around,  
The sturdy Romans cry :  
“ The great, who'd be releas'd from pain,  
“ Falls on his sword, or opes a vein,  
“ And bravely dares to die.”

But know, beneath life's heavy load,  
In sharp affliction's thorny road,  
'Midst thousand ills that grieve ;  
Where dangers threaten, cares infest,  
Where friends forsake, and foes molest,  
'Tis braver far—to live !



*Conjugal love.*

A WAY—let nought, to love displeasing,  
My Winifreda, move your care :  
Let nought delay the heav'nly blessing—  
Nor squeamish pride, nor gloomy fear.

What, though no grants of royal donors,  
With pompous titles, grace our blood ?—  
We'll shine in more substantial honours :  
And, to be noble, we'll be good.

Our name, while virtue thus we tender,  
Will sweetly found, where'er 'tis spoke :  
The rich, the great, shall think, with wonder,  
How they respect such little folk.

What, tho' from fortune's lavish bounty  
No mighty treasures we possess ?—  
We'll find, within our pittance, plenty ;  
And be content, without excess.

Still shall each returning season  
Sufficient for our wishes give ;  
For we will live a life of reason :  
And that's the only life to live.

Thro' youth and age, in love excelling,  
We'll, hand in hand, together tread ;  
Sweet-smiling peace shall crown our dwelling,  
And babes, sweet-smiling babes, our bed.

How should I love the pretty creatures,  
While round my knees they fondly clung ;  
To see them look their mother's features,  
To hear them lift their mother's tongue.

And when with envy, time transported,  
Shall think to rob us of our joys,  
You'll, in your girls, again be courted ;  
And I'll go wooing in my boys.

## Foreign intelligence.



London, September 17.

THE parties concerned in the new plot against the prince of Orange, seem to be of the first rank; they have made a contract for 4000 horses, and enlisted above 6000 fusileers, who were to fall on the Orange party at the fair time, which was to be in the latter end of this month. A mr. W—a principal horse-dealer, and a mr. de V—t—s, who was to be the colonel of the horse, have been removed under a guard from Amsterdam to the Hague; and above one hundred suspicious people have been put into close confinement.

The very existence of Poland, as a separate state, depends upon the prevention of the downfall of the Ottoman empire; for, if the Turks, the only neighbours who can support her against the imperial confederates, and prevent another and final partition of her provinces, were once driven from Europe, we should hear no more of the king or republic of Poland, except in the history of past times.

Last week, the rev. dr. O'Leary was presented to the king at the levee. His majesty conversed with him some time, and paid him many handsome compliments, on the moral and philanthropic tendency of his writings.

OS. 1. The definitive treaty of alliance between the king of Prussia and the king of Great-Britain, signed at Berlin, the 13th of August, 1788, was received yesterday morning by express.

Though the emperor has demanded of the court of France, the 18,000 foot and 6000 horse, which the latter is bound, on requisition, to send to the assistance of the former; yet his majesty did not require that they should be sent immediately, but only in case he should be attacked by any power, with which he is not at present at war.

The French ministry are at present in a very critical situation, with respect to the above requisition. The queen, who favours her brother to the utmost of her power, advised an answer to be sent to Vienna, with positive assurances, that the treaty of 1755 should be faithfully executed,

and that the 24,000 troops should be ready, whenever the emperor should stand in need of their assistance. On the other hand, the English minister at Paris has presented a memorial to the count de Montmorin, the French minister for foreign affairs, which states, "that his master cannot, consistently with his engagements with Holland, or the interests of his subjects, see a French army in possession of the Flemish provinces, out of which it had always been an object with England, to keep all French forces: that the balance of power required, that these provinces should stand as a barrier between France and Holland: and the king his master could not, and would not see that balance destroyed." Thus pressed between the courts of Vienna and London, the French court remains irresolute, perplexed and embarrassed.

OS. 2. The king of Sweden does not seem likely to support the character of some of his great predecessors. He began his operations, by land and sea, with great alacrity and confidence; but, except his naval engagement, nothing seems to have been well conducted. He thought to take Russian Finland, and even Petersburg, by a *coup de main*; but his troops have done nothing: they have rather lost than gained any advantages; and now feel the want of necessaries, from a hasty and improvident invasion of an enemy's country. The king begins, they say, to repent; talks of being open to a reasonable peace; but as that cannot be so soon arranged, the letters, by this mail, say, that a truce of two months is in agitation; if that takes place, it will be too late to recommence hostilities this year, and probably a peace will be settled in the winter. There is certainly a strong party in Sweden, against the war; and above seventy officers have left the army, saying, that the king had no right to commence hostilities, without convening the states, and taking their opinion of the matter. This is the line of the constitution; but the officers ought to have proposed their difficulties, before they were brought on an enemy's land. The king of Sweden has, however, gained a great point for the Turks: he has certainly prevented the Russian fleet from sailing

out of the Baltic to the Mediterranean this summer ; for it must now be too late for that expedition to take place.

America seems, at length, after a long suspense, to be on the point of establishing its general government. By the last accounts, seven of the states had acceded to the plan proposed for that purpose.

The previous consent of two-thirds of the whole is, however, necessary ; and as no doubt is entertained of the concurrence of South Carolina and Virginia, the congress will soon perfect the constitution of the confederated republic.

In the mean time, civilization is every where extending its influence : the institution of universities, and philosophical societies, begins to dissipate that fanaticism, which has long prevailed in several of the provinces ; and such is the ardour of improvement at Philadelphia, that the city and the whole province are now diligently employed in stretching roads through the country, for above 150 miles. A spirit of agriculture seems, indeed, to be disseminated over all the states. In a little time, they will, doubtless, turn their attention to the improvement of manufactures for internal consumption ; though their good friends, the French, are doing all in their power, to dissuade them from this undertaking.

*Oct. 6.* The remonstrances of our ministers to the cabinet of Versailles, have had the desired effect : the French camp in Flanders is now breaking up, and the men going into winter quarters ; and, to contradict every opinion of their being quickly assembled again, the regiments are ordered to different parts of the kingdom.

The Danish troops are ready, according to the stipulation with Russia ; but their condition and appointment, are but ill reported.

The loan of 100 millions, if such a loan can be obtained by Mr. Neckar, will shew indeed the vigour of his talents, and the reliance on the proper use of them—but they shew also the extreme necessities of the country, so far beyond even the stated excess !

Spain continues, in this respect, utterly untoward to the family compact—an ally not at all pecuniary.

Of the present loan, Spain as yet has refused to pay any part.

*Oct. 7.* The parliaments of France are in vacation till November ; but it seems, are determined to enregister no pecuniary edict whatever, till the meeting of the states-general ; a circumstance which keeps the stocks down, in spite of the public confidence in the minister.

The Russians, in respect to captures at sea, have been more successful than the Swedes.

The *St. Bartholomew*, the last Swedish ship taken by the Russians, was valued at 60,000 rix-dollars.

The following is as exact and just an account of the proceedings of the present belligerent powers, as can be collected from their gazettes, and other information :

Russia—engaged in a war with the Turks, with a view to extirpate them from Europe, add the Crimea entire to her dominions, and display, if possible, the black eagle on the turrets of Constantinople.

Germany—engaged in the same cause, but without the same original pretences for making war.

Sweden—taking advantage of the war in which Russia is involved, aspiring to recover the whole of Finland, but wanting the means, and deserted by her officers.

The Ottoman power, supported secretly by every other power in Europe, except her declared enemies, Russia and Germany ;—contending with these two upon the Turkish territories, and provided with every advantage, which a knowledge of the country, and resources of men and arms, unknown to any other nation, can give.

As to the progress of this war—the Turks have not lost an inch of ground ; the imperial armies have expended an immense treasure, have lost many thousands of their troops by disease, and have gained—little reputation.

*Oct. 9.* Affairs in the North are taking a new turn, and the consequences may be lamentably serious to all Europe. What Holland was last year, Sweden is at present—a state of confusion and rebellion, engendered and supported by the intrigues of the French court, and the prevalence of Russian politics. The burghers at Stockholm are arming themselves, under the pretence of internal safety,

in the absence of the troops, but more certainly for the purpose of attempting a revolution. The officers of the army in Finland, independent of their sovereign, sent a deputation to the empress of Russia, making proposals for a truce in that quarter, until they shall have concerted measures for subjugating their king, or for reducing him to the necessity of abandoning the war, which, they allege, was rashly and unjustly commenced on his part. They declare, that the king, by his late measures, has broken the compact between sovereign and subject, and therefore they hold it their duty to concert measures for the safety of the state. When the king of Sweden heard of the disaffection of his troops in Finland, and the propositions of his officers to the empress for a cessation of hostilities, he fainted away, and was with difficulty aroused to a sense of his alarming situation. Thus circumstanced, there is no doubt of the empress's acquiescence, nor of her endeavours to fan the flame of discord. She has already communicated her terms of pacification with Sweden, the tenor of which is, to grant a general amnesty for what is past: only on condition, however, that the Swedish government shall accede to the general confederacy which has so long been forming between France, Spain, Germany, Russia and Denmark.

*Oct. 12.* The campaign of this year must now be nearly, if not altogether, at an end. The Austrians who fought for honour, have gained some. The empress, who contended for territory, has not gained an inch—while the coffers of both must have been pretty well drained.

The grand vizir is the Washington of Turkey. While he employs the cool prudence of the American Fabius, in not hazarding any thing, where little is to be got, he does not flinch from an engagement, but rather encourages it; convinced that his resources can much sooner supply any loss, than those of his enemies.

Should the states of Sweden negotiate with the empress, and acknowledge, as it is said they are ready to do, the impolicy of the war the king entered into, this will amount to such a revolution, as will reverse all that was done in 1773, when they limited their

republican form, and made the king almost absolute—reserving, indeed, only the power which they now seem disposed to employ.

*Oct. 14.* Advice is this instant received of a general and bloody engagement between the imperialists and the grand vizir's army; the conflict was dreadful: the palm of victory was very obstinately contended for—and the event was long doubtful. It terminated, however, in the defeat of the Ottoman army. The emperor was, the whole time, in the hottest part of the battle, had two horses shot under him, and received a wound in the shoulder, but it is not thought to be dangerous. It is probable, this decisive engagement will put a period to the campaign.

The carnage was uncommonly great on both sides: the number of Turks, killed and wounded, is prodigious.

Letters were yesterday received in the city from Mr. Fenwick, his majesty's consul at Ellineur, which state, that 6000 Danish auxiliary troops, on their march to Udewalla from Frederickshall, had fallen in with 600 Swedes, who, disputing their passage, a skirmish ensued, when ten Swedes were killed and the remainder taken prisoners.

The approaching assembly of the states general, forms the principal topic of conversation. It is expected that M. Calonne will then meet M. Neckar, and defend himself from the charges brought against him. He has pledged himself to attend on that occasion, and for that purpose, if his majesty will give him unequivocal proofs of protection.

## American intelligence.

*Philadelphia, December 20.*

*Acts and proceedings of the synod of New-York and Philadelphia, 1788.*

THE synod took into consideration the draught of the form of government and discipline of the presbyterian church, in the united states of America—and having gone through the same, did, on a review of the whole, ratify and adopt the said form of government and discipline (as now,



altered and amended,) as the constitution of the government and discipline of the presbyterian church in America : and recommend to all their inferior judicatures, strictly to observe the rules laid down therein, in all ecclesiastical proceedings : and they order, that a correct copy be printed ; and that the Westminster confession of faith, as now altered, be printed, in full, along with it, as making a part of the constitution.

Resolved, that the true meaning of the above ratification, by the synod, is, that the form of government and discipline, and the confession of faith, as now ratified, is to continue to be our constitution, and the confession of our faith and practice, unalterably ; unless two-thirds of the presbyteries, under the care of the general assembly, shall propose alterations or amendments ; and such alterations or amendments shall be agreed to, and enacted, by the general assembly.

The synod proceeded to consider the draught of a directory, for the worship of God, reported by the committee appointed last year. Dr. Witherspoon, dr. Smith, and mr. Woodhull, were appointed to revise the chapter of the directory, entitled, " of the mode of inlitting church censures," and to lay it before the general assembly, at their first meeting, to be by them considered, and finally enacted.

The synod also appointed the said committee, to revise that part of the directory which respects public prayer, and prayers to be used on other occasions ; and to prepare it for printing, with the form of government and discipline.

The synod, having gone through the consideration of the draught of a directory for worship, did approve and ratify the same ; and do hereby appoint the said directory, as now amended, to be the directory of the worship of God, in the presbyterian church, in the united states of America. They also took into consideration the Westminster larger and shorter catechisms ; and having made a small amendment to the larger, did approve, and do hereby approve and ratify the said catechisms, as the catechisms of the presbyterian church, in the said united states ; and order, that the said directory and catechisms be bound up in the

same volume with the confession of faith, and the form of government and discipline ; and that the whole be considered, as the standard of our doctrine, government, discipline and worship, agreeably to the resolutions of the synod, at their present session.

Ordered, that dr. Duffield, mr. Armstrong, and mr. Greene, be a committee, to superintend the printing and publishing the above-said confession of faith and catechisms ; with the form of government and discipline ; and the directory for the worship of God, (as now adopted and ratified by the synod) as the constitution of the presbyterian church, in the united states of America ; and that they divide the several parts into chapters and sections, properly numbered.

We learn from the western country, that on the 17th of October, a party of Indians, under the command of John Watts, amounting to about 300, attacked Galespy's fort, on Holstein ; and that the small party in the fort were, after a gallant defence, obliged to surrender. They were about thirty persons, mostly women and children, all of whom fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the savages. This party of Indians is thought to be a detachment from a large body encamped at Chota, composed of both Creeks and Cherokees, who are said to be under the direction of Alexander M'Callivray. From all accounts, it appears, that we may shortly expect to hear of a bloody scene in that quarter. The militia have already turned out, determined to defend their country to the last extremity. A very large body of Indians have lately crossed the Tenassee, in two divisions ; and have destroyed two or three settlements, on the north side of Holstein.

A letter from Washington county, dated November 6, says, " the Indians have been very troublesome in these parts during the whole summer and fall. They, at one time, killed 16 men out of a company of 34 rangers who were out on duty : at another time, very lately, a body of 4 or 500 Indians attacked and took a fort on the frontiers, in which were between 40 and 50 persons. They destroyed the fort ; and, with their usual inhumanity, either burned or butchered people of every age and sex."

At a town meeting of the freemen of the town of Providence, legally assembled at the state house in said town, on the 6th day of December, 1788, it was resolved, "That the deputies, appointed to represent this town, in the honourable general assembly, of this state, be, and they are hereby, instructed to use their influence in the said general assembly, to be holden on the last Monday in December instant, that a state convention be held in this state, as soon as may be, agreeably to the recommendation of the convention of the united states, passed on the 17th day of September, A. D. 1787, and transmitted to the legislature of this state, by a resolution of congress of the 28th day of the same September, for the purpose of considering and adopting the new constitution, and also of proposing such amendments as they think necessary."

Similar instructions, we hear, have been given by some other towns—but a large majority are for appointing delegates to attend the convention of revision, whenever and wherever it shall meet.

A gentleman arrived at New-York from the Mississippi says, that Oliver Pollock, esq. was safely arrived in the month of October in that river: and that marks of distinction were shewn him by the governor of New Orleans by an order lodged with the commander of the Balize, (the mouth of the river) to supply him with the king's barge, men, &c. to take him to town.

The exportation of rum and spirits from the British West India Islands to the united states of North America is prohibited by a late order from the British government: a vessel that was loaded with rum about the latter end of September last, bound to New-York, was obliged to reland it.

At an ordination held at Christ church, on Friday the 19th inst. the right rev. William White, D. D. and bishop of the protestant episcopal church in Pennsylvania, admitted to the holy order of deacons, the rev. mr. Haney and mr. Henderson. And on Sunday the 21st inst. the bishop admitted them and the reverend mr. Wemyss, to the holy order of priests, and the reverend mr. Riggs to the holy order of deacon.

The 15th instant being the quarter-

ly communication of the grand lodge of Pennsylvania and malonic jurisdiction thereunto belonging, the several members met at their lodge room in Videl's-alley, and proceeded to ballot for the grand officers for the ensuing year, when

The most worshipful Jonathan B. Smith, esquire, was duly elected grand master.

The right worshipful George Ord, esquire, deputy grand master.

The right worshipful Joseph Dean, senior grand warden.

The right worshipful Joseph Few, junior grand warden.

The right worshipful Gavin Hamilton, junior, grand treasurer.

The right worshipful Asstheton Humphreys, grand secretary.

And on the 27th instant, being St. John the Evangelist's day, the aforesaid grand officers were duly installed to their respective offices. After which, the brethren, having refreshed themselves in harmony united with brotherly love, separated and retired to their respective avocations.

The honourable the general assembly of Pennsylvania, have been pleased to grant, to an ingenious European artist, the sum of one hundred pounds, as a premium for constructing a hand machine, for carding cotton wool, and another for spinning cotton yarn. Exclusive of this premium for his ingenuity, they have paid him liberally for the machines themselves. We are informed, that six sets of similar machines have been procured, by six associates in the united states. We hope, soon to hear of more extensive machines worked by horses, and by water; as the principles are the same, upon the large as upon the small scale. The manufacturing committee of Philadelphia, have commenced the sale of corduroys, federal rib, cottons, &c. made by these machines.

A manufacturing correspondent expresses an earnest wish, that the real and skilful manufacturers, at Bethlehem, would undertake the cotton manufactory with machines; they have houses prepared—money—undoubted credit—children to pick, and women to rope the cotton—women, to spin the linen thread, and bleach the goods—ground, water, and aqueducts, suitable for complete bleach-yards.

The simple business of dying drab and olive colours, they could easily acquire. Add to all these advantages, that they are very industrious and economical. In short, no other body of people in America appear to have such qualifications and conveniences, to carry on this profitable manufactory, to their private profit, and the public good. It is therefore hoped they will not be inattentive to what appears a sort of duty, incumbent on that valuable society.

A letter from Fort-Harmer, dated November 3, says, "the treaty is at last in a fair way to commence, unexpectedly too, I believe; the Indians have been very long in holding council among themselves: but they are now coming in. We have the governor, commissioners, and captain Hutchins, with us."

*The following are the resolves passed by the legislature of North Carolina, on the 17th ult. for calling a new convention.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, a new convention be recommended, for the purpose of reconsidering the constitution held out by the federal convention, as a government for the united states.

Resolved, That it be recommended to such of the inhabitants of this state as are entitled to vote for members of the house of commons, at the annual election, to be held in each county, on the third Friday and Saturday in August next, to vote for five persons in each county, and one person in each borough town, having a right of representation agreeably to the constitution of this state, to sit as a state convention, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed federal constitution for the future government of the united states, and on such amendments, if any, as shall or may be made to the said constitution by a convention of the states, previous to the meeting of the said convention of this state; which election shall be conducted agreeably to the mode, and conformably to the rules and regulations prescribed by law for conducting the election of members of the general assembly; and any citizen within this state, being a freeholder, shall be eligible to a seat in the

said convention, sheriffs and returning officers excepted.

Resolved, That the sheriffs of the counties in this state, do advertise and notify the people of their counties and borough towns, of the time, place, and purpose of holding said election, at the same time, and in the same manner, as the laws require them to advertise for members of the general assembly.

Resolved, That the persons so elected, to serve in a state convention, do assemble and meet together on the third Monday in November next, at such a place as shall be appointed for the meeting of the next general assembly, then and there to deliberate and determine on the said constitution, and on the amendments, if any, and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of this state, and make report thereof to congress and to the general assembly.

Resolved, That the members of the convention be allowed twenty shillings per day for their attendance at, going to, and returning from the place where they shall meet; and that they be authorized to make such allowance to their clerks and door-keepers as they shall think reasonable; and the treasurer is hereby directed to pay the same on a certificate signed by the president of the convention; provided, that such persons, as shall be elected members of the general assembly, as well as of the convention, shall be allowed mileage for coming to the convention only, and not for returning.

#### MARRIED.

In Boston—dr. Samuel Danforth to miss Patty Gray.

In Baltimore—mr. Richard Gittings to miss Polly Sterret.

At Reading, in Pennsylvania, Daniel Clymer, esquire, attorney at law, to miss Polly Widner.

In Philadelphia—Jonathan D. Sergeant, esquire, attorney at law, to miss Betsey Rittenhouse.

#### DIED.

In Cecil county, Maryland. James Loutit, esq.

In Baltimore—mrs. Rachel Carroll. Mr. William Waugh. Mrs. Maria Bouchett. Mr. John M'Curdy.

In Richmond—dr. Alexander Skinner.

In Philadelphia—mr. Andrew Doz.

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